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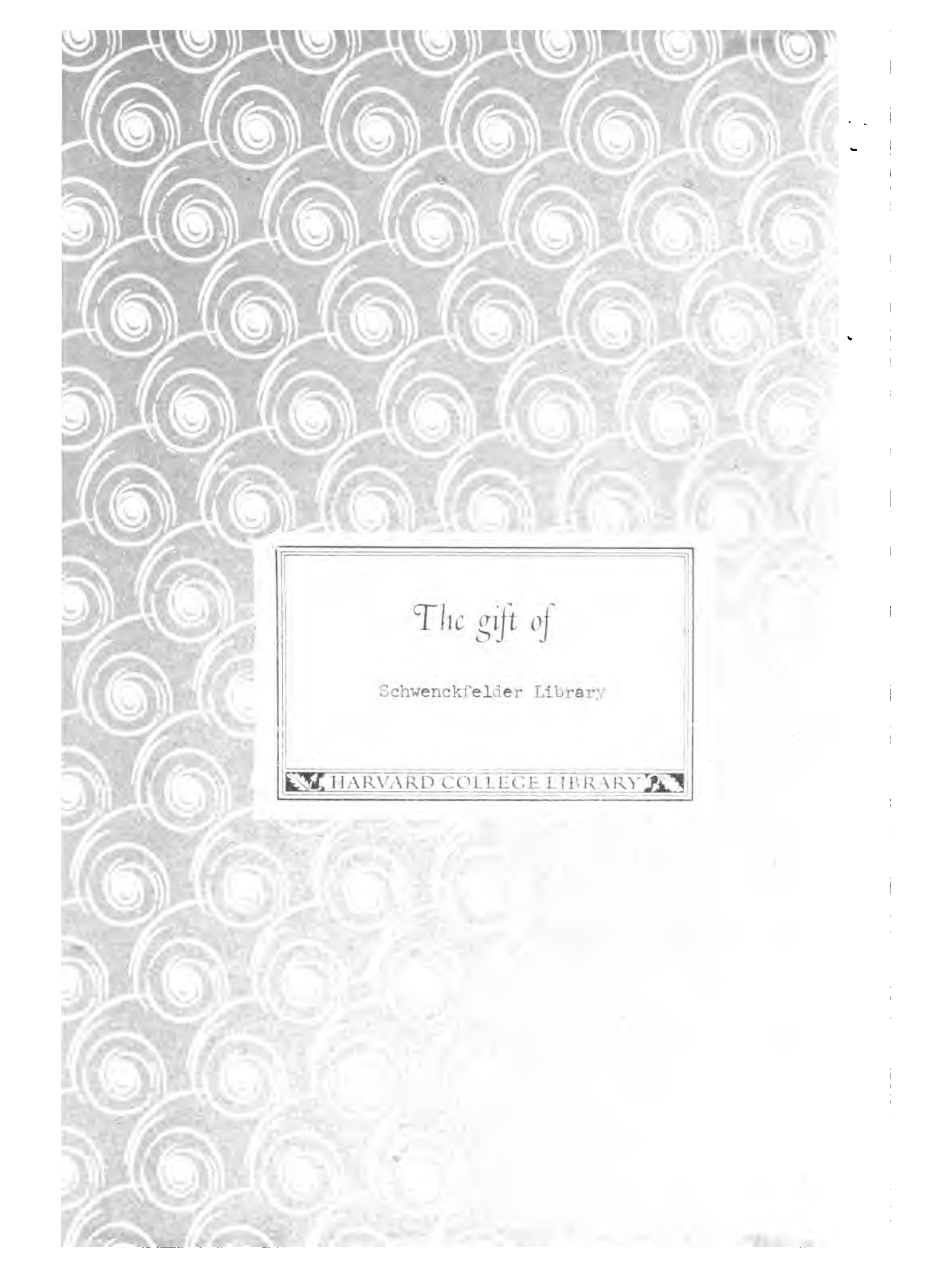
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

**VOLUME I
A STUDY
OF THE EARLIEST LETTERS OF
CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD
VON OSSIG**

**LEIPZIG, BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL
1907**

**A STUDY
OF THE EARLIEST LETTERS
OF
CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD
VON OSSIG**



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LEIPZIG, BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL
1907

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**TO THE MEMORY
OF
THE FOUNDERS, CONFESSORS,
MARTYRS AND APOLOGISTS
OF
THE MIDDLE WAY
THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED.**

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THE ADVERTISEMENT.

The Board of Publication desiring to make a brief public statement of the various steps taken in connection with the publication of the Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum submits the following account without attempting to give details of each of the different steps. In explanation of the terms Committee and Board of Publication occurring in this sketch it is in place to note that the work was begun under the Committee as appointed by the General Conference of the Schwenckfelder Church and has been carried forward since 1898 by the Board of Publication which superseded the Committee at the adoption of the "Formula of Government" in that year.

Jacob Held von Tieffenau, the intimate friend and disciple of Caspar Schwenckfeld, records these words in connection with his loving and sympathetic account of the dying hours of his great teacher: Endlich zum Beschluß gesegnete und tröstete er uns aber eins/ ermahnete uns bey der reinen göttlichen Wahrheit/ und bey dem HErrn Christo/ dahin er uns weisete/ zu bleiben/ seine Bücher würden uns hinfort an seiner Statt versehen/ . . . Er wäre auch des gewiß/ daß die Lehre/ die er geführt/ und in Büchern geschrieben/ die aber nicht sein/ sondern des HErrn Christi wäre/ auch weiter nach seinem Tode kommen werde/ und Gott der HErr werde andere erwecken/ die sein angefangen Werk ferner sollen ausführen/ noch mehr erklären/ und heller an Tag bringen. Finally and in conclusion he blessed and exhorted us to abide in divine truth, saying that his writings would serve us in his stead; he felt full assurance that the doctrine taught in his books was not his but that of his divine Master and that after his death it would be brought more fully to light; God the Lord would call others who would carry forward the work begun by him, explain it more fully and make it more widely known. These words, though answered in part in times past, find their largest fulfillment in the pages of the Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum, the first volume of which is herewith offered to the public.

When Christopher Schultz in the opening sentence of the Introduction to his Catechism used the words: A pure Christian system of the doctrine of faith is among all temporal gifts and favors of God the greatest and

most important, for without it all other gifts of God would be of little benefit to our true welfare, he but voiced the profound sentiment of Schwenckfeld himself, as indeed of all genuine adherents of his views, as they must be the views of all who have pledged their allegiance to Jesus Christ.

This sentiment found concrete expression in the history of Schwenckfeld and his followers, in the various editions of the writings of Schwenckfeld himself, in the manifested willingness to endure persecution for truth's sake, in the flight by night of hundreds, implying and involving the abandonment of home and worldly possessions and the breaking of all the tender ties that cluster around home, in the careful systematic training of the young in the history and doctrine of the fathers, in the unceasing study of doctrinal and practical books and the frequent reproduction of these both in manuscripts and print, in the welcoming of all the more recent movements looking to the reissuing of the writings of Schwenckfeld.

It was but a natural result of the fostering of this spirit that an appreciative and favoring response was given when Prof. C. D. Hartranft, D. D., at the time Professor of Church History at the Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., in August 1884 addressed the community of professing adherents of the doctrines of Caspar Schwenckfeld by a circular letter suggesting and making an appeal for the publication of a *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*.

This memorable, epoch-making letter said in part: Ought we not to commemorate the name of Caspar Schwenckfeld, especially at this day, when there has been such a marked restudy of his theology and when a far juster estimate of his views and character has been formed? What have we done to show our veneration for his piety, our admiration for his learning, our regard for him as the originator of a most profound religious movement, of which you, brethren, are the most direct representatives, but whose influence has reached into innumerable channels of modern thought and society? It is due to ourselves to devise some competent expression of our gratitude for the man, who, of all the leaders of the Reformation, penetrated furthest into the spirit of religious liberty, who asserted its principles with unequivocal faithfulness and unflinching courage. We who inherit the results of these principles, and whom God has favored with so opposite a lot, cannot withhold our recognition of his spiritual greatness; nay, do we not owe these principles themselves some emphatic reassertion? The world has let Schwenckfeld sleep for over three hundred years, and has never yet done him justice. Shall his followers allow others to be pioneers in the work of readjustment and restoration? Surely the most befitting monument to our fathers would be the publication of their works in full, those of

Schwenckfeld first, and then the whole body of Schwenckfeldian literature from the Reformation to our day. Such a Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum should certainly not be inferior to the noble editions of the works of Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli and Calvin. You know that Schwenckfeld's own works exist in very imperfect form, the printed editions are full of grave errors, while no inconsiderable quantity of his writings still exists in MSS. The same is true concerning the productions of his followers. Surely to bring this before the world would be a more suitable memorial of the greatness of our fathers and of our gratitude to God than to raise a shaft; nor could we make a nobler contribution to theological science and righteous living.

This letter vivified by the memorable address of Dr. Hartranft at the 150th anniversary, September 24, 1884, of the landing of the Schwenckfelders in Pennsylvania led to the appointment of Joshua Schultz, Howard W. Kriebel, William S. Anders, George K. Meschter and Samuel K. Anders as a committee to take into consideration the advisability and necessity of republishing the writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld. On October 15, 1892 Oscar S. Kriebel succeeded Joshua Schultz deceased, on May 18, 1907 Charles S. Anders succeeded William S. Anders deceased; and on July 27, 1907 Edwin K. Schultz, was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Howard W. Kriebel.

Within two weeks after and in view of the appointment of this committee the Honorable C. Heydrick of Franklin, Pa., wrote the following words: I do not know whether you know the fact or not but I have been quietly laboring for several years to bring about exactly what has taken place. I comprehended that in order to secure a proper presentation not only of the doctrines taught by Caspar Schwenckfeld — which indeed could be made by the ministers of the Society — but of the causes which produced that phase of the Reformation of which Schwenckfeld was such a conspicuous exponent, we must secure the services of a ripe scholar and theologian and one who would have ample time for exhaustive research and also have access to great libraries and who should withal be a German scholar; in addition to this it seemed desirable that he should be to some extent in sympathy with the Schwenckfelders in order that his work should be a labor of love and I confess moreover that I felt a little pride in having the work done by one of our own people. But where should the man be found who should possess all these qualifications? I cast about in various directions for the man but nowhere found one whom I cared to approach on the subject until about two years ago. I was familiar with the name of Doctor Hartranft, but had no reason to suspect that he was of Schwenckfelder stock, except such as his name furnishes, but against that was the fact that his name did not appear in the 'Genealogy'.

In an interview with Governor Hartranft about two years ago, I learned that the Doctor was of Schwenckfelder stock and then immediately instituted inquiries about him which elicited the information that he possessed all the desired qualifications. This information did not come from the Governor but from gentlemen who were not likely to be influenced by partiality and who were competent judges in the premises. Having learned so much I opened a correspondence with him with the design of getting him interested in the subject and of securing his willingness to undertake the work if he should be invited thereto by the proper authorities.

The Committee as appointed at the Fall Conference of the Schwenckfelder Church met, organized, went to work, carried on negotiations with Dr. Hartranft resulting on the sixteenth of March 1885 in a contract entered into between the Committee of the one part and Doctor Hartranft as editor of the other part in which among other items the editor's duties were defined as follows: The duties of the editor shall be to proceed to Germany on or about the said first day of May next ensuing the date hereof, and visit all such public and private libraries, places and families, where any of the works of Schwenckfeld and co-laborers or followers may be found and to prepare a faithful edition of the same for publication; to give his whole time and unremitting labor and attention to the contemplated work; to acquaint himself as early as possible with the quantity of material and map out the whole scheme of publication; to make an estimate of the number of volumes; to prepare a prospectus in the form of a dummy volume, giving specimens of letter press and critical text, showing the method and mechanical execution of the proposed work, etc.

Doctor Hartranft in due time entered faithfully on his work as editor and labored assiduously, but at the expiration of a year, the time covered by the contract, the Committee felt under obligation to recall him, the prospect for the successful prosecution of the undertaking not being encouraging enough to warrant a renewal of the contract and continuance of the work as carried on during that year.

A period of negotiations, experiments, trials, disappointments, uncertainty, and quickening of spirit followed. It was during this interval that the Committee invited advance subscriptions to the contemplated publication by issuing a prospectus of the Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum in which the following were given as reasons for attempting the publication: —

1. The increasing estimate put upon Schwenckfeld by the students of the movement.
2. The older editions of such works as were published separately from 1523 to 1602 and even the folios of 1564—1570, have become very

scarce; but besides these, nearly one half of the MSS and that half not the least weighty, has never seen the light.

3. The material presents another principle of the many sided Reformation in the 16th century; by its earlier advocates this was called the Middle Way; it insisted on a new birth, and a reformation of morals, as preparatory to the reconstruction of dogma; the restatement and development of doctrine was to be the outgrowth of a regenerated and sanctified life in Christ under the Holy Ghost. More emphasis was put upon the direct reign of the Spirit than on the formal principle of the Scriptures, though by no means to any neglect of the latter.

4. The personal connection of Schwenckfeld with every eminent leader in all the other forms of Reformation—Lutheran, Swiss, Strassburg, Anabaptist, so-called Hoffmanite, etc. — with all these, not only in their first, but also in their second generation and stage—his journeys, necessitated by persecution and exile, which brought him to all the chief centers of literary and religious activity, and especially to the southern imperial cities; his high birth which enabled him to exert a striking influence upon princes and nobles—all these points combine to give unmistakable worth to his voluminous correspondence. Such letters must have in them storehouses of facts; and yet these have been practically unused in the histories.

5. In our age of correct historical study the denomination of Schwenckfelders feel it to be a duty to vindicate the memory of the profoundest theologian that Silesia, fertile in great minds, has produced; and to set before the world those Christian principles which made their exponent confessedly solitary among his contemporaries. The spirit of persecution certainly has passed away, for the churches, which once exiled Schwenckfeld and burned his books now erect statues to his fellow-countryman Schleiermacher who differed far more widely than he from their confessional standards.

6. Such a work will contribute material to the history of culture in the Reformation period. The inner and outer life of the many circles high and low, in which he moved, scattered too over so many regions, make his correspondence a not inconsiderable field for this new science.

7. These works are of scarcely less consequence not only for the history of literature, but also for German philology. Next to Luther there is no more eminent master and former of German style than Schwenckfeld; for outside of Luther's books, none were read with more avidity, certainly none more sedulously than Schwenckfeld's. In spite of ban and flame, they streamed from the press, or were multiplied in MSS; and they nourished and moulded a quality of intellectual as well as spiritual strength in circles of the nobility, of the citizen classes, and of the farming

communities, which has its counterpart only in the mental and moral vigor of Puritanism.

8. For the history of doctrine, Schwenckfeld's teachings in Christology, Soteriology and Ecclesiology, are prominent features of the Reformation discussions.

9. In Schwenckfeld we find the source of many characteristics of modern Protestantism; the function of the laity in the church, the right of representation, the freedom of conscience, the separation of church and state, the ecclesiola in ecclesia, and many another principle that is now potent in all branches of Christendom, had their strongest champion in him, in the days when these were heretical principles and when their assertion was at the peril of life; there is scarcely a religious school, whether evangelical, pietistic, or liberal, that has not drawn some formative impulse from him, through a hitherto unobserved absorption.

The net result of the circulation of this prospectus, though not as encouraging as had been hoped for, did not dishearten either the Committee or the editor, and plans were taken into consideration looking to the prosecution of the work under a method, which though not satisfactory, seemed feasible, providing for the editor's residence abroad during only three months of the year instead of having him devote all his time to the project. While prospects were gradually brightening and this method seemed about to be realized a new and unexpected trilemma presented itself.

A proposition was made to Doctor Hartranft the editor early in 1888 to assume a new and responsible position which would have involved the severance of his connection with the Hartford Theological Seminary, the assumption of new, varied and arduous duties that would have curtailed very seriously his available time for editorial research and in all probability necessitated his withdrawal from the labors on the Corpus. This meant for the Committee one of three things: —

1. The selection of a new editor—a proposition which the Committee could not entertain.

2. The abandonment of the project — a step that seemed to the Committee both inopportune and inappropriate.

3. The raising of a guarantee fund, named by the editor and considered by him sufficient to enable him to assume the editorship on the basis of devoting all his time to the editorial work. The matter was brought to a crisis by a letter dated March 13, 1888 in which Dr. Hartranft stated that he would have to come to a decision of the question within a very limited time.

The Committee went vigorously to work and by April 4, 1888 had secured pledges sufficient to make it possible to engage the editor on the basis of full editorship by residence abroad and communications to that

effect were sent to Dr. Hartranft, who had in the meantime tendered his withdrawal from the Seminary leaving to the Lord's decision what his future work should be. The proposed withdrawal of Dr. Hartranft from the Hartford Theological Seminary created a tremendous revulsion. The Rev. Dr. A. C. Thompson of sainted memory wrote a letter to the Faculty of the Seminary, April 7, from which the following words are quoted: You request me to give the tenor of sentiment and the result of a conference held in Hosmer Hall, Monday, the 2d instant. — — In its composition the Conference represented the Clergy and Laity, the Pastoral Union, the Trustees, the Staff of Instruction, the oldest living graduates as well as recent Alumni. The time spent which continued for nearly three hours allowed each gentlemen present, including the Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Webb of Boston, to express himself fully. The remarks made took a wide range and touched upon all the leading relations and interests of the Seminary. Entire harmony of views prevailed and the result was a complete unanimity in the opinion that it is of the utmost importance that Dr. Hartranft remain connected with the institution. A grave responsibility was thus put upon Dr. Hartranft with which he wrestled hard and conscientiously. By April 7 he was ready to report to the Committee that he had consented to assume the Presidency of the Hartford Theological Seminary subject to the following among other stipulations: a distinct understanding and recognition of his obligation to the Committee and the church represented by them and also the privilege of absence for as many years, not consecutive, as may be necessary to complete the work. This was followed by an official communication from the Hartford Theological Seminary to the Committee, dated April 12, explaining the situation and containing these words: We ask you then, as friends of Christ, and his kingdom, to make such consideration of our case as shall save our beloved Seminary from disaster, and make it possible and easy for him to remain and tide us over the present crisis, even though this should delay somewhat the great work you have undertaken. Your work and ours are one; and we trust that neither may be sacrificed but that some way may be devised by which both may move together to full success.

The Committee took into consideration the serious situation thus precipitated upon them and recognizing in the successive steps of the negotiations the ruling and guidance of an all-wise Providence agreed to a modification of their stipulations with Dr. Hartranft, embodying the conditions asked for and promised by the authorities of the Hartford Theological Seminary. The pleasant and intimate relationship in this undertaking between the Committee and the Church they represent on the one hand and the friends of the Hartford Theological Seminary on the

other thus providentially brought about has continued unbroken ever since and has made the issue of the Corpus at this time a possibility.

In June, 1888, formal articles of agreement were entered into between the Committee and Dr. Hartranft as editor. The preamble of this contract states the reasons or motives for the undertaking in the following words: Whereas, the said Society of Schwenckfelders has been moved to undertake the publication of a new edition of the writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld and Valentine Crautwald as well by the considerations set forth in the Prospectus of a proposed Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum hereto attached, as by a desire to make a thankoffering unto Almighty God for the multitude of tender mercies bestowed upon their fathers and upon themselves; to leave a legacy to coming generations to incite men to like fidelity to Christ and truth and to obey the great command, Go, teach, by the hope that such publication may be an aid to the fulfillment of the Lord's Prayer, Thy Kingdom come, and by circumstances which they interpret to be the leading of divine providence. And whereas, the said Dr. Hartranft influenced by like considerations has offered to devote his time and talents so far as needful to the collection of the said writings and editing and superintending the printing and publication thereof etc.

The duties of the editor are thus defined in the same contract. That he will make diligent search in public and private libraries upon the continent of Europe for and collect the said writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld and Valentine Crautwald, whether heretofore published or yet unpublished and also letters to them or that make mention of them, that he will to the best of his skill, learning and ability collate, edit and prepare the said writings for publication; furnish all necessary manuscript or other copies thereof for the printers, read the printer's proof, supervise the printing and binding and use all reasonable means and effort to attain fulness, completeness and accuracy in the collection and editing of the said writings and good workmanship in the printing, and binding and generally do and perform such work as shall be necessary in the preparation for publication of such edition etc.; that he will prepare a history in English of the Reformation by the Middle way and supervise the same for publication.

A rehearsal at length and in detail of the annals of the work on the Corpus would be both uninteresting and unprofitable and will be omitted. It may not be amiss, however, to record in this connection the following Resolution adopted unanimously May 21, 1906 by a rising vote at the meeting of the Spring General Conference of the Schwenckfelder Church: Resolved, that we hereby express public acknowledgment of the invaluable services, impetus and inspiration, Dr. Hartranft has given to this colossal undertaking from its very inception to the present, realizing that without

his vivifying influence the project would never have been conceived, entered upon, carried forward or made to yield tangible results as we have them to-day. By way of explanation it ought to be stated that advance sheets of the first volume of the Corpus were laid by the Board of Publication before the General Conference as part of their semi-annual report.

Acknowledgments are due and are hereby most gratefully tendered to the imperial German government, to the hundreds of library authorities, to the friends of the Hartford Theological Seminary, to the host of private individuals and in general to all who by word of counsel, advancement of money, loans of sources of information and in many other ways have aided directly and indirectly in the prosecution of the undertaking. The Board fully realizes that by itself without the generous support offered and given so disinterestedly by those of a kindred religious faith, the Schwenckfelder Church could not have carried forward this work.

In conclusion we may quote the words the Board adopted at a meeting held August 22, 1905: Resolved, that we commend this undertaking to all who have an abiding interest in sound American scholarship, in the upbuilding of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ among men, in the solution of the vital questions giving concern to society to-day, as one worthy of their deepest interest and heartiest support, believing with Dr. Hartranft that the beginning of the restoration is not only to assist but to upbuild the conviction that Christ's view of God and the universe, of man and the world is the true one, and fully convinced that a thorough study of Schwenckfeld and what he stood for will be an invaluable contribution to the promotion of such conviction.

The Board of Publication.

Norristown, Pennsylvania, August 7, 1907.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Those who accepted the general tenets of the Middle Way have always tenaciously preserved their genealogical, statistical and theological records so far as was possible under the severe trials of an inhibited press and of confiscation. Much of the historical material especially has been lost through the continuous persecutions to which the adherents of Schwenckfeld had been subjected.

From 1523 to 1562 inclusive, the year after Schwenckfeld's death, there were published about one hundred and twelve of his tractates, mostly in quarto form. The year 1547 was the most fertile of all. A considerable number of writings however remained in manuscript circulation. The catalogue of his printed books edited by Johann Adam Eyffländer (Ifalicus) 1561, and a second edition in 1595, is not wholly complete, although of greatest weight in tracing the titles. After Schwenckfeld's death his friends combined in issuing the folios printed by Sigismund Feyerabend of Frankfurt a. M., 1564—1570. Their intention of publishing his complete works however was not fulfilled. This edition reached only the four folios. New reprints and editions in quarto and smaller forms appeared at intervals from 1584 onwards, mainly under the direction of Daniel Sudermann. From 1819 to 1846 there were issued certain tractates of Schwenckfeld at Allentown, Pennsylvania. In 1859 a committee of the Schwenckfelders published Fünf Abhandlungen printed at Skippackville, Pennsylvania in modernized orthography and in large octavo. In the above summary it has not been our purpose to present a complete bibliography either of the collective or the single publications but rather to exhibit the proof that the Schwenckfelders had an innate desire to put their literature into a permanent form. They have always been convinced with their founder that the press is a medium of highest efficiency for the promotion of light, liberty and faith. It was therefore no surprise to find the most cordial and zealous reception accorded to the present scheme of a monumental edition which should begin with the complete works of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig, and thereafter, if possible, to include the chief authors who advocated the Middle Way. Such men as Valentine Crautwald, Fabian Eckel, Johann Sigismund

Werner, Michael Hiller, Friedrich von Heydeck, Georg von Polenz, Erhard von Queiss, Alexander Berner, Johann Bader, Bonifacius Wolfahrt, Adam Reussner, Bernhard Herxheimer, Samuel Eisenmenger, Theophilus Agricola and numerous others should not be allowed to rest in oblivion, all the more since these writings have the confessor's merit; they have undergone the baptism of fire and blood and starvation and confiscation; they are a mighty testimony to the moral dignity and greatness of the Middle Way and to the loyalty of its adherents, not a few of whom suffered actual martyrdom.

Since the biography of Caspar Schwenckfeld is to be written later, as part of the history of the Middle Way, it will be sufficient here to indicate some chief features of his life. We must maintain the year of his birth to have been 1490 and not 1489. His family was of the most ancient nobility, reaching back in all probability to the beginning of the German colonization in Silesia and the Mongolian conflicts. After preliminary studies he frequented various universities, pursuing the liberal arts course and certain studies in both kinds of law and, at a somewhat later date, theology also. Although he would naturally have the experience of a soldier, he adopted the civil life and served at the courts of Carl I of Münsterberg-Oels and then of Georg I of Brieg and finally of Friedrich II of Liegnitz. In 1518 Schwenckfeld was spiritually awakened. It was a profound and lasting change after a most serious struggle with himself. The conversion bore immediate fruit in a burning zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, because there had been not only a revolution in his own nature but a revolt against the system of tradition and externality as centred in Rome. These two spiritual incidents were closely related. For him henceforth the Scriptures alone were the sufficient authority both for his own education and for the reconstruction of the Church. That his zeal might be according to knowledge he addressed himself to the study of the sacred records as well as to the Greek language, and later to the Hebrew. He also had a wide reading in patrology and scholasticism together with all the new literature. The death of his father constrained him to look after his estates. An affection of his hearing, and most of all the serious view of life which the Reformation had instigated in him, led him to withdraw formally from the court that he might give himself more exclusively to the pursuit and dissemination of the truth he now loved. The clerical life compelled him to consider its claim, but he decided that he could serve the movement better as a layman, and such he remained. He entered upon the evangelical service with apostolic fervor in all phases of activity, in speech, in preaching, in correspondence, in touring and conference. This is one of the emphatic stages of his life that shall receive a befitting elaboration. His chief themes were Christ as the sufficient

Savior, the All in All, the office of the Holy Spirit, the supreme authority of the Scriptures, individualism, education and the successive points which are designated a few pages below. He became a man of immense and foremost influence in the Reformation of Silesia. He had wanted Hess to be the leader, but unconsciously became such himself, because he sought only the glory of his Master and was serving no personal ambition. In no sense can he be spoken of as an autodidact, for all his preliminary studies were in universities and his later ones under the direction of most competent scholars, involving also a revisit to Wittenberg that he might attend the lectures of Luther and Melanchthon, and possibly others. That he built upon these studies privately is true but not reprehensible nor narrowing. He must be considered one of the broadest and most far-sighted men of his time. It must be remarked that Schwenckfeld did his own thinking and acknowledged no man as his master. With the highest regard for all who had opened up the paths of righteousness and fraternity, and eminently for Luther, he did not submerge himself under the influence of the most weighty personages of his day; the signs of his independence manifested themselves at once. Schwenckfeld conceived the notable plan of a diocesan reform. He suggested the separation of the bishopric of Breslau from Rome, and its remodeling through the Scriptures alone. By this he hoped that the regeneration of the Silesian Church might be quietly effected. The proposal however failed to win the approbation of Jacob von Salza, the then incumbent. Upon the failure of this project he desired the reformation of the Herzogtum of Liegnitz with Brieg, Wohlau and Lüben, for which the State guaranteed free play. The innovations were to be on the basis of the Scriptures and wholly by scriptural methods. This was a complete success; the scheme of religious liberty was also adopted by the Herzogtum of Prussia when that State was organized. These few facts among a hundred others are sufficient to overthrow a criticism which denies him a sense for organization or for religious institution and worship on any large scale. A statesman of twelve years of official life without a sense for the statutable and institutional indeed!

When the Lord's table, that should have been the symbol of closest fellowship, began to be a subject of controversy, Schwenckfeld struck out his own path. He approached the current doctrines of transubstantiation, impanation and consubstantiation from the question whether Judas could have actually eaten the body and drunk the blood of his Lord. That was enough to demonstrate to him the vulnerability of these realistic, Capernaitic interpretations. This and not personal revelations nor the exposition of the sacramental phrases was the true starting point of his explanation of the institution as setting forth a spiritual and a memorial participation in Christ. It must be remembered that Luther had hardly reached any

constructive finality, his own system was not as yet completely formed; a great deal of it was traditional; nor was it much better with Melancthon's loci communes. Schwenckfeld has as much right to be considered original in the points of agreement in the faith as had any other of the leaders. He did not accept these as tradition or because ecumenical councils had defined them; he thought them out for himself and tried to live by them experimentally. He is entitled to just as much recognition for his support of these conclusions of the Christian faith as was Luther or Melancthon or Zwingli or Calvin, and he defended them as vigorously as they. This is one of the ways in which the orthodox and the state-churchmen have allowed themselves to underestimate him by bringing him under the shadow of their own narrow and arbitrary standards. As the conflict widened the Liegnitzers proposed a Stillstand until such time as an agreement might be reached by a legitimate convocation of all the advocates of the Reformation. This was a wise anticipation of the Marburg colloquy in 1529; and yet a deal more significant, because the independence of the Church was guarded; the State was to have nothing to do with it. Moreover every shade of opinion was to have an equal right of representation and discussion. The unnatural and rancorous divisions of the evangelical parties might have been avoided by the adoption of this policy, for it would have compelled mutuality and the practice of religious liberty. But all the invited rejected it, preachers and magistrates alike, and so they made the cleavage permanent and the union of Church and State was ratified; the exigencies of politics henceforth determined the course of the new faith, external and internal. From the elaboration of the doctrine of the Sacraments Schwenckfeld advanced to the tenet of the real course of the Word of God. Meanwhile Ferdinand, the Habsburger, had attained the sovereignty over Silesia. The land foolishly cast itself into the ogre's arms. All shades of belief soon had cause to deplore the national folly, for the era of intolerance and violence set up its calendar. Oecolampadius had published Schwenckfeld's book on the Course of the Word of God, and Zwingli had issued another treatise of the Silesian which explained the Lord's Supper. Through the treacherous bishop of Vienna, Johann Faber, Ferdinand's attention was drawn to the author; the royal disapprobation was conveyed to Friedrich, upon which Schwenckfeld wrote the noble apology that Capito afterwards printed at Strassburg. Recognizing his prince's difficulty Schwenckfeld withdrew into voluntary exile, but furnished with a letter of safe conduct. This was early in 1529. The Herzog eventually, and particularly under the persuasion of the Markgraf Georg of Brandenburg, felt that he could not maintain his political independence if he did not join himself to the Lutheran combination. Those of his subjects who continued to support the Middle Way, and their

number was incredible, remained in their freedom for many years under the quiet toleration of this prince. The enthusiastic councilor of Albrecht, Friedrich von Heydeck vigorously colonized the faith in Prussia with the approbation of Herzog Albrecht and Bishop Georg von Polenz.

Schwenckfeld found his pilgrim home in the imperial cities. He first settled in Strassburg. It is not our purpose to follow all the external incidents of his career in South Germany; there were but few cities that he did not visit in fulfillment of his mission as a lay evangelist. Augsburg and Ulm were also favorite centres. The intolerance of men like Bucer, Brenz, Blarer, Frecht hounded at his heels everywhere. The bayings of Luther and Melanchthon, although remote, were not lacking, but often sounded out warningly and ominously in the stillness. He had frequently to seek quiet in the manor-houses of friendly nobles, great numbers of whom espoused his cause, and when the stress of pursuit became too severe, he took refuge in the solitude of caves. The colloquy at Tübingen in 1535 failed to bring an enduring peace, nor was the agreement with Frecht at Ulm of any permanence. So long as the Lutheran and the Reformed clergy refused to recognize religious liberty, there could be no hope of abiding tranquillity. The main points in the dispute were: religious liberty, the doctrine of the Word, the Sacraments, the function of the means of grace, the natural Sonship of Christ, the wholeness of Christ, the development of Christ's humanity and kindred christological subjects. Schwenckfeld's activity was augmented rather than diminished by his exile. He now resorted to the press and rapidly issued treatise after treatise in spite of all prohibitions. The manuscripts of his works were copied and recopied and circulated far and wide. He discussed such topics as the education of the conscience and the essence of a practical Christian life. He issued devotional literature of his own and edited devotional classics. He wrote commentaries on parts of the Scriptures and a considerable portion of a postil. He also penned many apologetic works in defence of his vocation or of elements in his teaching. He prepared a number of catechetical works on various subjects. He enlarged upon the doctrine of the states of Christ, his wholeness or the one undivided Christ, his glorification; and again defended these tenets against the attacks of the Creaturists, the ubiquitarians and the antitrinitarians. He was equally strenuous in opposing some extreme principles of the Anabaptistic schools. The amount of personal abuse heaped upon him is incredible and descends to the lowest levels of scurrility. He treated his antagonists with rare grace and courtesy; one only kindled his ire beyond the bounds of gentleness; but the indignation was righteous and well deserved. A critic has regarded this reserve of Christian temper as artificial; if that be the case then Schwenckfeld's conduct savored of

insincerity and affectation. Doubtless it did require no little grace to repress his tense powers of indignation and his natural sensitiveness. It was indeed high art to be calm under the abusive enormities of the theologians. As a nobleman trained in the Silesian school of honor these injuria might have been otherwise settled; it did require some constrained skill to handle quietly such vituperative scolds; that he did it with admirable dignity, his critics must confess. Any gentleman will understand a certain difficulty of silence in such moments of unpleasantness. He also conducted an enormous correspondence; except in very rare cases his letters were in response to requests. Princes and princesses, nobles and ladies, statesmen, Protestants and Papists, abbot and abbesses, theologians, bishops and priests, men of all learned professions, *bürgermeister* and patricians, bookkeepers, *colporteurs*, mechanics, merchants, indeed persons in all ranks of life were among his clientelage. His works of benevolence were as rich as his own nature. Brotherhoods for support and education in the Christian life spontaneously sprung up. The multitude of his adherents loved him with a singular affection, and his ministry became essentially a personal one. He was not privileged to revisit his native land or to sit once more by his own hearth. His end was one of profound serenity in the house of his friends at Ulm, December 10, 1561. It will be observed that we have not touched upon the imprecations with which his adversaries sought to destroy his wonderful and inexhaustible influence. The ostracism initiated at Schwabach in 1540, the anathemas proclaimed at Naumburg in 1554, the edicts of Herzog Christoph in 1554 and 1558 were alike powerless to quench his fidelity or diminish the loyalty of his friends. Not even the terrible and shameless malediction with which Luther dismissed the messenger that brought him the Great Confession shook his resolve or disturbed the circle of his admirers. We cannot here consider the attitude of his individual antagonists such as Brenz, Vadian, Bucer, Wittich, Flacius, Radecker, Staphylus, Coccinus, Musaeus, Bullinger, Calvin, and others. It may be remarked however that their testimony, save in one instance, is practically unanimous to the beauty and sincerity of his Christian life, however puzzling it was to some of them for such an outrageous heretic to be really good. There is a copy of Schwenckfeld's *Befandtnus und Rechenſchafft von den Hauptpunkten des Chriſtlichen Glaubens* in our possession, on whose title-page the owner, J. Sebastian Zabern, wrote under the author's name: *Ein Erpfeher, wenn man ſeine Feinde frägt, und ein Heilger, wenn man ihn ſelbſt liebt*. We refrain from a more extended comment at this time.

This particular study is designed to present a few of the first letters of Schwenckfeld in a form approaching as nearly as possible to the original; the text is preceded by a description of each Ms. or book, as the

case may be. The translation and the analytic sections are intended to put the material into a more popular and educational form, especially to enable the membership of the Schwenckfelder Church to understand the nature and scope of their own history and the deep roots of their evangelicalism. They have a Reformation and linguistic history of which they can be justly proud, and a record of biblical thought and life which is unique and has in it imperishable seed. This should be developed step by step in its utmost minutia in order to determine its correlations with other schools of thought and its own internal worth. No other method can reach this end.

This work shall also serve as an introduction to the republication of all the texts of Schwenckfeld's works at least. Apart from the various printed editions, a great number of his writings are extant in manuscript of which only a few are autographs; the major part are from the pen of authenticated amanuenses; even the later copyists, of whom Daniel Sudermann was the chief, give evidence of their fidelity to the original. This study is also to serve as a preliminary to the history of the Middle Way, the name by which the reformatory scheme of Schwenckfeld was early designated.

It is essential to present Schwenckfeld from a proper point of view. The old and much of the modern treatment considered him solely from his approximation to or divergence from Luther, with occasional references to his differences from theologians of the Strassburg and Swiss types. It is needless to say that this in itself is an unjust and unworthy method. Nor much better is the effort of some moderns to present him from one or two angles that they have entirely misplaced. While it is true for example, that he taught the inwardness of the Word and that his christology was an original elaboration of the natural Sonship of Christ, yet both are far from the whole truth and when removed from their legitimate connection can only lead to misjudgment. The historical and scientific questions to investigate and determine are not, what was Schwenckfeld as a theologian with a pet dogma or two or as a philosopher with a twisted, opaque vocabulary or as a nobleman with a long genealogy or as an owner of estates with a fair income, but what was he as a Reformer who endeavored to reconstruct his age? What was he as a man whose life was more or less public and what was his conduct in the light of the principles he professed? What significance had he for the Reformation? What significance has he for us? What we are concerned with then, is to set Schwenckfeld forth in the true length and breadth of his thought and in its proper order of development. His tenets should be put into their logical sequence according to their inherent value and according to their entrance into the scheme of reformation. Some of these do not constitute an element of polemic at all, yet they every one of them, underlie his distinctly irenic

scheme. For it must be definitely stated and insisted upon that his whole mental attitude and practical action were intended to promote peace and harmony among all branches of the evangelical family. Moreover with his large prevision, he anticipated the progress of the Christian faith by laying down such principles as must always be its substratum and shape its structure would it attain its ideals. Therefore we do not begin with such points as the dogmatician puts into the forefront and separates from ethical consideration, for just to such a separation Schwenckfeld would by no means agree. Consequently he must not be prejudicially and falsely presented from the standpoint of antagonisms to this or that doctrine; nor as over-emphasizing one view of the Church, the Scriptures and Sacraments as over against the others, as if he rejected or in any way ignored a visible communion of believers or the ordinances or the Bible. Nor must we begin at the wrong end of values. That sort of over-criticism and hasty conclusion has been all too baneful. Nor must we look at him as representative of one idea, powerful and penetrating as that may be, to the exclusion of others, as is now the fashion. We desire to show Schwenckfeld preeminently as representative of fundamental principles of Christianity and of precisely such tenets as are usually ignored in current methods of discussing dogmatics.

We shall not begin with any particular point of christology nor with the sacraments nor yet with the inner Word as in conflict with the outer Word. The first tenet which Schwenckfeld adopted and consistently developed was that of individualism. Man finds himself a unit; he is something apart with his own consciousness; he is forced to make his own experience; he is differentiated from others, although he has much in common with them; he discovers in himself a sense of responsibility to himself as well as to others for his own thinking, feeling and volition; he has to act for himself not only when he is alone, but when a greater or less emergency is evolved and thrust upon him; he is accountable for his conclusions and for the deeds based upon them; he can take no real refuge in circumstances or in the tradition within which he was brought up or in the majority which influences him; he may indeed subject himself to these and live in a confessed and unconcerned slavery to all manner of teachers or doctrines, but when he pauses to reflect, he finds such resources to be shallow and worthless. The resuscitation of individualism is the chief merit of the Protestant Reformation; it awakened the dormant souls to the fact that one cannot hide himself in the mass, nor merge his personality into the Church, nor conceal himself under chimerical illusions, but that one is directly and by himself accountable to man and to God. This revival was due to the discussion of the questions, who can forgive sins and what is the Church? Ordinary law ought to have

taught him this, because it pretended to defend personal rights. The very theory of indulgence ought to have opened his eyes. The very fact of auricular confession should have led him to discern it, but none of these things did; the consciousness of self lay torpid and unmoved, because others were doing his thinking, others were doing deeds for him. It is this individualism which is the starting-point of physical being as it is the starting-point of real moral activity and the ground principle of independence. This is exactly what Schwenckfeld dwelt upon and refused to surrender at the dictation of theologians, colloquies and universities. He said, I must think for myself and so must every man; I must act for myself, another cannot act for me if my deeds are to have any weight, or if I am to meet the moral ends of my being. How else can I give an account for myself and of myself to God, or how can I treat my neighbor properly, unless I, for myself, consider my duty to both? No one can be a worthy component of the social order who does not know himself. Each individual must be trained to be clear in his mental and moral judgments; his education should not stultify or devitalize his consciousness of self but increase its intelligence and self-control, otherwise no one is capable of meeting the sacrifices and rendering the services which society requires. The best developed individuals should be the most efficient elements of the social structure. The more I have made of myself the better I can help my fellows; the more rapid will be the advancement of the race. This is the primary axiom of Schwenckfeld's system, it magnifies individualism. It wants each man to become a thoroughly developed servant of Christ and to keep in mind his personal accountability to God for every feature and motion of his conscious state. As of philosophy, so of genuine ethics or vital theology, they must all alike commence with the conscious ego; and that was Schwenckfeld's starting point. Many reformers also broke ground in this area, but deserted their first position when they essayed to compel others to think like themselves and reared creeds and establishments and universities on the basis of the abnegation of the self. The economic value of the individual sank along to the bottom with the quenching of intellectual individualism. These new tyrannies of State, society and Church were finally shaken by the English, American and French Revolutions. The rights of men are the rights of each man before they can be the rights of humanity. The theologian can find this primary truth in almost every writing of Schwenckfeld who also respected it as the prerogative of every other man. His antagonists were guilty of violating this cardinal privilege of human nature. He warned them and all men of what this meant and how fatal the misstep would be to the sanctity of religion and to the liberty in Christ. These brutal efforts to quell the voice of

him who cried in the wilderness were the beginnings of Protestant slavery. Let the dogmatcian and the historian and the preacher alike read and understand this alphabet of humanity, as well as the politician. It is at once the foundation of science and of practical intercourse at the same time. Do not only write it in the text-books and prate about it from the cathedra and preach it from the pulpits, but acknowledge it in daily life and let the leaven of it work untrammelled. Begin your theology with it, O dogmatician! Begin your ethics with it, O ethicist! For the consciousness of God underlies it. Let the big truth once have a chance for a genuine respiration. Let the individual become broad-chested then we need not despair of the race. Birth is individual, rebirth must also be individual; experience must therefore be individual in order to the combinations and relations of life. Your sacraments and your christology will be the better for it; you will better comprehend the humanity of your Lord and will receive the hallowed elements with a richer memory of the truth they illustrate.

The second incisive point is that Schwenckfeld stood for the fundamental rights of the laity. The doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers was accepted and maintained by him as basic, not so much in the way of radical and insistent teaching as in a direct assertion of the fact and in the practical illustration by his own course of action. It must not be lost sight of that he remained conscientiously a layman just for the reason that the prerogative and inherent sovereignty of the Christian priest might not be invaded. No tinge of sacerdotalism adhered to his every-day garments or to his speech or to his ministry to human souls. There was no chance to develop any shade of that caste spirit, that professional looking down from above on the unfortunates below, in his simple system of Christian instruction and intercourse. There was no costume which should distinguish him from his fellow Christians; no separatistic vestments with or without a mystic symbolism. He claimed no magical character as indelibly planted in him by which he could secure a mastery over the heavenly keys. For him there existed none of that tactual succession which has filled Christendom with such terrible suffering and hypocrisy. For him no sacredness existed apart from character and there was no mystery of revealed grace from which he and all similar men were debarred. We say this is a fundamental characteristic and anticipates the genius of modern Christianity which has restored the true use of the sceptre and of the altar to the individual believer. It is a corollary of this venerable doctrine of the Kingdom that all Christians are equal in Christ. No one can lay claim to anything as exclusively his own, because whatever may be the peculiarity or greatness of the original individual, or however exalted the product of Christian

culture, neither exists for self-advantage but for mutuality by service. If the Christian system means anything, it has from its very nature the thought inherent in it that there is no respect of persons with God. There is no discrimination or favor of talent or genius by which those bestowments are conferred for themselves; their values are to find their real function as instruments for furthering the glory of God and spreading the principles of the Kingdom. We are brought down to the bottom by the coordinating and equalizing tenet of helping one another. Be it remembered that Schwenckfeld must be judged from this standpoint. Did he practice this Christian idea? Did he put on the cocky airs of the Lutheran and Reformed preachers and claim any basis of professional distinction, or did he walk among his brethren as distinctly one of them, a simple, earnest, whole-minded servant of Christ without priestly bib and tucker and without a chancel to wall him off from his fellows, as if he represented Christ in any other way than each believer could represent him, by loving one another? The preachers used these as pretty words reported by St. John but made them immediately of none effect by erecting a barrier of culture and exclusive prerogative about the servant of Christ, a thing inherently and statutorily prohibited. It follows as a matter of course that Schwenckfeld was a Christian democrat; although born a nobleman according to the inheritance of his time, his first interest was for the welfare and elevation of his own peasantry not for economical reasons only but for salvatory claims; they needed the service; they had the right to have their souls enlightened and to share intimately in his culture. This view of relationship and of the rights of the people he carried into all his mission work in the cities and on the estates of his friends. Farmer or mechanic or tradesman or poor or rich, all alike had a claim upon him which he rendered and paid with unstinted liberality and devotion. You can show me little like it in the Reformation period, and we must insist that this is a chief point in his system as there are continuous demonstrations of it in his writings and most of all in his shining deeds, all the more resplendent because they were done with a quietness and reserve and yet openness and fulness which proved them to be products of judgment and prepared consideration, and not the outgoings of an unweighed emotion. His love for men was based on the knowledge of what men are and of what God would have them be. He did not preach any revolution but that which comes silently by the fostering of human rights and setting them forth in their fraternal aspect; he preached only that large and refining progress which the Christian system demands of the brotherhood of men. You cannot wipe this out. Humanity, the moment its lamp is lit, gropes for it: it is its ideal and dream. A Utopia it is, but realizable, and only realizable by the fraternal spirit. Now let us nail it to the

mast; this was the practice of Caspar Schwenckfeld and not his preaching only. This is the way to begin to estimate the significance of the man and to understand his character and motives; this is why he should be recognized as a mighty, if silent and unheralded force in the history of the race. And these are the actual Christian values which are studiously ignored by the half-awake dogmatists and historians who still slumber in the ecclesiastical roosts of centuries and are unable to get off their feudal perches and away from their sacred flummery to really get a sympathy with their own democratic times. But to just this we must pin our estimate of the man. The false standards of form and clothes and caste have to be battered down in order to give Christianity its essential opportunity in the individual and in the social life. There is no escaping it; the aroused currents will sweep away ancient perversions of the religious idea in spite of all the barriers and dykes that the antique order may invent to stop the flood. No attempt at wedding ideas that had an inherent wrong in themselves, with the essential right will help to resist the volume of rising reassertion of natural and acquired human rights. Why cannot men see it? Why do they not interpret the sky above them and the quickened earth under their very feet, but continue to hum the old lingo? Why do they always pitch tents in the West End and persist in disregarding the proletariat? It is rationally inexplicable, this fatuity which hopes to knit a thick, impenetrable tissue around itself to resist the influence and the outflow of the universal human blood. Culture itself must diffuse itself, but only as the cultivated personally cherish the uncultivated; individualism can do nothing alone, much less with gloves on or in lofty retreats and rose-scented gardens; it is the common and combined life only that can satisfy the requirements of the Kingdom of God. But the Church still thinks it can preach democracy and yet maintain the worst sort of caste in a magical and sacerdotal clergy or in a State-controlled ministry or in a lazaretto culture. Now let us repeat it, this fraternal law and democratic method was Schwenckfeld's starting point; the equalization of men and the distribution of culture were what he represents. This is what he illustrated in the face of the new ramparts of Wittenberg and the fortifications of Zürich and the tony obligarchy and funeral pyre of Geneva and the sacramental waters of Flensburg. These particularists did stop the growth of the external city of God, but not the leaven and assimilation of the ideas of laity and equality and democracy. Now put down Schwenckfeld as having contributed to the growth of these ideas, the very elements of Christian practice and therefore of Christian faith. He began with these primary strands of the Christian fabric and he spun them into society while he taught them; he lived them without one moment's deviation

from 1521 until 1561; and no barbarism and no feudalism could shake him from the full resolve and the splendid effort; coolness, precision, inflexibility, good humor withal, and concentrated fire, — how he struggled with a great and good man's strength against the perversion of the new theologians in these most vital themes of an apostolic Christianity! His being born an aristocrat makes his democracy all the more inspiring and sincere. And yet a recent critic affirms that Schwenckfeld always remained an aristocrat; if you mean that he was so by the then existent standards of birth, yes; if you mean that he separated himself from men and regarded himself as their superior, because of this artificial distinction, no; if you mean that he behaved and felt like a gentleman, yes; but then a good democrat always does that.

The third momentous tenet for which he stood, practically as well as theoretically, was Christian liberty. It is a necessary induction from individual responsibility of course, and all moral freedom must be based on individual conscience and accountability for one's deed. Hence the individual must by nature be free within and without; it is the inward slavery which occasions the outward slavery. The deliverance from the bondage of sin begins in the soul but must also extend to all its external relations in due course of association and radiation. Schwenckfeld upheld the whole range of origins and sequences which the Christian religion defines and redeems. He battled for the liberty of the individual in Christ against the new as well as the old servitude. The individual conscience must remain untrammelled by human tradition or interference or force. He promoted that liberty of the individual in the Herzogtum of Liegnitz; it was transplanted to the Herzogtum of Prussia; he carried it with him to the imperial cities and sought to inoculate its magistrates and its citizens with that spirit. Much pretty talk was made and many spangled banners were thrown to the breeze by the other Reformers, but not a one of those who carried the day practised it, and alas they did win over some well-disposed princes to surrender their own convictions about it. The man who dared to assert his right to think independently of Luther or of Zwingli or of Calvin or of Bucer had to sit in prison or take up his bed and walk out of the territory, often with a death penalty attaching to his return. These bigoted theologians preached by the yard about the liberty wherewith Christ makes us free, but being interpreted it meant the liberty wherewith Luther or Zwingli or Bucer or Calvin made you free, which being translated, meant you were free to subscribe to their sacramental and christological and soteriological ideas, or take the consequences of differing from them. The new tyranny was in essence not a particle more liberal than the old, and resorted to the State with equal avidity to enforce its self-constituted prerogatives. Some of the most

masterly lines of German literature are those which Schwenckfeld wrote in defense of religious liberty. Now what we desire to enforce is this: this contention is a radical and basic principle of his system and this is one of the primary concepts whereby to judge the man. He suffered in its defense; he carried its cross with him until the hour of his death. He never would yield that freedom for an instant, although it meant immeasurable sacrifices to defend it. He made losses for the maintenance of his independence; the more his enemies assailed him, the more vigorously he campaigned for the right of the individual to think according to an educated conscience. They could not throw him; they never downed him. We dare maintain that he was an apostle of liberty in the teeth of established churches and servile universities, and that is a myriad fold more significant than any specific abstraction for which those hasty warriors put on shield and buckler and cast lances galore. All other dogma is not worth a penny, if the conscience is not free. You may subscribe to the multitude of confessions of the Reformation period and add the weight of your pen to the whole ecumenical collection besides, and it will be lighter than smoke, unless the whole atmosphere has been already surcharged with freedom to think and to act according to a disciplined conscience. We maintain that in a reformation these are starting points; these are the primary values; these make for humanity as a whole and without differentiation. There is no good in any confession or uniformity or faith or christology or sacrament which ignores the freedom wherewith Christ comes to make us free, or which sacrifices the innate right of the conscience to its own growth in its own moral judgement and responsibility. There is no use for the fustian and gammon of absolutism in any shape, or for Erastianism in its gamut of modes, because these destroy or pervert this first element and condition of truth. There is no trouble with theology as a science or of religion as a practice, if you begin at the right end and have the true canons. We can call Luther and Calvin mystics and enthusiasts with just as much reason, if not more, than these opponents have for dubbing Schwenckfeld with these titles; we can fight just as strenuously as they did for this or that specialized tenet; but if you do not practically allow a man to develop his nature toward the light conscientiously, if you anathematize him or imprison him for his refusal to recognize your demand to impose your human prescriptions upon him, your game and your cause are alike lost. The apostle of liberty is therefore of infinitely more significance than an apostle of impanation or an apostle of consubstantiation or an apostle of ubiquity or an apostle of the materialized Christ. Schwenckfeld's fellow disciples of the Middle Way have suffered all extremities and have never been extinguished or enervated by the subtlest slave-catchers of the soul. This

remained an undermost law. It was not the mere dissidence of dissent; it was the active, aggressive proclamation and the life according to the emancipation of the Spirit. One must be amazed at the inconsequence of claiming liberty as over against the papacy and then refusing the identical independence to those who stood over against Luther or Melancthon or Zwingli or Bullinger or Calvin or Beza or Bucer or Brenz. These embattled Protestants sought to exclude one another from their own special Hesperides gardens and tried to make such subtle definitions as even shut out those whose lives were a better illustration of the Christian spirit than their own. Is it not one of the sickliest aspects of the Reformation? No fruit of the movement for license is more deplorable than such a slavish outcome of the revolution in behalf of liberty of the conscience. A second Egyptian bondage grew up apace; a second Babylonian captivity set in with Medusan stoniness in its eye, whose spell Pietism and the Aufklärung partially broke up, but whose appalling darkness still overshadows many a land and community and university. We claim then that the man who advances the sacred standard of freedom through Christ is an immensely more significant figure than the man who preaches it and then puts shackles on his neighbor. It is high time to say this concerning the Reformation and probably the clock is pointing to that hour of readjustment of human estimates which will enable the Protestant to get a hearing for his protest. Schwenckfeld looked into the royal law and did not forget to practise it, nor forget what manner of man it had made him. Every vision strengthened him in the assertion of the law of liberty.

Allied with such views as have been outlined is a fourth, broad conception for which Schwenckfeld did excellent service: the principle of humanity which in the Christian system is set forth by its basic fact of brotherhood. There could be no fraternity of believers in Christ without a previous brotherhood of the race, and the struggle of Schwenckfeld was to merge these concentric circles into one. No amount of religious intensity or form should obliterate these fundamental relationships; the design of the Christian brotherhood was to bring the race to the consciousness of its original unity, its primitive relations and therefore its rational duties. Christianity was not an abnegation of humanity but a purification and an exaltation of it. Such principles of the Reformation as militated against the organic constitution and social structure of the race must be of themselves wrong. Any restrictions placed upon rights that are ingrained in the stock cannot be eradicated. It is a fatal contradiction to say that Christian morality or the Christian religion could contradict the fundamental ethical instincts of humanity. Christ would deepen and heighten these or restore them to their purity and vitality, not crush and annihilate

them. Any interpretation therefore of the Church or the Kingdom which weakens the idea of humanity as a whole must be essentially wrong. Christ is the regenerator of humanity and not the destroyer of its unity or its native relationship and duties. Theorizing about this was not Schwenckfeld's method; he took it as an axiom and applied the Christian principles to the brotherhood of men. While the other leaders put up barriers, he sought to obliterate them; while they thought only of the German or the Frenchman or the Italian, he thought and labored for the whole race. He had the one standard of Christian morality with which he would rectify the ethical concepts of the Asiatic or the Turk or the European. From such a view too he could have no sympathy with the systems of particularism, as they developed one after another, by which ordinary Christian courtesy was almost annihilated. How many of the cotemporaries who got all leadership and power into their hands and who still imperiously overshadow the life of the Church ever caught on? Did they not hunt down this apostle of fraternity as if he were a thief invading their tender and choice personal sheepfolds? But what of the one fold and the one shepherd? There is no advantage in apologizing for the Reformers who adopted the narrow anti-evangelical policy. There is not the vestige of an excuse for them. If they had deliberately determined to antagonize the fundamental concepts of Christianity, they could not have done it as much harm as did their pretended adoption of its tenets and their wilful violation of its plainest requirements.

The fifth point is his advocacy of the right of religious assembly open or private, and entirely distinct from any authorized organization. Each believer has the inalienable prerogative of combining with another for religious meditation, exercises, conferences, prayer, study. The very axiom of Christ concerning the meeting of two or three together in the one place to which he promises his presence would be a sufficient warrant for a Christian and it is founded upon this very property of human nature. Again the doctrine of the body of Christ as constituted for mutual helpfulness and edification demands the free use of association. The right is not set aside by the abuses which may be practised here and there. Difficulties and vices always exist with anything that human nature has the privilege of, whether it be a secret meeting of emperors or a lobby of solicitors or a caucus of politicians or a kitchen cabinet or a theosophic club or a community of the free spirit or a prayer meeting or a collegium biblicum or a conclave of cardinals. Choice and delicate flowers hang over a precipice. The point is not with the abuses but with the essential right. What an emperor does in this regard his subject may also do; what a president does in this regard his fellow-citizens may do, and certainly a Christian is commanded with divine emphasis to

hold such fellowships. The very nature of individualism as relative makes it an incontestable duty; the liberty which we have in Christ heads to the same conclusion. Such assembly can be open or secret according to the exigencies of the case. It has the claim to privacy and it has the birthright to be in the broadest day-light at high noon. If the persecutor seeks to restrict or suppress the right, he only compels secrecy, for the right has nothing higher than itself. If such meetings are for immoral ends, that is quite another matter. But in the New Testament conventicle lies the salvation and progress of the Church. The ecclesiola in ecclesia is the life of the Kingdom. The establishment that extinguishes it dooms itself. The little fish have as much warranty to get together as the big fish. The safety of the insect world sometimes depends upon its massed resistance; a group of little birds may thwart the destruction intended by the vulture. If a convocation may sit, a handful of humble Christians may also convene at their pleasure. Certainly the deliverance of the oppressed lies in their inherent right to combine. The State-Churches should have found that out by this day. As soon as the Protestant theologians had gotten some taste of authority they began to make war upon the conventicle; they arrested its free exercise and development. These august dignitaries demanded that everything affecting religion and morality should be done under their supervision and that the place for religious meetings was in the Church building and to be conducted by the stated ministry solely. The natural consequence was the cessation of a thoughtful, ethical, religious life; spirituality was extinguished; Protestantism became all too much like its predecessor, a machine and a mass of external forms. But the conventicle persevered and necessitated a gradual though satirized existence. Spener and Zinzendorf had to resort to it, and why not? If a university professor has the liberty of teaching and can hold conventicles with his students, especially if a professor of systematics or exegesis has the freedom of instilling his special views upon his auditors, why may the ordinary Christian not do the same? The greatness of England lies not in her establishment but in the asserted right of dissent to hold its own private religious assembly. Please observe that Schwenckfeld maintained this right theoretically and practically in the face of all the abominable bigotry of his foes. As long as his health allowed he held such assemblies, and his fellow believers after him. The Silesians maintained such meetings in their houses until they fled from the Jesuits of both confessions. Greater immeasurably and incontestably is he that stood up for the exercise of such a human right than the hoary sinner, however distinguished, who sought to prevent him. Greater is he who asserted his prerogative manfully than any Reformer who vacated it. Greater is the defender and illustrator of this

prerogative than the theologians with their systematic crudities who surrendered their inherent liberty.

Sixth, he is no less representative of the apothegm that the spirit is above the letter. Lessing cried for some one who would deliver from the tyranny of the letter as Luther had delivered from the tyranny of tradition. Had he studied his Church history as Hegler or as Grützmacher have recently studied it, he would have found the exponent of such a reformation in Schwenckfeld who battled equally against the slavery engendered by tradition and by the letter, and he did it without any phantasmagoria about clothes or any monstrous ascetic discipline. The evolution of a doctrine or practice of abstinence was utterly unessential; there was no primal reason in the laws of human nature, much less in the laws of grace, very much the contrary indeed. The perversions of Christianity that have taken place were no necessities of our nature nor of the laws of our redemption; it was the inherent cussedness of man that caused these century-long tyrannies of tradition and the letter, whose logical outcome is the infallibility of a man who is likely to be a bigger sinner than the most of those who voted him the god-like function. Schwenckfeld's doctrine of the inner Word is the Reformation protest against any system of mechanism and the petrification of thought. It ought to be a plain axiom that the thoughts are greater than their expression and that the seat of vitality is in the mind and not in its utterances. It ought to have been an everlasting law of interpretation, whether of human or divine institutions and symbols that the ethical intention is greater than the mere form into which it had moulded itself. The school of strict construction ought from the beginning to have been put into a house of errancy, as the greatest enemy of human progress. Hence Christ too must be superior to the interpretation of Christianity; hence the Spirit must be higher than any revelations of the Spirit through human media; hence the inner Word which is Christ has a sovereignty supreme over the outer Word; hence the life is of more importance than the speech. But the men who go wild over the tenets of the philosophers do not concern themselves with what that philosopher was, alas! How can the phraseology and encyclopedia of a school of thought be substituted for the individuality of the disciple? There is as much dead letter business in philosophy, in medicine, in law, in any science as in theology or in the methods of religion. Men try to put the opprobrium of mental stagnation wholly upon theology, whereas the deference to prescript authority is just as manifest a disease in every branch of human thought and activity, from stone-breaking up to theology. The real impediments to progress consist in a mass of antiquated weaponry in every camp of the human army. The doctor or the lawyer or the philologist or the philos-

opher persists in putting a Greek or mediaeval armor on, just as much as the theologian girds himself with old confessions and stands in the camp of Aquinas or Scotus with the same tenacity that Germany clings to the Pandects. The mass of humanity tends to a precipitation and then an ossification of ideas. The old beeches will gather moss upon their back and the moss is made the sign and measure of the vitality of the tree. A stagnant pool will be covered with an unhealthy growth and the unwholesome scum is looked upon as the necessary development of an innocuous life. The train of thought which makes the farmer still use ancient implements of husbandry is the same as that which makes the doctor cling to old methods of surgery and *materia medica*, or the lawyer to gauge modern perversities by the Institutes, or the minister to judge his cloth inflexibly by some historic creed. With that stagnation and letterism Schwenckfeld waged an incessant war. For him literalism was not the way of the soul's progress; legalism must be superseded by ethicality; formalism must yield to the expansive power of the thought represented by the symbols. The confessions of faith cannot take the place of the Scriptures from which they are but imperfect derivations, hence interpretation and commentation on the revelation cannot supersede the revelation; and the revelation cannot supersede the independent and universal methods of the Spirit. A man's soul must be open to the highest impressions of heaven or the universe; experience and experiment are the ways to religious progress; faith rests upon the indwelling Christ who is the fulness of the Godhead and who imparts directly and not indirectly his life to the receptive, believing heart.

And there is another aspect of this profound subject for which Schwenckfeld contended; it was the battle which religious and moral idealism waged with religious and moral materialism. The greatest thing in the universe is the spirit; whatever view we may hold of matter, spirit is its superior. The chief aim of the human life is to become spiritual whether as against matter or as against perverted flesh; sensuousness must be made the servant of the soul; sensuality must be rooted out. That conviction pervaded Schwenckfeld's view not only of the individual life but of the communal life in society, State and Church. Hence the ceremonial of any order is but a machinery and not the essence, whatever the realm of human intercourse; there is no objection to the ceremonial but it must not be unduly exaggerated, certainly it dare not be substituted for the reality; men must not be led to think that when they have pulled the ropes they have done all that is to be done; they have not done the first thing that ought to be done; they must have the spiritual life which can use these ropes significantly and give them a vital meaning; nor dare these be regarded as permanent and eternal, but they must be subject

to incessant changes in order to give ampler room for the display of the spirit, or, what is better, ceremonial should be reduced to the severest simplicity, which after all, is the highest art. About the differentiation in this matter Schwenckfeld maintained no other law than that the divine Spirit must rule the form.

Another elemental point is to remember that with Schwenckfeld spirit was not a synonym of mind. Mentality was not the equivalent nor the substitute for the spirit even of the regenerated personality, nor is it refined emotionalism, nor is it a restless mass of volitions; it is the regenerated personality as a whole, it is the work of the Spirit on that personality to give it the capacity to reach the supreme end of life; it is that believing mind, heart and will which are assured of their relation to God and of their combined life in him and which therefore follow the divine ideals. Men of modern schools of thought who claim affinity with Schwenckfeld have forgotten this or have transferred their notion of mentality or emotion or will in their idealism to this idealism of spirituality. There must be no confusion here and much less any absolute identification. While such trends of philosophy and psychology are far superior to the mechanical or agnostic schools, they are inferior to this larger scope represented by Schwenckfeld; the Christian point of view is eminently supreme because it is the vehicle for the vision of the divine and the human, without identifying them in any monistic or pantheistic way. However that may be, this was Schwenckfeld's position and it put the letter in its proper place and correlation. The tendencies about him with which he so earnestly contended, all ultimated in the induration and petrification of the letter; the Scriptures themselves became hard and inelastic; the ministry became perfunctory and professional; the sacraments were interpreted magically; the Christian society became lifeless and inefficient. Love died out of it as a system of relationship and as actual conduct; the establishments preserved hardly a glimmer of what was really the reason for their existence. Unity was slain in the first stages of the warfare between the letter and the spirit; peace could not settle down again except by indifference and by the compulsion of the State or through the erection of Erastian and Caesaro-papist systems. Any sense of real religious progress was impossible under such a theory. You had to break up the so-called prescribed religion in order to get back to an apostolic basis. Had the Schwenckfeldian principle been adopted a legitimate and orderly *Auffklärung*, pietism, idealism would have been the natural fruit of the tree of life without the decimating exaggerations and the spiritual paralyses inherent in long protracted polemics. We do not say that every argument which Schwenckfeld presented for the confirmation of his principle was equally valid or significant; the important

thing is that he would not let the standard fall and held it aloft against the violent assaults of Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans, as well as against theologians of the Lucas Osiander and Beza type. The utmost sarcasm and abusive epithet, the mephistophelian maledictions of the colloquies and the violent edicts of some princes did not shake his conviction or his courage. Outside of his own large circles, thousands of souls sympathized with his exaltation of the spirit above the letter; but many of these were of the party of Nicodemus and Joseph, or they fell in quietly with the powers that then were. But the principle is certainly of the essence of Christianity and could not be suppressed by any resolutions or by any prohibitory decrees. And Schwenckfeld's books kept on vindicating it, though the clerical censors sought to muzzle the type in their fear of the very letter. It was a beautiful and consistent struggle whose principles have ramified and allied themselves with many of the associations of dissent from the stereotyped Church. A pity it is that Lessing did not know about it, though volumes of manuscripts and printed books of Schwenckfeld lay in the great collection of the Bibliotheca Augusta of which he was the librarian! And Salig a generation before had drawn attention to this very material! A little less time spent on Götze and more on the publication of these earlier battles royal would have thrown light on the continuity of the struggle for breath under the stifling, repressive schemes of establishment, orthodoxy and a false liberalism. Once more we insist that this tenet is of a great deal more import than a theory of the Sacraments or a point in the psychology of christology, because it comes nearer the human hearth; and unless this sympathy with human aspirations be right the christology is sure to be wrong. This too is of the nature of an axiom or first principle on which your theological science must be built. And we contend also that the recognition and adoption of such a canon is of the deepest moment for a Christian life; love, peace, joy, faith get their breadth thereby. It constitutes the very genius of expansion and growth for man and society. This is the force which breaks down that exclusiveness, literalism, legalism and narrow conception of humanity which impede the development of either the Kingdom or the Church. There is no proper ideal or supreme end for the religious or ethical life, unless one puts the activity of the spirit above the moribund letter. Individual or social progress have their guarantee and amplitude in just this cultural force. Surely it is of universal applicability, for it must enter into law, into the administration of justice, into the practice of medicine, into every science, into every labor. Therefore we desire to emphasize the significance of Schwenckfeld in this very field. He had the keen eye and the right heart to take in the horizons, those present and those yet to be attained; he had a larger perspective than the men

of his generation either had or wanted to have. He could trace the far-flowing and widening current of human progress and knew that the volume of earth-bearing, fructifying waters issued from these mountain springs. The spirit and not the letter it is that shall fertilize the slopes and the plains, as well as make a place of broad rivers where navies may ride. Is it not so? Did he not anticipate the modern world in its true import and largest evolution? And was not any other view a deliberate blindness, a wilful clinging to just such impediments and hindrances? Was not the opposition to him a reversion to those forms which the mediæval world refused to surrender and whose malign influence still weighs heavily upon social aspirations and fraternal enterprise? Why do men continue to chisel a double Hermes, Socrates back to back with Seneca? Why should Schwenckfeld be denied the preeminence which this one solitary proposition of itself entitles him to? Why should a man who could thus reproduce Pauline thought and defend it so eloquently and adequately, not be given the eminent niche accorded to many others whose services are far less significant? Must we not insist upon putting into the foreground the deeper and more consequent things of the human soul? Is not this axiom the mother of inspiration, the generator of enterprise, the discernor of enriching thought, the moulder of the finest art, the constructor of the hopes and imaginations of the human race? Why should historians persist in such indiscrimination and such egregious misplacement? Why this wide-spread ignorance about the man with such lofty ideals and no less lofty ideas? Here are statues and memorials to Lessing, to Schleiermacher, to von Hutten, where are the monuments of Schwenckfeld except in the immutable, secret growth of the human spirit as an unshackled but unrecognized influence? Silesia is the mother of many great poets and theologians, but none have suffered at her hands as Schwenckfeld with unredeemed injustice until this present hour. Silesia has remained insensible to one of her greatest characters; to the man who loved her with filial regard, even in his exile, and longed for the sweet domesticity of his own hearth and kindred from which he was sundred forever by the cruel politics and still more cruel religion of Protestant and Catholic. Oecolampadius hailed the doctrine of the inner Word with an appreciation which led him to print that epochal letter of Schwenckfeld to Cordatus; and Zwingli could applaud the spiritual concept of the Supper in a letter prefacing the work which he himself had put to press; but both alike shrunk into their little contracted shells when it came to a wider application of the truth to the new institutions of Protestantism. Neck and heels did both plunge into the new Judaism, into the new sovereignty of the letter, into the new bondage of the Church. Capito in Strassburg was guilty of the same reversion, but after a larger struggle with himself,

for he had introduced the apology of the Silesians to the general public. Bucer lived cooped up among the recruits of the alphabet. And so breadth, generosity, liberalism, humanity perished from the preachers and the universities. Happily the common people were often better than their creeds. Little rills of the great conception trickled on; partial manifestations of it here and there broke through all restraints; but the comprehensive mind of its steadfast advocate had nowhere an adequate or ample successor until the little rills themselves combined; literature and philology broke the way; philosophy and history were gradually filled with the direction of the Spirit and had freer play for expansion and diffusion. Now some branches of the Church begin to see that the spirit is greater than the letter; and that the Kingdom of the Son of God's love is a higher conception than that afforded by the ossified establishments which nullify or stupify the conscience with their dead level of compulsory uniformity; and those who are content to subject their consciences to the State-Church and to uphold its local canons as universal have the suave pleasure of calling those outside of the institution sectarians. Happily even here the spirit is greater than the letter and the inner Word of Christ is greater than the Scriptures so that the narrow world of establishment and intolerance is fighting a losing battle.

An allied question of that day, and one which is still dominant in Church literalism, is the place and fixity of ceremonialism in the liturgical system. Schwenckfeld put the accent upon simplicity as the best outward adornment for the Spirit. That which would least impede the directness of the divine operation or would least disturb the inward communion with God was a fundamental method with him. Any forms which obscured that essential interrelation or which were proposed as a visible substitute for the invisible function were alien to his mind and met with his distinct opposition. He was ever jealous for the Spirit's prerogative; any dislocation of this intensive inward bond was to him radically wicked. Hence any sacerdotal theory, any sacramental over-emphasis, any gross materializing of the divine *κοινωνία* within the community of the divine persons themselves or within the ties that linked them to us, were errors to be rooted out, as debasing the exaltation of the race Godward and as disturbing the human spirit in its effort at rising with Christ. That which did not impair this sacred interest was of no debatable import with him. But to symbolize with vestments so that the vestments took the place of the reality, to put magical efficacy in the elements of water or bread or wine and make them serve as the vicars of actual spiritual regeneration, to impute holy, renewing powers to material things of any sort, could not but seem to him out of harmony with the rational modes of God and his Son. Yet Schwenckfeld was a man not given to radical changes

unless the existing conditions seemed according to a scriptural judgment to be in absolute and irreconcilable conflict with truth and a subtraction from the glory due to Christ alone. In all such cases there was but the one rule of immediate abolition. His whole tendency was eminently conservative and slow as to remedial plans. Let the abolition be a progressive rule of increase in intelligence; let the reforms grow out of the spontaneous desire which has its natural seat in education and improvement in conscience. How curious it is to see that the Lutheran Church ceased in the policy of change which Luther had initiated and has rested much where he left it. All the ceremonials had disappeared from the Schwenckfeldian communities by the end of century XVI, save the simplest order in the Church services. The hymnology has become exceedingly rich in the progress of the communion, but liturgical formularies are of the most abbreviated character; the liberty of the Spirit has a generous recognition so that the conceptions of Schwenckfeld have been consistently developed.

Hence we are justified in recording the fact at this stage that Schwenckfeld appears to us as a man of the Spirit, who felt himself to be directly led by the Holy Ghost to do a definite work for Christ. He believed that he was called by the inward voice of God, this method of communication was without other media than the incorporeal spiritual faculties themselves, as they have been regenerated by Christ and in entire obedience to the laws of spiritual life which our Lord revealed. Schwenckfeld was convinced that God could speak to the soul without external agencies. It is an anticipation of the intercommunion which must obtain in the disembodied state, and therefore is not explicable to us; but he who has not been conscious of it, has but a small experience of essential life. This is not fanaticism nor is it a false mysticism; it is simple fact which objectivizes itself in the deeds of men who yield to an imperative vocation. Men and women can make mistakes in this as in other things, but not as many as the dull, selfish, impassive mortals make who sleep in their snuggeries and who never respond to any call of duty outside of phlegmatic hum-drum or belted and grooved intellectualism or blind, nepenthic obedience to orders. These are the fanatics and the false mystics and they are the vast majority; and little of good do they accomplish even in their tread-mills of physical or mental labor. The science that has not the inward impulses of the Spirit upon the spirit is a dead product and can construct no view of the universe save that of material monism or a pessimism like that of Philoctetes who had endured much misery and sat in his cave with hopeless feet or crawled over his lonely island and constructed his view of the universe from his bitterness against Ulysses. He did not know how to make a kingdom out of his narrow Lemnos, even

with his infallible arrows at hand. The world of the Reformation was the stirring of spiritual impulses which demanded a revival of all life. But Protestants again went into their literal workshops and girded up their own machinery and dubbed the men of the Spirit as enthusiasts and mystics, whereas these men of the Spirit alone have kept the world alive and agoing. Only as they have rebelled against the gearing of the formalists has there been a new illumination in all spheres of human reflection and energy; yet the mechanics continue to call vilipendic names and to plod up and down in their rope-walks, cording the hemp by which they strangle their neighbors and hang themselves. History should consider it to be its choicest province to bless the men and women of the Spirit as the pioneers of a new order, and not sit lazily over its studies and label genius with opprobrium. Who have written the elevating lyrics and the spiritual epics and the heartmoving dramas? Who have discovered the inner meanings of nature and revealed her mysteries to us? Who have wandered from the shadows of their four walls into the wide world and established commerce and missions and social regeneration? Who have set the tones into an order which stirs the supreme emotions and unlocks an otherwise closed world? It is the men of the Spirit who paint the ever voiceful pictures, who evoke the slumbering capacities of the lyre, who lift us up in soaring verse, who find continents and colonize them, who transform nations through the Gospel of Christ. Of all the dead things a dead Church is socially the most deplorable; it is true that deadness may comport with a great variety of motion, just as the ghostly forms in Styx can float about rapidly. Nothing is worse for example than a dead pastor of a dead Church who fulfills his unseemly routine and condescends with the age-long inherited smile of his office, but never stretches a hand to solve the multitudinous beckoning problems that knock at his very door and cluster like knotted weeds about his every footstep, because he denies the office of the Spirit and contemns the men of the Spirit as bizarre, outré and fanatical or as hypocrites and professors of the impossible. The inner world moves away from him unconsciously, and it is after all that inner world which forms the outer and compels it to jog along. Let it be said then that Schwenckfeld believed in the Holy Ghost with his whole nature, because he was conscious of the guidance, teaching and comfort by that Spirit of Truth. He was drawn and driven by this Paraclete according to established and demonstrable laws of faith, although the whole army of mechanics and professionals withstood him.

A seventh vital proposition which Schwenckfeld zealously defended was that character is above everything else in human nature and life; position, education, all things must be tributary to its formation and acknowledge its sovereignty. This was fatal to the assumption of

the clergy, that they were the sole efficient instruments of grace, no matter what their conduct might be. He assailed this formal idea with intense and unrelenting vigor. Nothing was so detestably misleading to his mind as to make spiritual things subordinate to and bound up in the dispensing power of a wicked priest or an unloving, imperious minister. For him there was no magical filter or mystic unction or tactual virtue in any aspect of religion. Nothing was good unless it was real. The really good man alone could preach effectually and edifyingly. Artistic qualities, mere gifts of speech, the adornments and trimmings of anything are not substantial and vital elements. Fluency and eloquence were only evil and seductive, if the heart of their possessor was not right with God and deeply inspired with the love of righteousness and truth. Of course his main shaft was directed against the ceremonial, tactual and indelible mark notions of the old Church-life, of which symbolism instead of virtue was the natural outcome. Surely every one ought to feel that in any sphere of life character is the chief thing. It is hard even to conceive of works of art as independent of the good or evil in the hand that produced or produces them. If a man puts himself into his work, surely the result must have in it the elements of the nature which shapes it. The world refuses the notion that art is unrelated to ethics whether of the ideals of art or the character of the artist. Above all things however, the minister of divine things must not be allowed to suppose that he can handle the keys of the Kingdom of heaven as if the Holy Spirit and the resources of grace were under his lock and key. It is not historical succession nor tactual episcopacy, nor the laying on of hands by the presbytery that can either confer character or be a substitute for it. Schwenckfeld warred against the perpetuation of any such error and demanded of the priests and preachers of his day, of what communion soever they might be, that they surrender this delusion. Virtue alone should or could count. This is the consummate struggle of life; and it is the very upsetting of all order in thinking to suppose that in the sphere of religion the reverse of this can be true in any aspect or degree whatsoever, minimum or maximum. How noble his stand against the current of moral confusion which the historical notion and sacramental magic deliberately unsluiced and perpetuated! But who recognizes Schwenckfeld as eminently the champion of this idea? If the topic is at all alluded to, it is only for satire by those who are still immersed in the mechanical delusion of what religion is and by those who have none but a substitutional work idea of saintship, and who place a high value upon the performance of a formal round of services of every hue and stunt and quality. Yet this deeper ethical insistence is of the utmost importance to carry through the whole view

of Church-life, of liturgy, of sacramental theory before the existing Ecclesia can be called an ethical or a divine institution, and indeed before men can get a right outlook from which to estimate piety in itself and piety in its relation to ethics. According to Schwenckfeld there is no piety without the growing possession and exercise of the Christian virtues. The end of grace is to make a man essentially better and to make that betterment tell upon his neighbor's welfare. There is plenty of specious piety which is uncolored by one ray of divine light or one flash of love. There is lots of faith which is implicit because of its outrageous ignorance and the coarse vulgarity of its inner and outer conduct. There are stacks and castles of unwise and unwholesome hopes built upon untruths and magic, where there is no semblance of the fruit of righteousness underneath or flowering above the arid waste. Against piety without the cluster of graces and gifts connected with love and illustrating it, Schwenckfeld wielded the sword of the Spirit with the fidelity of the cherubim. And there is no denying the fact that in these fallacies, which he essayed to unstrip, lies the difficulty of the modern mind with theology, religion and the Church. Hence the exaltation of and demand for ethicality first. Hence too the broad line which men have drawn between religion and morals. The establishments and many of the dissenters also have organized the difference and persist in maintaining it in spite of the age's pursuit of reality and its determination to reach implicitness and to build upon fundamental rocks only. We are not surprised therefore to find Schwenckfeld advocating with fiery but well-weighed and intelligent persistence the necessity of discipline as the means of purifying the Church from the vast brood of pretence and unsanctified profession. Not that he had a Novatian idea of the absolute purity of that institution, for he recognized the power of sin in each best heart, but that the fruits of right-living should be so conspicuously manifest in an evangelical Christian that there could be no large room for doubting the genuineness of his membership. Especially would he thus guard the memorial Supper of our Lord from the profanation of unholy and unrepentent hands. Repentent hands might ever receive the great gifts of bread and wine, and none were so welcome as those who grieved over their infirmities and estrangements. Through the agency of such a purely evangelical discipline he expected much for the regeneration of society, a matter which lay heavily on his heart. The evidences of excess about him in all classes in which those indulged who yet insisted on being recognized as Christians, called for some wise yet radical betterment, and to Schwenckfeld the scriptural method of demanding at least a struggle for purity of character seemed to afford an excellent instrument for commencing a reform. But the new Church would none

of it, until Calvin organized it into a Protestant obligarchy that only defeated the main purpose of such a method. Certainly we must acknowledge that Schwenckfeld was consistent in the emphasis he put upon character in the whole economy of the Church as the educator of society. And with equal assuredness, is this the chief element of human life. The official Christian and the nominal religionist are to be judged wholly by their conduct. No clothes or tactuality or external affectation of indelibility, and no magic and no custom can help them. Everyone is on the dead level of equality. The only questions are how do you think, how do you behave? You are not worthy of any office unless you have thought well and done well, and the office can give you no power or dignity unless the character fill it, unless faith hope and love be enthroned in every seat, then the seat itself is sacred and then the man has the power of the Spirit.

Eighth, Schwenckfeld also was an earnest contender for unity but necessarily not of any formal kind, certainly not for that which is born of compulsory uniformity. But he did believe in that unity which is based on the recognition of individual liberty, which thinks for itself, and on the individual love which must have its object of affection and which acknowledges the same right as belonging to each man and finds in the manifoldness of the Spirit the true organism of the universe and of the transcendent. It is an absurd desire on the part of men to reduce all things to a mathematical unit. The spiritual unit is something of which that may be a symbol or reflection, but it is entirely consistent with any amount of numerical divergence and any quantity of differentiation or variety. However that may be, to Schwenckfeld nothing was so disturbing or distasteful as the insistence on mutual exclusiveness by the types of belief or by the schools of interpretation. Each one of these groups indeed boasted of having the whole truth; that would not be so bad and might be excusable on the ground of a deep conviction of certainty; but each such school also ruled out all dissenting minds from any intercourse with them and treated them as sons of Belial; this was the most arrogant and autocratic assumption conceivable and was similar to that of the old system out of which they had themselves fled in protest against its tyranny. Only when the intolerable and interminable bickerings in their own camps compelled certain efforts at compromise did they get any comfort or peace in their own little snail-shells. But all the same they continued to hurtle their sheet-iron thunders before those of other schools and tenets. And in such schemes of hate and intolerance all these afflicted with the establishment-bee could agree, however divergent their principles in every other respect. Against this self-contradicting and willfully fatal particularism on the part of the Protestants, Schwenckfeld made battle. He

was ready to give his right hand to any Romanist, Lutheran, Reformed, Anabaptist providing that the other believed in Christ and behaved like a Christian. His principle of unity was fraternity; all Christians should be brothers first and last, however variant their theological explanations might be. The spirit of fraternal love should rise above the murky atmosphere of discussion; debate was right; correction was essential; mutual edification in the elements and developments of evangelical truth was vital to Christian progress; but to make such earnest debate and correction the ground for swinging the battle-axe or banging with culverin or immuring in a prison or burning at the stake or driving into exile was an outrage on the Kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Now let it again be understood that this is a first principle of all vital theology and ethics, not what is God or what is Christ or what are the sacraments; and let it be also understood that Schwenckfeld was the determined, unshaken advocate of peace on the basis of the amplitude of Christ and the lovingness of the Spirit. Then let us know whether this is not the sign and proof of a great mind and a large heart? Is not this the magnanimity one would expect of a religious reformer? Is not this the imperative obligation of every representative of Christ? Was not this the apostolic bond? Is there any hope for the Church other than in the demonstration of such an inward force as greater and more comprehensive and wider than dissentient judgments? Is it not the real test of the depth and sincerity of one's love for Christ? Is not this the only norm of a discipleship which our Lord can recognize? If the Church must come to it, pure and simple, if in order to be a Church in any scriptural sense by any such standard as the great Head thereof has set up, why deny Schwenckfeld the leadership in such obedience to the simple text of our Lord by practice and not by hypocritical words? We again affirm that the practice of a thing is of infinitely more value than prating about it. The Cain method with Abel, has not the Church enough of it? Is Saul a good type for the household of faith? Must Hagar go into the wilderness at the instigation of jealousy and hate? Are Annas and Caiaphas the setters-forth of a sincere religious life? Did Peter lose his heart because Paul read him a lecture? Practical fraternity is superior to the methods of cleavage adopted by Romanism, by the Greek Church and by the Reformers of all schools. By so much greater is Schwenckfeld than his compeers as he maintained the principle of mutuality, by which conservative and liberal, old light and new light might still live in a nobler fellowship than any Church, outside of primitive Christianity, be it Roman, Greek or Armenian or Coptic or Ethiopic, had ever attained. Every earnest soul acknowledges this and many are sincerely seeking a basis of comprehensive federation. Toleration indeed,

but only the toleration of fullest equality! Particularism can only grow to its full stature in the area of the universal. If the Christian Church is a body of believers in Christ and in his Son, then the fraternal bond is the first human thought and the first human act to be considered, and its maintenance is priceless, its goal is the embrace of the race in its ample and fostering arms. Shades of socialism will fade into the richer color of this world-embracing idea; the forms of individualism will dissolve their eccentricities and will attain their true adjustment and proportion in the circle whose circumference can include all; then it will refine all angularities by a sweet and corrective modification. Let us then acknowledge that Schwenckfeld caught one of the chief characteristics of Christianity, one full of cohesive force, one capable of effecting the regeneration of art and commerce and human intercourse and industry and education. The primal principle of Christianity is that we love one another. What business had the Sophists of Romanism and of Protestantism to profess such a law at all, even socially? What justified them in building up such exclusive establishments as they did and calling these raree-shows, each one separately, the sole Christian Church, while those outside of the man-made pale were labelled in their brotherly categories and epithetic lexicons as sectarians, heathen and publicans, enthusiasts, visionaries, fanatics, devils and what not. They were purely individualists who practically denied up and down the social power of Christianity and called their tiny clubs or national societies the alone Church. They in effect totally denied the fraternal aspect of Christianity; and that is the whole of it. They were not big enough to grasp the poles of the faith. They played at monisms and chattered the Apostolic Creed but had no heart or head for the practicable unity of all believers. In the true spirit of science as well as in the right essence of Christianity let us stop justifying the Judaistic or Roman principle or the Lutheran or the Zwinglian or the Buceran or the Calvinistic or the Matthysian or Bockelssohnian system of unification. The brotherhood of the race should of itself strew their flimsy structures to the winds; how much more sweeping is the comprehensive unity of our Lord! There is too something sublimely insolent in the way these particularists use the term sect. What, pray, was the Roman Church but a segment of the historic claimants to headship? What was the Lutheran Church but a part cut off from the rest? What was the Swiss Church or the Calvinistic group but a sect? What is a national establishment within any parallels of latitude and longitude but a sect? And yet to this day these groups of particularists have the effrontery to call one another sects and join voices in dubbing the Methodists, the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians and the Schwenckfelders as sects! Colossal arrogance it is! Did they but

turn it on themselves, these exclusivists would have to laugh Homerically at their own unconscious joke. If they were to reflect at all and stop taking things for granted they would have to shake convulsively at their own impudence as well as at their poor mathematics; it takes all the pieces of these numerous cutoffs to make even the external unit. One segment cannot fill the circumference. The great illusion of the centuries certainly should be compelled to unveil the mountain peaks it has hitherto so cruelly obscured. The factions pretence to brotherhood with honeyed words in the mouth and a sword in the hand, in the name of love has already done enough mischief to the Christian name and to Christendom to be compelled to clear the way for the free Kingdom, which society itself and even the State are illustrating far better than the so-called Churches do; the social Christianity of the people puts to shame the unbrotherly Christianity of the high sects and of the established ecclesiastics who look down with scorn on all Dissent and continue to insist on their impossible uniformities. They are only preparing the world for the dissolution of the Church into the Kingdom. It is the same perversity which juggles with the word evangelical. Not an individual, independent thinker of the Reformation but considered himself as such, nor less did the curialist. Schwenckfeld's earliest confession of his evangelical Christianity is one of the finest statements of faith in that period. No one then has the exclusive right to the technical use of the name which when usurped is turned against those who have incurred the other's anathema, as if those who observed the truth and pursued it from another point of view were unevangelical. The fact is that no one has any claim to such a name in reality who is not evangelical in spirit and in social life. A church that does not illustrate the fraternal spirit for example, that refuses to champion freedom can have no inherent or ethical right to such a name, much less to its private use, as if the violators had a patent on the article they so foully abuse. Here again we dare to say that Schwenckfeld was essentially and vitally evangelical, though the so-called evangelicals crucified him. If any Reformer loved the Gospel and sought to magnify its practical precepts, it was he. There is no one more entitled to be baptized as evangelical than he who sought to universalize the Evangel and to carry its healing to all men. Let the bankruptcy be published of all the false and inappropriate, preemptive and private claimants to being the absolute owners and expounders and expenders of the Gospel of Christ.

We would draw attention in the ninth place to the ethical quality of Schwenckfeld's teaching, in that he puts such signal emphasis upon the education of the conscience. To deepen the moral sense and broaden the scope of its judgments was one of his earliest and most cumulative doctrines. To bring the conduct under review and subject its principles,

their exercise and their result, to a continuously clarified and enlightened court was deemed by him to be a paramount requisite of the Christian order. To make the moral and religious thought of man approach an intelligent and liberal certitude, an appreciative and comforting assurance, were ends to be sought with assiduity and preserved with sleepless vigilance. No sphere of human conduct should be walled off from this habitual discipline. The emotions themselves should be subjected to a rigid examination to prevent excess and foolishness. The area of control should be constantly widened until the entire man feels its scrutiny; the finest and coarsest strands of the social order should be imbued with its bright coloring. For him the supreme part of personality was the conscience directed and cultured by the Spirit of Christ. It is doubtful whether there be another system of Reformation theology that is its equal in this intensive ethical quality; certainly none vouchsafed it such an habitual practice, which is of far greater import. Of this ethicized moment in theology and religion we are apt to boast as if it were a modern tendency; we speak much of vital dogma; we have even gone so far as to create an independent province for Christian Ethics, in which however we have been forced to repeat ourselves and the impossibility of making the separation complete has brought about a certain measure of reaction. But here was a non-professional Christian and evangelical thinker of century XVI, who anticipated all this by saturating dogma and life with conscience and by holding uppermost the formation of character as the concrete thing to be held in view, as we have already seen. Who has recognized this? Who has thought of giving Schwenckfeld his due in any history of doctrine or any history of ethics or in any Church annals or in any book or lecture on the development of Protestant theology? Are the mechanisms of prejudice so fixed that this is to continue? You are not called on to whitewash the wrongs of the past ancestral dogmatics; you are not summoned to rehabilitate a theologian in distress; you are not asked to make up a quilting-party for a patch-work readjustment, but you are summoned by the spirit of science and truth to do justice to the genuine conception of the Church and society and the men who have best and most contributed to the same.

Tenth, it must also be remarked that in the construction of a Christian system of thought, Schwenckfeld felt that speculative philosophy, whatever its value by itself considered, could have no part. Therefore he determinately and consistently banished it from his system. Scriptures and positive experience and the inner illumination of the Spirit furnished him the data, so that his presentation of Christian ideas is purely biblical. It must be confessed that in later years a moderate allegorical and typological method sometimes pervaded his exegesis but it did not affect

the validity of his inductive and deductive conclusions. Nor did he believe that the unenlightened human reason was adequate to a vital interpretation of the words of Christ and of the apostles. A man had to be born of God anew, he had to have deep experience in the inner and outer life, in personal and relative duties; he had to be under the teachership of the Holy Spirit before he was competent to explain the revealed truth so as to become a guide to others; those who were taught of God in the full import and sweep of that term were the ones to educate the Christian household and to extend the Gospel, because they were trying to conduct their daily walk according to it; that was a part of education; it was the experience which springs out of doing one's duty and suffering for it. A university education did not in itself give the competence. He himself felt that the proverb *die Gelehrte, die Verkehrte*, was only too frequently sadly true. Many were they who substituted a course in logic or over-refined accumen in debate or the heated talent for declamation and discussion or the preternaturally overwrought sharpness of criticism in place of the gentle development of the inner man and the power of self-control and the penetrative, large-eyed spirit and operation of love. It must however be distinctly affirmed that Schwenckfeld did not oppose the highest or the severest forms of education but only the folly of the many Panurges; he never indulged in the silly, infantile opposition to human learning. A man who went to the universities in his youth and even after he had entered upon his career returned to them; who continued to broaden his studies until the day of his death; whose intimates were so largely men of the highest attainable culture; a statesman who projected a university and whose most illustrious friend was a notable scholar and humanist, certainly cannot be regarded as a foe of learning and education. By no means and much the contrary. It was the vapid methods of scholasticism, and the dry distinctions of dialectics, the exaggeration of mental sharpness and the substitution of these for faith, hope and love that he contended against. He felt that the severest discipline was insufficient of itself to produce stability of character. The whole curriculum of every scholar should be baptized with the spirit of humanity. Science should be suffused with and regulated by the deeper training which the Holy Ghost alone can give. This is what Schwenckfeld represented, argued for and sought to establish. That he was right the whole history of European university life amply demonstrates. For if unity is a real goal for our race, what outlook has human knowledge from the present constitution of higher institutions of learning? If science be the study of God's manifestations and in so far of himself, surely its harmony should not be ignored as a first condition and its unity be dissolved into a multitude of unrelated elements. Analysis and differentiation

should not alienate the branches of knowledge from one another. But the universities as a rule illustrate just the opposite tendency; their classifications and faculties are tangential and centrifugal. Not only is the encyclopædia of a university helplessly incoherent and mechanical, but there is no fraternity in the economy of things, and the various professions live a separate life, so that the sciences themselves become unsocial. The academic bond is a superficial one that accomplishes nothing for the unification of knowledge but rather institutes clefts and divisions, so that a broad humanity cannot be inculcated. To clap them all under one roof effects no more accord than the filling of a menagerie with cages of wild beasts and creeping things accomplishes for the fellowship of animals. To sunder the sciences far in scattered buildings or cities subtracts still more from the possibility. If encyclopædia be a science then its unities should be practically illustrated in a university.

The spirit of an ossified humanism and a desiccated dialectic pervaded the entire genius and round of academic studies without a grain of fraternal and progressive spirit for well nigh three centuries. Nor had even the vernacular any chance under the Latin tyranny. Schwenckfeld was for the development of the vernacular as some of the lectures in Liegnitz not only, but his own perpetual use of the German show. Is it idle to point out these facts and on the basis of them to demand a different tone and a different conception of the Reformation by the Middle Way and a broader view of the era in general than the little narrow pragmatism or Panurgism which now prevails? Is it unfair to plead with the confessional tendentists to soften their asperities, to readjust their entire ecclesiastical apparatus and to rebaptize their literary presentation of the fact concerning Schwenckfeld and their valuations of his view? Is it not in the interest of progress to say: down from these high horses! Henceforth amble gently on more modest ponies; at last give the truth some chance to forge ahead. Let the air-castles tumble and let the real facts speak for themselves though some fine dreams be drabbled.

Eleventh, it must also be noted that Schwenckfeld applied the Gospel practically to the elevation of his dependents and designed to carry the process continuously forward. It was an experimental sociology conducted according to the prescriptions of Christ. He conceived of this as essential for harmonizing, while elevating the various elements which constituted a community. Although his personal efforts upon his own estates were interrupted by his exile, he did not cease to urge the practice of these principles wherever his advice could influence men and especially the nobility; instances of which appear in the course of the history. This was a definite part of his programme of reformation. The Gospel should be applied to the individuals for the elevation of their character so as to make them

competent members of society. The village ministry should be especially educated to this end; they should train the people in the elements of a practical Christian living. The rights of the individual conscience must be respected, indeed they must be safeguarded. Through the inward betterment, the outward betterment would be necessitated. The Christian master would have to be the highest exponent of evangelical character and would be stimulated to carry forward one reform after another so as to improve the condition of his people in every respect, outward as well as inward. His consecrated ambition would be to let the divine leaven work. Schwenckfeld was familiar with the economic conditions not only in Silesia, but in all parts of Europe. He was well aware of the agitation among the peasants. He was acquainted with the causes of the prevailing poverty and industrial distress; he understood the grounds of controversy between the guilds and the patricians and the merchant classes and the large mercantile and banking companies in all the cities. He knew personally the various leaders of the socialistic groups. He was convinced that the reasons for debate and discontent were only too good. What was the way of deliverance from the heavy and almost hopeless yoke? For him the solution lay in the training of the individual in conscientious living and in the zealous regard for his neighbor as his brother. The main thing to remember is that this was not a paper programme but an actual work-a-day movement on his part. He endeavored to socialize the Gospel, not after the manner of Carlstadt or Münzer or Hut but after a rational scriptural standard. The superiority of his method has historical demonstrations until this day.

Such are some of the most overshadowing features of Schwenckfeld's conceptions and career as a Reformer. And these are the tenets by which he must be estimated. They constitute the leaven which he infused into the three measures of meal. Are they not of vast import? Can humanity be assimilated without them? Are they not the most significant elements because they are the sure integers of progress and affect the welfare of the race as a whole?

Now if it is necessary we may advance to the consideration of two points among many others in his purely dogmatic system by way of illustration and to show how consistent they are with his whole theory of life. Our Lord instituted his Supper as a fraternal feast, but what did the Reformers make of this table which was to typify their union with Christ and with one another? Was there ever a more hideous fratricidal strife? Was ever a rite of such soul-moving humility so defiled? The place of uttermost peace was turned into an internecine battle-ground. The caste-moulding Christians now began their social war. The sacramental theory of Schwenckfeld is the most sensible and scriptural of the

manifold interpretations of that sacred institution during the Reformation. The starting-point of his differentiation occurred to him in the reflection upon Judas' participation in the Supper: could Judas be presumed to receive the real body of the Lord in any transubstantial or impanational form? That seemed sufficient to make such conceptions utterly repulsive and to compel a spiritual and celebrative exposition of the institution. Bread remained bread, wine remained wine; faith alone had communion with the Lord. The supper therefore becomes the occasion for the ascent of the soul. The material elements can impart no heavenly effects. They remain as a memorial of the fact that Christ was the life of the world. The exegesis of the words is entirely complementary to this in the order of the development of his thought. There is therefore no magical infusion, no doctrine of ubiquity, no *communicatio idiomatum* necessary to complete the sacramental act. Surely whatever the details of the argument may be and whatever the relation between the Sacrament as a means of grace and the grace itself, this view is simple and reasonable. The theory of Romanism in all its shades of explanation is a divine and human impossibility; the realism of Luther's scheme is equally inconceivable and magical; the Zwinglian exposition loses sight of the supreme moment of the Supper. Bucer and Calvin alike were too anxious to get at some basis of outward union to be natural; their explanations are artificial and concessory, involving a verbiage which means two things.

Schwenckfeld's contribution to christology is remarkable: the humanity of Christ while nobly derivative and distinctly human was not a creature; it was born of God the Father, through the Virgin Mary; it was a generation by the Holy Ghost. Without entering into the detail of the discussion, we must remark that with the acceptance of the statements about the birth of Christ no other view could be adopted. Schwenckfeld puts together the very plain affirmations of the immediate divine origin of the human nature; no other induction could be made. Christ's humanity is far greater and nobler than ours; not only in that it was holy and wrought out a positive and progressive sinlessness, but in its very origin Christ's humanity is the true pattern of the perfectible man, and therefore of the perfectibility of the race; hence the new birth of the believer himself is of the Spirit. The supreme exemplar of our nature is Christ, and our development is a process of participation in the divine nature. The details of exposition and argument we must leave to the unfolding of the successive works and content ourselves with the presentation of the fact. It is to be remarked that the term, deification of man, must be defined before it is distorted from his obvious meaning; it cannot be used in a general way; with many it is a constructive world-consciousness of being divine, of being one with God in identity or a species of pantheism. With Schwenck-

feld it is simply a reproduction of St. Peter's statement that we are made partakers of the divine nature. The storm that this biblical christology aroused among the scholastics from Vadian onward was bitter and prolonged; and made every hope of reconciliation and any sort of endurable life with the establishments impossible; the anathemas multiplied up to the period of entire neglect, when the epigones rested from originality and repeated the curse-words of their fathers.

From altogether another point of view Schwenckfeld must regain the eminent consideration due him. He was one who plead for the use of the vernacular in making versions of the Scriptures, in the translation of important devotional literature, in popularizing professional literature, in liturgical usage. But not only in this wise did he prove his interest in his mother-tongue but in the almost total laying aside of Latin and the adoption of the current language for the far greater proportion of his own writings. Now although this feature of his authorship has been totally neglected; yet is he one of the first masters of the German speech. He believed that the best way to vitalize the German nation was by fostering and enlarging the German language. In vain do you look for a solitary direct reference to this fact in any of the great cyclopedias or in any history of German literature. Now if there is any author of his day who has a finer tone, a more sympathetic temper, a richer vocabulary, smoother grammatical construction, a choicer style, we would like to hear about him. It is a temptation too great to resist to quote from an unknown writer who did recognize the value of Schwenckfeld's contributions to the enrichment of the language. The Biograph, as its name imports, gave the lives of leading historical characters and among the rest one of Schwenckfeld, in the course of which occurs the following declaration: *Der Herzog von Siegen verlangte um diese Zeit von Schwenckfeld ein Gutachten über die Reformation, die er in seinem Lande vornehmen möchte; und nie ist mit mehr Wahrheit und Schärfe, mit einem so großen Blick über Luthern und seine Arbeit von einem Zeitgenossen geurtheilt worden, als in der Antwort Schwenckfelds an den Herzog, die zugleich ein Beweis ist, daß er an Reinheit und einer mit Kraft verbundenen Eleganz des deutschen Stils alle Schriftsteller seiner Zeit übertraf.* The statement is no exaggeration. We feel impelled to put stress upon the fact that Schwenckfeld is a master of his mother-tongue. He is of deep philological interest. He is an eminently significant figure in the building up of the splendid German speech. And by some subtle process his spirit has unconsciously permeated much of the idealistic literature; conspicuous authors have taken up similar weapons to keep men from the degeneracy of an agnostic or an atheistic or a commercial materialism; fortunately these are the superior thinkers whose handling of the language is animated with an inner life that gives vivacity,

imagination, enlargement to the tongue of the people. They inoculate it with the preludes of futurity and immortality over against the damaging and decadent gloom of the autocreators. Their generous, expansive meliorism dispels the disheartening shades which gather about the philosophers and enthusiasts of evil, whether nihilistic or atomistic or monistic or advocative of an overtoned selfishness. It is like the conflict between the divine theology of Antigone and the Philistine dogmatics of Creon. Those who inculcate the deepest moral basis and urge the search for the supreme good, who would also gain a comprehensive view of the universe as a process of intelligence and personality have to wage an interminable war against the chaotic and chance elements that stand on trembling and rocking bridges stretched across great black ravines and impenetrable gulfs whose abysses are filled with stalking figures of despair and greed and night. That sort of conflict filled the Greek speech with magnificent idealism on the one hand and the crooked mutations of the materialist and the sceptic on the other. These struggling elements enter into all human speech to illuminate it or to darken it, to give it richer light or to deepen its shadows. Blessed are they who can wing upwards in great sweeping circles above the forms of elemental strife and volcanic destruction; who know that matter nor evil is the end of the universe and who therefore can master and use both as helpful to the supreme good. Christianity as interpreted by the ages is sufficient in its dimensions to satisfy the most searching intellect. When you affirm the deity of Christ, you give humanity a scope such as no purely speculative system can hope to approach in majesty. When you affirm the atoning sacrifice of Christ, you give heights and depths whose boundaries no human theologian has ever practically reached. When you give Christ's work a vicarious value, you have illustrated the unexhausted resources of love and ethicality as no other scheme has fathomed it. When you affirm the personality of the Spirit, you have opened up vistas of alliance with the divine and of human spiritual capacity to noble and endless increase such as should make the spirit triumph over the flesh, and with it all you have left the man free. We see nothing in which any speculative dream or explanation has come near to the comprehensiveness of this infinite and eternal simplicity of the apostolic faith. There is no ethics like the righteousness of God and his holiness and the sinlessness of the Son of his love. Go and be something like that and you will learn how Christianity can be deepened and broadened in yourself and so in all men, but only by experiment and not by philosophical dream or logical reduction or coordination with a science which must shift its boundaries and definitions every day, as long as it has not comprehended the material of the universe or the psychology of a single soul. From their captivities

the exiles return to the same ample homeland. The musician comes back to Parsifal; the dramatist to the redemption and apotheosis of Faust; the painter to the all-embracing arms of the Cross; the philosopher to the realm of the spiritual; the politician to the golden rule; from its estrangements the world reverts to the Word, the Logos of the Father, the Christ of history.

This Study is also designed to show the necessity for a readjustment of the history of the Reformation according to the true canons of any religious history. Is not Church history open to the charge of using exceedingly unscientific methods? It should be the science which treats of the unfolding of Christian principles, that is, of the elements of Christianity as imposed upon it by its authoritative founder and by its earlier interpreters who were commissioned to convey his mind to the world. Therefore such a history should not begin with the perversions of those principles whether in doctrine, worship, polity or life. Development there must be, but it should be on the lines of the actual principles and not of their distortions. Development is not to be regarded as identical with degeneration. The fashion still continues of presenting the ancient and mediæval Church by the degenerate types of faith and to treat the advocates of apostolicity, the apostolicity of growth and not of imitation, with a contemptuous and secondary recognition. The mechanical and paganizing ideas of historicity, succession, final definitions, false ecumenity, the alliance of Church and State, the machinery of worship, the growth of vestments, the multiplication of canons, the debasement of the Christian life into a gross asceticism, eremitic or cœnobitic, surely these are not the outcome of an ethical and free Christianity; these are not the orderly fruits of the Gospel. The growth of absolutism is not the growth of liberty; the restrictions upon place and time do not comport with the spontaneity of the Spirit; the compulsory enforcement of dogma cannot spring from the right of private judgment; the exaltation of externality is not the same as a free internality; the cultivation of the letter is not identical with the education of the spirit. Yet you continue to put such men or societies who sought the enlargement of the apostolical ideas in simple and free expression into an obscure corner and treat them as though they were a bit off color and could not quite stand in the best company. It is true they were persecuted which itself was an injustice, and so became at times one-sided and narrow, but what is their one-sidedness as compared with the secularisation of the dominating ecclesiastical forces who shut them out from all the privileges of culture? Or what is their narrowness along side of the broad deflections and flat contradictions which ruled among those who claimed to be the sole depositories and dispensers of the sacred trust? In what respects were Aërius, Jovinian and Vigilantius not

better than the forces which condemned them? Was the practical Christianity of Novatianism and Donatism inferior to that of the hierarchs who ostracised them? One can really see how much superior these tabooed elements were by the comparative excellence which Socrates attained as a historian in contrast with Eusebius, Sozomen and the other ecclesiastical annalists. Do you mean to say that the Paulicians, the Bogomiles, the Albigenses, the Waldenses were one tenth as bad as their oppressors? If not, why banish them to the dust and darkness of your lumber-room as a despised lot? Nor is it any better when one comes to consider the method of writing the history of the Reformation. How much worse were the Anabaptists of Münster than was Philip of Hesse and the supporters of his bigamy as well as the concubinage of other princes? Were the Gnesio-Lutheran and Crypto-Calvinistic controversies so illustrative of the sweet spirit of the Gospel that they must occupy the forefront of the stage? Are the backings and fillings of Philippism of such moral dignity that they should shine on the rostrum? Is the combination of Church and State of such a New Testament quality as to deserve the exaltation it receives? Have Baptism and Confirmation attained their true significance and result under the present regimen or have they become all too nominal, and if so, do its upholders merit the conspicuity accorded them? Has the substitution of bald intellectualism and the unethical pursuit of science for the spirituality which Christ insists upon, been of such advantage for Christianity as to entitle its propagators to be the high priests of Christian culture? Has the suppression of personal spiritual exercise developed so fine a type of Christian honor and character as to warrant its neglecters in ridiculing those who try to walk after the Spirit? Which is better, the stupid scholasticism of the confessionalists, the wild capers of the speculators or the Pietism which took care of the pauper, erected orphan-houses, printed Bibles, carried the Gospel to the social outcasts, inaugurated practical home and foreign missions, and opened the door of schools and universities to the poor? And if so why are the great things of Pietism ridiculed because of its minor defects? Do the virtues of their condemners warrant them in consigning the cap and bells to men so much better than themselves in forwarding human welfare? Who made it difficult for men like Spener, Francke, Arndt, Arnold, Hburg and a multitude like them to get any hold upon the inner nature of their parishioners? Will the private life and conscientious daily labor of Anabaptists, Bohemian brethren, Mennonites, Schwenckfelders, apart from their Christian zeal and service, have to blush in comparison with their more highly favored critics? If not, why consign them to obscurity and deprive them of their influence upon culture? Why exalt their persecutors to the first pages of your history? Moreover the story

of Christianity to be scientific should be universal and not particularistic exclusively. It should be cosmopolitan and not national. It should be human and not racial. It should be the record of experience in the endeavor of men to imitate Christ and not of their compromising efforts to escape the law of love. It should exalt voluntaryism above establishment, life above form, spirit above letter, ethicality above legalism. Have not the autocracies and hierarchies and national establishments and sectarian confessionals been constrained by the corrosion of years, if not by the leaven of the truth, to adopt one after another of the features they had so long condemned, features which were kept alive solely by the more vigorous faith of their ostracised brethren? If so, why not write history from that standpoint? We may respectfully ask where would Schwenckfeld stand in such a scientific history of the Christian faith? Is the comparative freedom of the modern world a product of the national Churches? Is it not rather the outcome of the elements which had the fiercest contention with those restrictive and illiberal institutions to get as much sunlight and exemption as they have now attained? Will the establishments continue to claim these modern results as their own legitimate offspring? They have had the effrontery to do so. Will they persist in the unjust assumption? But is not modern liberty the product of the conventicle? It is the *ecclesiola in ecclesia* which has saved the Church; where this is repressed both life and liberty have ceased, for progress always depends upon the inceptive minority.

Further we would also make a distinct protest against the monotonous use or abuse of names which are wholly misnomers. The historians and dogmaticians persist in calling Schwenckfeld a mystic. Let us take such a definition as is given by Eisler: *Mystik ist die (vermeintliche) Erfassung des Überfinnlichen, Göttlichen, Transcendenten (nicht durch die Sinne, nicht durch Vernunft, sondern) durch eigenartige innere Erfahrung, durch unmittelbare (intellektuelle) Intuition, Contemplation, gefühlsmäßiges Erleben, liebendes Erfassen im Zustande der Ekstase, Streben nach Verjensehung in die Tiefen des eigenen Gemüths, um so der Vereinigung mit dem göttlichen Sein („*unio mystica*“) auf unbegreifliche geheimnisvolle Weise theilhaftig zu werden.* It would take a hardy ignoramus who would clothe Schwenckfeld in such an academic hood with its mixed colors. If you define the word mysticism from the Roman Catholic standpoint as the supernatural suspension of physical law, there is no such assertion made or experience claimed by Schwenckfeld. If you regard it as an attempt of the soul to realize union with God apart from the revelation of Christ, there is not the shadow of an endeavor to scale the infinite in that way, no, not in the whole body of his writings. If you define it as Inge has done, to

be the attempt to realize, in thought and feeling, the immanence of the temporal in the eternal, and of the eternal in the temporal, you can discover no suggestion of such a pantheistic conception or identifying process in Schwenckfeld. If mysticism involve the proposition of a monistic substance with the effort of the soul to attain a consciousness of its essential godhead, there is no such speculative trace in his collective tractates. He deemed all Neoplatonism, Ekkardism, Franckism and the whole nexus of pantheistic trends to be at essential variance with the Scriptures. You find no attempt at unconscious contemplation, hypnotic states, convulsive or quietistic extasies in any page of his experience. Such things were entirely alien to his cool and sane judgment. If you mean Christic and Pauline mysticism, yes; then so must every evangelical Christian be a mystic. But what do you on the other hand call regeneration by baptism, especially of infants? What do you call the theories of transubstantiation, of ubiquity, of multipresence?

Again he is designated as an enthusiast, not in the refined sense of absorbed devotion to a good cause or even in accordance with the Kantian declaration: *Die Idee des Guten mit Affekt heißt der Enthusiasmus*, but with mocking reprobation as if he claimed some extraordinary infusion and control of the Holy Spirit. This is a shallow and contemptible abuse of a noble term and reflects only on him who bestows the title as denying the relationship between the Spirit of Christ and the spirit of men.

Another favorite abuse is to characterize him as a visionary, a Schwärmer. There could be no better reply than Crautwald's little book bearing that very title. Shall we again resort to Eisler? *Schwärmerei ist ein Schwelgen in Phantasiebildern und ein gefühlsmäßiges Bestimmtwerden durch solche Gebilde*; can any man find such a luxuriation in fanciful images and any subjection to their controlling influence in the calm, common-sense conduct or intellectual pages of Schwenckfeld? Or if we take Kant's explanation as the mad attempt to raise oneself beyond the bounds of the senses in order to see something in the realms outside, can you find a trace of such an effort on the part of this grave man to raise himself by his own bootstraps to that transcendental verge? Or shall we take Maass' definition as given by Eisler, *Schwärmerei ist der Zustand, worin dunkle Vorstellungen in der Seele herrschen*. Was Schwenckfeld so mastered by obscure ideas? Then all Christian ideas must be obscure. Or again if with Maass we say: *Wer seine Moral bloß auf dunkle und höchst verworrene Ansprüche des moralischen Sinnes baut . . . , der hat eine schwärmerische Moral*, yes, his morality was visionary, if the precepts of Christ and St. Paul were such! But how about the ethics of the naturalists and monists, are they Schwärmerei? How about the ethics of Rabelais, Montaigne, Hegel and the Hegelians, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, are they Schwärmerei?

The historians of the Reformation have singularly ignored the meaning and sometimes the existence of the movements for spirituality and for religious liberty or democracy. This was entirely distinct from certain theocratic teachings and organizations of various so-called Anabaptist leaders. What else filled the hearts of the people in Königsberg, Danzig, Lübeck, Stolpe, Goslar? What stirred the community in Braunschweig far more deeply than Bugenhagen? What kept the tyranny of Nicolas von Amsdorf in check save the manful claims and discussions of Dr. Cyclops, Johann Hess' early friend? Was not Strassburg a fraternal centre until Bucer marred its freedom? Was there one imperial city or old Hanse town where the conventicle was not the refuge of those who advocated a religion of the heart and who hoped to preserve the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of the individual conscience? Schwenckfeld and all his adherents in almost every part of Europe upheld these two great points. Alas that they could affect no combination such as could long maintain a front against the establishments that everywhere were reared. One after the other these independent candlesticks were put out. But was the extinguishment a virtue? Is it to be reckoned to the honor of the national churches that they were able to accomplish such an obliteration? Then why do the people strive to attain with longing these reprobated standards for which those pioneers had struggled with blood and costly sacrifice? Has not that craving entered into every rising national literature whether German, French, Italian or English? The history of the Middle Way will illustrate many aspects of that grand struggle whose survivals have become our noblest heritage to-day.

The divisions that have been adopted in this Study explain themselves for the most part. While they aim at some logical order, they are intended to be not so much exhaustive as suggestive. While they are analytic, they are also largely commentational. Under the more objective Bibliography, designated as A, the usual diplomatic questions as to Mss. and descriptive matters as to printed books are treated of. The most difficult points in the Mss. are frequently the date and the place of writing. Moreover when amanuenses are employed or when copies of the original or copies from copies are all that are left, the problems are much enhanced. With regard to the books, the names of the printers were often withheld and frequently the year of the issue is not given. It has seemed necessary at times to make the demonstration fuller so that the conclusion might seem more reasonable and assured than by a mere assertion. In this way too some literature is brought into play which has been too long lost sight of because of the overshadowing greatness of a few names. There is indeed a mass of such books which deserves the most careful study, if one wants to get a true apprehension

of that period, so prodigal of thought and of new schools. The special canons adopted for determining the relative values of manuscripts and printed works will be given in the next succeeding volume of texts. A history of each work in literature, scant though that record usually is, has been added to show the opinion whether of friendliness or of opposition to Schwenckfeld. The versions of the Scriptures used are adverted to in each case not only to show the specific usage of Schwenckfeld, but also to serve as a contribution to the entire subject of Germanic translations. In the earlier letters he depended upon the Vulgate until the end of 1522. Upon the appearance of Luther's New Testament he availed himself of that, still using the Vulgate for the Old Testament. In 1523 he had the Zürich version for the entire Scriptures together with the sporadic translations of various Old Testament books prepared by Luther until his Bible was completed in 1534. He also often expresses his preference for *Die alte Translatz*, as he calls the pre-Lutheran versions. He often translates for himself and paraphrases on occasion. He also joins together sentences from the context or from different sections of the Bible. He used other translations as they appeared. A favorite version with him was the so-called Worms Bible of 1529.

The Text, designated as B. We should have been glad to present this in photographs of the original but the expense was too purse-rending for such an undertaking, so that we were constrained to limit ourselves to the nearest possible reproduction. We purpose however, to give a facsimile of each printed title page. The text will be carefully edited and the abbreviations are for the most part to be resolved, and printed in italics. The modifying vowels are to be as near as possible in form to those used in the original. All the interpunction is preserved. The close of the lines is marked by an upright bar. The ornaments will be imitated or else indicated. In case of extensive orthographical divergences the various texts will be printed side by side.

The Translation, designated as C. It seemed undesirable to be strictly and rigidly literal. A little freedom was considered necessary in presenting these documents to modern readers, unfamiliar with the older language or the contemporaneous literature, although we trust, the liberties taken may be found very conservative and introductory of no suggestions foreign to the text.

Language, designated as D. This does not purpose to treat the document exhaustively, but simply to make a sufficient number of suggestions for the further competent study by the philologist; it is designed to draw attention to the internal characteristics and not so much to relate it to other literature. An apparatus for comparison is altogether too much lacking for much systematic reference. We have made brief statements

as to typographical and orthographical features which may lead to a further study of the laws controlling printing at this time; it will be found that these were not so erratic as has been generally presumed, but that there were fairly definite rules which were for the most part permissibly invaded, only by the exigencies of spacing. We have considered certain rhetorical features under this head because these also help to establish Schwenckfeld's claim to a foremost position in the formation of Germanic style. It is with reluctance that one assaults a hoary superstition and one to which so much defensive labor has been applied; but a full study of the Reformation literature with its antecedents will constrain a scientifically disposed mind to conclude that Luther is not the solitary and exclusive founder of the High German speech or anything approximating that conspicuous dignity. Many of his cotemporaries wrote equally as well as he did, if not always with his popular genius and capacity for turning slang into golden speech, nevertheless with as good a grammar, as large a vocabulary and as flowing an eloquence.

Under history, designated as D, is to be understood the unfolding of events as contained in the document itself, whether of a biographical or an annalistic character. The primary design is to use the material and suggestions of the letter or the treatise as the groundwork for exposition. Such enlargements may sometimes compel a wider allusion to the current of general history, and such references are not excluded; but any elaboration of general history has been avoided because we hope to give a full account of the Middle Way which must enter into and concern itself with the larger evolution of connected events. The reader should not expect more than a suggestive expansion of the successive themes afforded by the letter, for the reflections as a rule follow the order of their presentation in the document. Nor can all the allied historic literature be exhausted. Occasionally the method of inward unfolding may be in the form of a grouping of all the facts concerning an individual or an event alluded to in the document. Illustrations have sometimes been introduced from contemporary literature to show how the spiritual trends were not all of one mould, and to prove indeed the variety of sentiment and reflexion which the great awakening aroused.

The same is true with regard to the next division, E, where the order of annotation follows the text still more closely even at the risk of repetition at times, because of some local color or some interweaving of threads of thought. Under the caption of Theology we include far more than the narrow bounds of its systematic usage. As with Schwenckfeld theology was nothing without life, since he endeavored to make his entire reflections on themes of divine or human thought and conduct vital and as the ordained features of a truly Christian evangelical experience, so

our desire is to make the elaboration of his meditations also as stirring as possible. It is not therefore the exclusively technical ethics and theology which we consider but far rather practical morality and religion. The value of existing conditions, the promptings of the spirit which animated every feature of the inward and outward change, the motives actuating the various confessional groups, the principles and actions as well of the individual leaders, the religious and moral life in motion in the field and at work in the sowing and ripening and harvesting of souls is what we would like to present. We desire to have the pages glow with the myriad lights that played and helped to produce the letters that we consider. It is the combination of elements that were at work in the mind of this great reformer that we aim to reflect. Nor do we hesitate to criticise his cotemporaries of every shade and to speak out our own judgment as to the intellectual conditions, the narrow impulses of bigotry and intolerance wherever found. We want to be free from any trammels of party while we try to give the real breadth of our author's mind and vindicate his claim to be granted the hearing which was denied him in his own day. There lingers in our memory the remark of an archivist of a little town when we stated our aim to him: Why do you want to revive such a dead issue? the heretic was laid out long ago; let him be buried undisturbed in his own dust. And this man was polite and kind withal and helped us to find some documents. The clerics and politicians of Schwenckfeld's day did want to silence him the worst sort; they were immensely relieved when the tidings of his demise reached them. And most of the Church historians continue to handle him reluctantly and to anatomize him with long and sharp instruments. They want to keep him in the old vaults, where they had consigned him three centuries and more ago, lest a spark of his enthusiasm might be smouldering in the ashes and might rise up to animate the Church with some glints of spirituality. But to oblivion heaven did not design him to be consigned. He sways a thousand forms of modern thought without being recognized as the parent of the diviner way of looking at the world and the diviner concept of the relation of humanity to God. But he must be brought forth from these deep tombs to inherit his own. He is quietly coming to a resurrection such as awaits many another potent mind whom the combined currents of their day forced to be drowned. The justice of God is longer than the injustice of man. The Spirit will not allow his own followers forever to be quenched even in their personalities. What truth there is must prevail and come to its revelation. Flacius indeed did not enumerate Schwenckfeld among his witnesses for the truth, but he was such nevertheless.

The final division, G, explains itself. We desire it to be a contribu-

tion to the German philology of the Reformation as well as to a historical grammar of the same period. What Deutz and Kluge have done for Luther should be done for every formative author of that date; for outside of Luther and a few vocabularies of special works, dictionaries of individual theological authors do not exist. The general dictionaries have limited themselves mainly to the uses in Luther or the belles lettres authors. Here is a vast field for philologists. Among these we are persuaded that no one excels Schwenckfeld for either style or richness of vocabulary. He turned to the vernacular not only for worship but for official and social intercourse. The thoughts of the people should be expressed in their own familiar speech and that speech should be developed in all its phases to the highest degree of flexibility and vigor, that it may adequately set forth the character and culture of a great people. We want to vindicate the claim of Schwenckfeld to being a powerful factor in the formation of that tongue. Would it not be better then to stop making general dictionaries until a reasonable amount of detail work has been completed or at least the greater authors of the time have had a commensurate analysis? And especially would it not be well, to refrain from making hypothetical propositions as to the origin of the modern German speech until there has been some reasonable study of this vast body of literature?

Doubtless this analytic and commentative method is open to a number of criticisms. One may say you are in danger of constant repetition. If it is a danger, we would gladly incur it; for it is only by continuous reaffirmation that one can get a hearing under the stolid system of orthodoxy which has shaped historic judgment and style. After all the reiteration lies in the subjects which the author has handled again and again, for it is here a little and there a little; a teacher must always be saying his axioms over and over again or else the indolent ear will not hear; a sower goes out to sow and scatters the seed on all manner of soil, receptive and non-receptive. Apart from the instructional method, we regard repetition as essential in order to get a hearing for the principles of the Middle Way. The historian and the dogmatician keep on repeating their unintelligible interpretations of the inner Word and of the deification of man as if they had thereby disposed of Schwenckfeld. Unless one dins it into their ears annually that there is no such theory of the inner Word or of an apotheosis of humanity as they present, the books will go on singing the same stale song. We should like to be able to publish each treatise with the fullest analytic and repetitious commentary, if it were possible, just to give these matters no rest until they be readjusted.

We may also be charged with making onslaughts on this or that

faith and be told that this is not science; it is not harmonious with the equanimity and sang-froid of the scientific method. But this balanced temper is precisely what we miss in the prejudgments which assume that the past is secure. But as with the Reformers so with us, it is not persons but systems with which we contend. Surely it is scientific to speak the truth as one sees it without any ill-feeling toward those who criticise you with inherited disdain, from their traditional points of view. When one deals with fundamentals he cannot be cold-blooded. One cannot sit still when the ages have been shoving him off his rightful seat! One cannot be silent when one sees others appropriating to their exclusive selves all the treasures and materials of grace that belong equally to him! Is he to keep abjectly quiet, when in addition to that they continually reproach him for not having a place to sit and for being poor? Is it not time that the houseless and homeless protest and speak their mind? By what right are we dispossessed? With what justice have you distrained our goods? To pull all one's teeth out and then charge one with his lack of an adequate dental outfit, what shall we call such top-lofty airs but impudence and arrogance? If men appropriate to themselves the term evangelical, and one finds that there are twenty or thirty claimants to the same, can he hold his peace? When one after another persists in calling you a sectarian and writing you down under that category in his scientific text-books, shall you meekly endure while your presumptive Christian neighbor conceits himself to be the sole bearer of the seamless vestment, seeing that he is just as much a sectary as yourself? We profess with Schwenckfeld a sincere love for the brethren of every shade of Christian belief while we attack their unchristian establishments and batter down their separative walls.

It will be observed that we have tried not to overburden the pages with constant references and we shall doubtless be taken to task for the omission. In the attempt to be scientific, editors and historians have fallen into the reprehensible fashion of multiplying the vouchers for their integrity, whereas anyone who is a student of the particular period ought to look up the whole subject for himself. The man who is simply studying up the references is tempted to be a critic of just that sort; he will search out these sentences referred to and will crow lustily in some recension, if he thinks he has found an error. Usually it is a reviewer of this limited calibre who tries to set the pace for the general reader. No man is qualified to judge any work as a whole who does not exhaustively know the subject as a whole. The recensionist ought to find little apparatus to help him in this favorite abuse of science. It is deplorable to overload the pages with these constant interferences, jumping from this point to that point, especially if they be regardless of chronological or

logical order. Even the cyclopedias are full of such blemishes. They mar the impression and prevent an exact research by the student, while certainly the scholar should have no need of them, if he be acquainted with his stuff. It seems to destroy the credence of research as though a man had to stop and swear an oath of faithfulness at each point, that he is telling the truth. Why is not the bibliography a sufficient guide? If the references are to be made, let them appear only in the emphatic or the doubtful places so as not to make the article or the thesis practically unreadable. All continuity of thought is broken up for the reader and he has no pleasure and little profit from this pompous massing of evidence. If the author's work is unworthy and inaccurate, it will soon enough appear without this mathematical menagerie let loose to save him. We ask at least for a moderate reform and propose in our work to abolish the frantic nuisance as far as may be possible.

The study itself purposes also to link Schwenckfeld with intermediate and modern thought, that is to set him before us as if he were now thinking and speaking and writing among us. For the kernel of modernity was in him. He had a prophetic insight into the requirements of the future life of the Church and we may justly claim that modern Christianity is approximating his views. If therefore we are accused of forgetting the age and commingling with Reformation times the phases and phrases of the present day, it would be true and it would also be justifiable because there is only a difference of a few words; the thoughts are precisely the same. This is essentially true of Schwenckfeld, for we believe that he saw further into the futuristic vista than most of his compeers. His radical thoughts underlie the deepened vitalism of our age in all directions. We are probably more like Christians ought to be than they were at the Reformation, because we follow the precepts of Christ with some more regard for their inner and relative meaning than did the Reformers. Schwenckfeld tried to get a broader acceptance of them into vogue and practice in his own day. One rejoices to see how much deeper literature is and how much more sincere art is and this in spite of all the vagaries of either. Poetry has become largely individualistic in order to a right feeling for humanity as a whole; philosophical idealism broods upon kindred themes. Politics is solidifying it for the international life more than some forms of national life like to see. Why not then point out the relationships? If truth is one, can the thoughts about it lie on such different levels? Surely its geography and its history will be much the same. The idealist of to-day is not much deeper than Plato, certainly his mind is no bigger; the rationalist of to-day is not much beyond Aristotle save in his dictionary, the weight of his brain is probably not so great.

It is our purpose to present a full history of the Middle Way. That

will involve not only the biography and writings of its exponents but its adjustment to the other currents which were in unchecked flow and the multitudinous springs that broke forth from every quarter of Europe. For Schwenckfeld came into nearer or more remote relation with every one. The correspondence with the princes indicates an acquaintance with the sources of political power. The works he read and quoted show his breadth of perception and contact with the manifold schools of thought. He writes to lawyers and councilors, to abbots, to abbesses, to nobles, to learned men near and far, so that the points of contact with almost all fields of development are very direct; in a few cases only are they indirect through the secondary reflexion of his followers. Nor could the schemes of repression limit the range of his correspondence and the widespread character of his interests and sympathies. Hence he must be ranked with the foremost sources from which to gain fulness for any picture of those wonderful and formative days. Great was the influence of every leader, and probably no one individual had a more direct personal influence than Schwenckfeld. But his is a neglected river as a tributary of the ocean and as a source of fertility for the spiritual life as well as for the understanding of the times. Moreover the legendary aspect of the period still prevails; the predominance of this or that authority is still enveloped in glamour and mists, fascinating as fairy tales but no more trustworthy. It is difficult to separate oneself from the spirit of hero-worship and the consequent exaggeration; so that every other person is dislocated from his service and position to make place for these few leading figures. Not only then is injustice done to the value of other leaders, but the entire history is put out of its true perspective. Really the Reformation history still wears this unjust hue; it is presented also from its geographical and political views rather than from the mere determination of the Spirit or the regenerate life of individuals and of Society. For the Reformation as it appeared in actual objectivity had in it many elements of deformation. It was not all gold that glittered. Nor were these clogs in the wheel solely the result of politics or the repressive measures of Rome; they also inhered in the liberal wings because of their almost instant relapse into scholastic method and into the unabashed intolerance which stifled freedom of thought and action. To represent other and nobler tendencies as if they were a hindrance and not a help to the general betterment is an arrant assumption by confessionalism and traditionalism. To depict those forces which made for a larger freedom and for a more spontaneous moral life, as the enemies of progress, is to reverse common sense. To portray the views which have proved themselves the incipient generators of the modern world as the bitterest foes of truth and righteousness, is equal to the lordliest intolerance of obscu-

rantism. This like all other sins against progress must be repented of or else it will be violently overturned. Such false combinations and portrayments the history of the Middle Way will demonstrate to be the imperious antagonists of the liberty which Christ came to give. The rights and endowments of humanity have to be repeated by the Church even more than by the State. To pretend that the Establishments in their foundation and growth represent the most refined and the most spiritual ideas of the Reformation is an absurdity of the first water; it is the heaviest lead which is washed over by guilt and would pass off as twenty-four carat gold. The history of the Reformation has to be rewritten from a loftier and fuller outlook, and the History of the Middle Way shall be a contribution to that school of future reconstruction.

The Coat-of-Arms is taken from the portrait which was bound in some of the copies of the Great Confession in 1557; it therefore had the approbation of Schwenckfeld himself and is older than any we have, save the very indistinct ones on the seals. The painted escutcheon in the ancestral Church at Ossig and the united Schwenckfeld and Hubrig vom Buchwalde coats-of-arms at the Church of St. Maria Magdalena in Breslau are of later date and exhibit certain variations, as does also Ezekiel's emblazonry in his Collectanea at the Stadtbibliothek of Breslau. We have therefore chosen the one connected with his portrait in spite of the indistinctness of the supporters.

The most difficult and yet most pleasing duty remains of acknowledging the myriad helpful agencies and persons who have smoothed the arduous way to the appearance of this beginning of the Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum.

Gratitude binds us to mention first the institutional aid we have received from the members of the Schwenckfelder Church. That a communion of two hundred and fifty families should support such an undertaking so abundantly will challenge any similar sacrifice on the part of any people. It is an evidence of the fulness and vigor of the faith in their early teachers and in the validity and impulse of those stirring principles. One cannot restrain his admiration over the steadfastness and confidence which have born this fruit in spite of the seemingly insurmountable hindrances and protraction. The members of this communion have but repeated the works undertaken by the von Freyberg, von Tieffenau, von Landschaid-Steinach and other families. They follow in the steps of Theophilus Agricola, Adam Reussner, Daniel Friedrich and Daniel Sudermann. They resume the undertakings of three centuries ago and also carry out the desires of the later generations in Glatz and Silesia who under terrible stress courageously copied and recopied the manuscripts and the books that the memory of them might not perish from their

children. Many of those who greeted the first stages of this enterprise with paternal regard and unstinting support have not lived to see the outcome, but they trustfully transmitted the charge to their children, whose filial faithfulness has been unabating. Among those who have passed into the upper fellowship were a number of venerated ministers who were sterling originators and supporters of this endeavor and conspicuous for their kindly endurance of the delays that taxed the farthest resources of patience and forbearance. The sacred and hallowed reserves we may not disturb but raise a silent cup of thanksgiving. *Salvete Sanctissimi*. It would be unpardonable were we to pass by the heavy but not unappreciated labors of the Board of Publication in connection with this particular branch of their functions. With unwearied diligence have they carried forward through long years the encumbering task. They have surmounted impassible barriers by resolute front attacks. They have left nothing undone that could be done and have preserved a harmony of spirit and purpose which has maintained not only us in a steadfast course, but has faithfully led the people through the waste and doubtful places. We are beholden to them for their excellent mediation and we felicitate them upon realizing the beginning of their cherished plans. Nor should the supportive action of the Conferences of the Schwenckfelder Church remain forgotten. They have sustained their Board with most charitable votes and instructions and have encouraged the editors by their considerate resolutions and actions.

The Hartford Theological Seminary has been drawn into the circle of our supporters by a number of seemingly unrelated circumstances. The gifts of a Trustee and benefactor of that Institution, the late Newton Case Esq., secured a store of Schwenckfeld books and miscellanies from the library of Oberlehrer Friedrich Schneider before the present undertaking was thought of and without having it the least in view. The generosity of the late Roland Mather, Esq., another Trustee, also fostered the earliest researches. No little impulse was given by the sympathetic helpfulness of the Rev. Dr. Augustus C. Thompson who in his early Berlin days was an intimate friend of Friedrich Schneider and who at once recognized the handwriting of his old associate when he saw the many manuscripts which had come into the possession of the Seminary. He presided at a number of the initial meetings of the joint committees for promoting a united action between the two bodies. When finally in 1903 the nearer bond between the Seminary and the editor was severed, the institution did not lose its interest. At this stage the further progress of the work owes an immeasurable debt to Dr. Ernest Cushing Richardson, Elbridge Torrey, Esq., President of the Board of Trustees, President William Douglas Mackenzie and Dean Melancthon Williams Jacobus who from the desire

to promote this particular historic research in Reformation history brought about a combined action between the Schwenckfelder Church and the Seminary for further financial sustention. Under this arrangement the position of Professor Otto Bernhard Schlutter as assistant editor was given permanency, and Elmer Ellsworth Schultz Johnson, B. D., was appointed as special Fellow of the Seminary to be assistant editor.

We would not forget the specific patrons whose subscriptions have encouraged us in our researches. These are the entire body of Schwenckfelders, some beyond us and many with us, who have been the cordial financial masters of this work; they prefer to remain unspecified and we must reluctantly accede to their request. There are other munificent friends whom we deliberately mention without consultation:

Mrs. Austin Bradley Bassett.
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Elbridge Torrey, Esq.

By the assistance of these contributors we have been enabled not only to add to the great mass of material already accumulated through the donations and financial aid of the Schwenckfelders, but to maintain the bureau-work on a competent scale and to purchase additional books for our special library.

What shall we say of the unlimited assistance we have received from archives and libraries, American and European? From the nature of our subject the major material is found in Europe. We have had to look to Austro-Hungary, England, France, the German Empire, Holland and Switzerland for furnishing us our chief sources. How can we repay the general debt for the courtesy and befriending assiduity with which our questions and requirements have been met so uniformly and so liberally? Since our residence in hospitable, friendly Germany, we have been the recipients of the utmost favor on the part of all the library and archival authorities. There was not one to whom we did not address inquiries or make visits, and our every approach has been met with frank and pains-taking generosity; nor is this any surprise to him who has partaken of the inner life of this our fatherland. In all our relations with this great body of librarians and archivists we have found them signally affable and

helpful; and the friendships thus formed are not the least of the acquisitions of life.

In the preparation of this particular volume we cannot forbear making certain special mentions. We are indebted to the Ministerium of the Herzogtum of Braunschweig for very kind privileges. And with what conspicuous concessions Dr. Otto von Heinemann of the Bibliotheca Augusta of Wolfenbüttel met us during many years it would be difficult to exaggerate. That life so full of constructive ability and abundant in historical and bibliographical authorship, and so replete with sacrificial bearing of sorrows has but lately closed. To his memory we would add our appreciative and well-beholden encomium. The new administration under the charge of that scholar in literature, Prof. Dr. Gustav Milchsack, has made no change in kindness and beforehandedness. What has not been done for us not only in furnishing library material but in suggestion by the singular good friendship of the Oberbibliothekar and his assistants, it would be hard to discover. We confess our inability to express fully our sense of obligation for the liberal sympathy they have shown us.

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we give particular thanks for the facilities he has extended and the numerous courtesies he has so liberally shown us. The direction of the Milich'sche Bibliothek in Görlitz has conceded a series of favors to us for which we would make grateful mention. To Prof. Dr. Stötzner of the Ratsschulbibliothek of Zwickau we are indebted for the free use of books as well as for the warm comity manifested to us in the time of our sojourn there. To Rektor Adolf Georgii of the Konsistorialbibliothek, Rotenburg a. T., we would convey our thanks for a very agreeable correspondence and for the extended use of the treasures of Reformation literature in that library. We would also acknowledge the unsparing service which Pastor Dr. Bahlow, Bibliothekar of the Kirchenbibliothek zu St. Peter und Paul of Liegnitz has rendered us by placing similar literature at our disposal. For many courtesies and the generous loan of numerous books we inscribe our thanks to Otto Harrassowitz of Leipzig. We would also mention the very kindly transmission by Ludwig Rosenthal of München of a number of rare books from his immense collections. The Direktorium of the Königl. Geh. Staatsarchiv in Berlin liberally accorded us the use of a considerable number of manuscripts. We are particularly indebted to the Staatsarchivar, Dr. Erhardt, for many special courtesies. The direction of the Gräfl. Ossolińskisches Nationalinstitut of Lemberg was so kind as to send us a volume of the Ossoliński collection for which favor we return our sincere thanks. Professor Dr. Hauck and Prof. Dr. Grützmacher were so good as to bestow the advance sheets of the article on Schwenckfeld in the Realencyklopädie; for this opportune comity we would make our hearty acknowledgments. To the Archidiakon Konrad Klose of Lüben we are indebted for the transmission and use of certain historical notes concerning Andreas Arnold. We also gratefully recognize the valuable information and assistance received from A. Freiherr von Krane.

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We desire to repeat the statement that in our record of indebtedness we are confining ourselves to the specification of those whose kindness is woven into this particular volume.

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We make glad mention of our indebtedness to the services of the copyists who have helped us in the drafting of the prodigious number of manuscripts and in the endless transcriptions from contributory writers. We may express our particular gratitude to Sekretär G. Gronau of Wolfenbüttel and to Sekretär Neynaber of Berlin. We would lay a wreath upon the grave of Professor Auracher of München whose beautiful chirography adorns our store of manuscripts. We also hold in reverent memory the devoted Assistant Librarian of the Case Memorial Library of Hartford, Connecticut, William Cushman Hawks, whose patient hands printed many an analysis for us. There are literally a hundred others to whom we can only offer this approving record of their faithful labors, well and acceptably achieved. Many are the elements of conscience, ability and kind fellowship that have entered into the collecting and ordering of this vast material.

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It will be right to make a brief reference to the authors through whose impartial studies Schwenckfeld has been slowly regaining a more befitting treatment. The work of Christian August Salig must always remain as the turning point in the criticism of Schwenckfeld as man and as writer. Few are the subsequent historians who are not indebted to

his unwearied research, mediating estimate and dependable accuracy. From Arnold down to the scholarship of the present day no better foundation for the study of Schwenckfeld has been laid. Arnold added some new elements to the estimation as well as documents to the history. Köpke's interest was founded on a deep religious sympathy as was that of minor biographers. There are few more effective presentations of the history and the dogmatics of the Schwenckfelder movement than the *Erläuterung* furnishes, that original study made in America and first printed in Janer 1771 by authority of the Schwenckfelders themselves.

The life-long devotion of A. F. H. Schneider, Oberlehrer of the Königl. Realschule Berlin, should have our highest recognition. How much of what his patient study produced has never seen the light! How we recall his enthusiasm in the gathering of material and in the skillful adjustment of the same, which was unabated in his declining years. The interest in the American representative of the Schwenckfelder Church was paternal and deep. The visits to that home in Sprottau are immemorial experiences. The magnanimous bestowment of much of the fruit of his studies out of his full and liberal heart, as possible help to the undertaking entrusted to us, seems an unmatched and rare deed. And of these we have made constant and unhesitating use, because he wished it so. An incalculable mass of the ensuing work will be due to his far-reaching labors. He was one of many who offered all to the fatherland in the gift of his son who fell on the field of Mars la Tour; that loss had deeply affected the solitary scholar and teacher, from its sadness even his delightful pursuits could hardly upraise him. It was indeed an unselfish hand that welcomed the new workman into the field and that helped him with beneficent good cheer on the unwonted road. Transeat in exemplum.

Kadelbach's contemporaneous survey of the entire field is also of signal value, especially when one knows that it was the realization of a lifelong purpose. As a youth his father had pointed out the Viehweg to him, the village commons to which the deceased Schwenckfelders had been condemned to be interred; the boy then and there determined to search out the history of these confessors, which he so generously and faithfully did. Barclay's work is filled with admiration for the man's character and theology; he finds in him also the suggester of much dissenting thought and he especially is convinced that the theology of the Friends owes its origin largely to him. Otto Hampe has also finished his earthly labors. His work was an entirely original study of the sources and it was just this which led him to form a distinctively appreciative estimate of the Reformer. He has left a mass of further researches which we earnestly hope may see the light under the editorship of Superintendent Dr. Cohrs. The more elaborate brochure of Hoffmann is another highly favorable estimate of Schwenck-

feld, fresh and original, from a wide and exact study of the sources. We must express our regret that he has not published the further results of his investigations. We pass by many minor sketches that have appeared now and then and allude only to those of Erbkam, Maronier, Erdmann, Hagler and Grützmacher; they are all kindly and readjusting to a degree, but from our point of view, they are somewhat contracted. From the American side there have been a number of appreciations. The preliminary sketch by Heydrick in the *Genealogical Record*, the biography which opens the history by Kriebel, and the delineation by Loetscher in his dissertation are fairminded and noteworthy contributions to the literature.

A monumental debt is owing to the gentle souls that have woven thousands of strands for many an hour and year in and out into this fabric with a consuming devotion and a longing desire to bring the massive texture to a befitting end. To those who have given an equalizing comfort in the period of dismay and doleful doubt, who stilled many tossed and vexed waters under gloomy and fitful skies, whose cheer and solace fringed the periods of delay and question and who painted present and future with pictured hopes, to these dear ministrants of grace and spenders of a sublime and consecrated love, we pay our most affectionate tribute as we bring to the domestic altars the first fruits of the long toil.

The Board of Publication unites with the Editors in expressing their acknowledgments to the urbanity and care of their publishers, Breitkopf & Härtel. From the long days ago of that first cordial interview with Dr. Oscar von Hase until now, the intercourse has been typically friendly, and we feel convinced that the quality of their workmanship corresponds to the high character which has distinguished this firm for so many generations.

We have been the recipients of marked kindness at the hands of both governments; we therefore cannot help expressing the desire as well as indulging the hope that these two lands of enterprise and wisdom may be knit together in still closer bonds of amity and exchange. The descendants of a Silesian ancestry have not forgotten the beautiful country from which those unwilling feet wandered, and these memorials of ancient days which they are privileged to rehabilitate suffice to show their sense of obligation to the great German from whose freedom-loving spirit they derived their own thirst for liberty. Nor are they unmindful of the noble invitation to return to their native land which Frederick the Great extended to the exiles, with pledges of the ample restoration of their alienated possessions and the free exercise of their religion. Nor do they fail to prize the liberal spirit of the house of Brandenburg-Hohenzollern in gathering such a store of Schwenckfeld literature for the Royal Library. What can they wish but that the nations of the eagle, imperial and republican, may unitedly promote peace and righteousness.

To the loving Father in heaven and to his Son Jesus Christ and to the sovereign dispenser of good, the Holy Ghost, we give thanks for the manifold indications and favors of a providence whose guiding and fostering hand has been manifest in experiences innumerable; which to plain appearance has marked out paths and by its staying power has prevented wanderings while its unexpected turnings have often revealed the nearer road homeward to truth. Accept, O Lord, this work of our burdened years, although thy servants have but imperfectly improved their trust. Let the Lord be magnified anew by this presentation of the labors of his followers and devout worshippers, who stood and suffered for Christian liberty, for the sovereignty of the Spirit over the letter and for the headship of Christ over all things in nature and in grace and in glory. Amen.

And now the Editors would introduce their readers to the contents of this volume with diffidence, so great is the sense of insufficiency which only those know who essay to do something well and then see the meagre output of their endeavor. The book is not nearly what we could have wished it to be, but it is thoroughly well-meant. It comes lamely toward the goal at which we have aimed; but we shall be thankful, if our readers find it somewhat near what it ought to have been.

Wolfenbüttel, Wednesday before Laurentius 1907.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It will be self-understood that in the preparation for the entire *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* the fullest apparatus has been used both of manuscript and literature. Since it is an aim to avoid quantitative citation it will be enough to say that the works in the following categories have been consulted: Bibliography, general and special, Catalogues, Indices Prohibitorum; Diplomatics; Cyclopaedias and Lexicons; Periodicals, general, special and local; Recensions and Reviews; the great Historical Collections, general, and special; Epistolary Collections; Theological Collections; Collections of Confessions; Apparatus of Councils; Histories, general, special and local. Church histories, general and special; Reformation Histories, general, special and local; History of Theology; History of Dogma, general and special; Biographies; Geographies; Literature of Heraldics; Literature of Chronology; Theological treatises, general and special; Versions of the Bible and its Literature; Philosophy, Text, Literature and History; Collections and Histories of Literature; Printing and Typography; the Literature of Proverbs; the Literature of Archives and Libraries; the Literature of Universities, Programmes and Education.

Since it is the purpose to publish gradually the fullest possible enumeration of the manuscripts and printed works connected with the history of the Middle Way, the Anti-Schwenckfeldiana, Latin, German, French, Italian, English of Romanists, Lutherans, Reformed, Anabaptists shall not be here summarized. For present purposes it will suffice to give an outline list of the Pro-Schwenckfeldiana, passing by a very considerable quantity of German and American sketches and periodicals. Such abbreviations as are used in the volume are either indicated in connection with the title of the work or immediately thereafter.

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Gottfried Arnolds Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie 1699 aqq; the best edition, Schaffhausen 1740.

(A. Köpfe) Historische Nachricht Von dem Vor zweyhundert Jahren berühmten und verruchten Schleßischen Edelmann, HERRN Caspar Schwenckfeld von Oßing, Samt beygefügter Anzahl seiner Schriften. BREMEN, gedruckt bey Christian Ragocy. 1744.

Erläuterung für Herrn Caspar Schwendfeld, und die Zugethanen, seiner Lehre, wegen vieler Stücke, beydes aus der Historie und Theologie, welche insgemein unrichtig vorgestellt, oder gar übergangen werden. Worinnen Derselben Historie bis 1740 kürzlich entworfen; Ihre Glaubens-Beläntnisse summarisch verfasst; und der eigentliche Zustand der Streitigkeiten, über dem heiligen Predigt-Amt, den heiligen Sacramenten und der Gloria der Menschheit Jesu Christi entbedet ist. Alles aus bewährten glaubhaften und vielen noch nemahls an Tag gekommenen, richtigen Documenten, und eigener Erfahrung, treulich und einfältig beschrieben, und allen aufrichtigen Nachforschern und Liebhabern der Wahrheit zu Dienste, ans Licht zu stellen bedacht, durch Etliche der ehmaligen Emigranten aus Schlesien, und nunmehr eingeseffene Inwohner in Pensylvanien in Nord-America. Mit Königl. Preussischer allergnädigsten Freyheit. Auf eigene Kosten. Breslau und Leipzig. In Commission bey Gottfr. Wilh. Seidel, Buchhändler. Jauer, gedruckt bey Heimr. Christ. Müllern. 1771.

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Erläuterung für Herrn Caspar Schwendfeld und die Zugethanen seiner Lehre, wegen vielen Stücken, beydes aus der Historie und Theologie; allen aufrichtigen Nachforschern und Liebhabern der Wahrheit zum Dienste ans Licht zu stellen, beabsichtigt und verfasst worden, durch Etliche der ehemaligen gottseligen Auswanderer aus Schlesien nach Pennsylvanien in Nord-Amerika. Zweyte Auflage. Von einer dazu angestellten Committee rebirt, und unter den unmittelbaren Aufsicht derselben, auf Kosten der Subscribenten, gedruckt. Summptaun: Gedruckt bei E. Benner. 1830.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- M** = Missiven oder Sendbriefe die er in Zeit seines Lebens vom XXV. Jahre an bisz auff das LV ... geschrieben 1566 = Epistolar I.
P = Sendbrief von der Bepstischen Leere vnd Glauben 1570 = Epistolar II¹.
L = Sendbrief von der Lutherischen Leere vnd Glauben = Epistolar 1570 II².
ZGAS. = Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte (und Alterthum) Schlesiens.
Cod. Dipl. Sil. = Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae.
CplVevKS = Correspondenzblatt des Vereins für Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens.
CbBw = Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen.
ZUL = Zedler Universal-Lexikon.
RE², RE³ = Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Herzog-Hauck.
WWKl = Wetzer und Weltes Kirchenlexikon.
Weller Rep. Typ. = Repertorium Typographicum.
C. R. = Corpus Reformatorum.
Cod. Tep. = Der Codex Teplensis enthaltend: „Die Schrift des neuen Gezeuges“. Augsburg—München 1884.
Luth. = The Reprint of the Lutheran version of the New Testament, September 1522.
Text. Rec. = Textus Receptus, the Elzevir text of the Greek New Testament 1633.
C. J. Can. = Corpus Juris Canonici.
Klose R. G. Breslau = Reformationsgeschichte Breslaus. Ms.
K.-K. = Köstlin-Kawerau. Martin Luther. Sein Leben und seine Schriften.
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I

A lost letter to Johann Hess

Before October 14, 1521



The acquaintance of Schwenckfeld with Johann Hess probably began about 1515 when the latter was called to the court of Carl I of Münsterberg-Oels as tutor of the twelve year old Herzog Joachim. Schwenckfeld was of the same age with Hess both being in their twenty-fifth year; they met here just before the former withdrew to service at Brieg under Georg I. Hess as a native of Nürnberg had the kindly suavity of his people. Schwenckfeld, like almost all his cotemporaries, was drawn toward the gentle scholar. Their equality in age proved a natural bond; they had also many cultured sympathies in common. The tone of the first recorded letter here given as document II premises a very close intimacy preceding it. The differences therein indicated could arise between friends only; such searching criticism would be allowable to none but those who stood in nearest amity. It is presumable therefore that no inconsiderable correspondence had taken place between them after their separation in 1516. Such a companionship as this previous missive suggests could not have been a rapid product; it had taken considerable intercourse of speech and writing to ripen into so outspoken a familiarity. We infer that the following subjects had been discussed in the first missive whose existence is so directly asserted. 1. There was the dread lest the nobler personal qualities of Hess and his developed sympathies with the Reformation might be weakened by his association with the higher officials of the Church. Schwenckfeld therefore must have earnestly pressed upon Hess the obligation of immediate decision. There was the need of promptness and the tone of pleading was doubtless strenuous and importunate. 2. It would also seem that some scriptural passages had been quoted to stir up the slumbering sense of alacrity. 3. Further there is an intimation that Hess and his fellow-canon, Dominicus Schlepner, had pondered upon the question as to what they ought to do and whether courage were after all really so scripturally imperative. Both men who had long paused on the brink concluded that delay was justifiable. Schwenckfeld characterized this temporizing method as perilous; he diagnosed the symptoms as manifesting a lack of bravery, a too yielding softness and an easy-going way of handling a crisis. The ploughman must not look back, if he is to make straight and deep furrows. 4. Again Schwenckfeld apparently adverted

to one of the recent books of Hutten which had impressed him and given him distinct confirmations of his own reflections about the old world whose tyranny and fictions were now so fundamentally shaken. 5. Then too, there was some reference to Hess' attitude toward Herzog Carl just at this momentous period of 1521. Hess had become provost of the St. Marien-und Georg-Kirche in Oels in 1520; on July 8 of that year he read his first mass there after his ordination at Breslau shortly before. The Herzog had suddenly become alarmed at the course of events. In 1517 he had proposed his son Joachim as coadjutor of Bishop Thurzo; Hess mentions this fact in his letter to Spalatin, dated April 13. The matter soon fell out contrariwise. The prince was naturally not well pleased with the Chapter, but when the Bishop had passed to his account on August 2, 1520, almost a month after Hess had settled in Oels, Carl nominated his son, then seventeen years of age, for the vacancy. This proposal also was ignored by the election of Jacob von Salza. This second disappointment did not help to mollify the princely wounds, so that Carl became quite open to the suggestions of reform. When however the election was reluctantly confirmed by Leo X on July 24, 1521, a few months before our second letter, he was precipitate in his retreat from his liberal inclinations in order to curry favor with the new official, and Hess himself became quite hesitant. On this incident Schwenckfeld appears to have made some conditional remark as though his friend had been instrumental in producing this reactionary step, or at least had been undecided in arresting the prince's relapse to the papal interest. This Hess interpreted with some indignation as though his friend had attributed the fatal change to him directly. 6. Moreover Schwenckfeld had evidently found fault with the tendency to obsequiousness by the adoption of fulsome forms of flattery on the part of his friend. He had reflected on the atmosphere current at courts and had expressed his fear that Hess might be acting against his own convictions as to where the truth lay, and thus be throwing his influence into the scale which made for curialism. 7. Toward the close of the letter Schwenckfeld had again adverted to the faint-hearted position of his friend in the grave matters now at issue. He did it with the frankness of a bosom-companion and full of the generous impulses which must ever sway an ardent lover of truth. At the very end he seems also to have stated some facts in connection with the evangelical movement in which he was so enthusiastically engaged. A number of personalia was connected therewith, whose story would have been of consummate interest for us because it would have thrown light upon persons and events in that still so mist-enwrapped time of Silesian origins.

II

Letter to Johann Hess

October 14, 1521



A.

This document is an autograph found in the Rehdiger collection of letters preserved in the Stadtbibliothek of Breslau. It was not a part of the original library gathered by Thomas von Rehdiger (1540—1576) which he so generously willed to the city of Breslau and which had so melancholy a history. Many additions of manuscripts and books were made thereto by gift and bequest; these all however bore the name of the first testator. The present letter is no. 4 of vol. VII which contains a quantity of exceedingly important missives written in the first and second stages of the Reformation. This volume was donated in 1658 by Christian Hofman von Hofmanswaldau (1617—1679), who instituted the second Silesian school of poetry, besides attaining high positions in the city and in the Austrian court.

I. The autograph is written on both sides of a heavy folio leaf without water-marks, and extends to the middle of the second page. The average size is 31' 7" by 21' 7". The right hand edge is cut in unequal curves, with the upper corner somewhat torn and the bottom one rounded. The letter as sent was originally folded three times; the middle crease has been darkened as have the edges in part. The script itself is no longer of the strictly Gothic form but of the rectified Latin orthography adopted by almost all the cultured men of this period and taught in the elementary schools. This differed considerably from the alphabetic styles pursued by the scribes in the court offices. Of course our autograph has its individual variations; the handwriting is delicate yet very firm; the general shape of the letters is preserved throughout; sometimes however there are double forms for ligatures and capitals. The closer hand of the first page broadens and becomes more diffused on the second which is a sign of the increasing haste of indignation; yet there is not a single erasure, correction or interlineation. One must confess that the script is thoroughly unique, and is readily distinguishable from that of any cotemporary. After many perusals one feels indeed that the character was not far removed from the pen. We infer very convincingly that the writer was gentle but resolute, refined but positive. The endorsement of the autograph is by a different and seemingly later hand. Schwenckfeld's seal was not applied; the letter also lacks salutation and address but the appreciation is there.

The signature is so blackened by the crease and by exposure as to be all but illegible, only in certain lights can one get a glimpse of the full name.

II. Is this letter only a fragment? In favor of this view is the abruptness of the opening without salutation, together with the use of *vero* at the outset. On the other hand for its completeness one could argue from its self-restrained manner, content and unity of purpose that nothing could have preceded it; its very close does not let down the tone. Could he have written two sides of a folio filled with news and the discussion of other themes, and then suddenly pass over to this tense note? The absence of the address too might show that as soon as he received his friend's somewhat exasperating missive he sat down at once and replied to the main points of defence and accusation; and since the distance was not so great between Ossig and Oels he could dispatch it by the hands of an intimate messenger, not unlikely the very one who had brought the communication. The custom of omitting the salutation and the *Christon* is not so uncommon as to make one insist on its absolute use. A positive decision no one can as yet make.

III. The autograph has but a brief literary history. Its preservation is presumably due to the fact that Hess himself had the enthusiasm of a collector and therefore saved much of the correspondence directed to himself. How it came into the possession of Christian Hofman von Hofmanswaldau is not yet determined. Neither Buckisch nor Klose mention it. The first extract from it is in Schneider I p. 15. Julius Köstlin in his articles on Johann Hess, in the ZGAS. Bd. VI, pp. 122, 123 writes an extended analysis; cf. his article on Hess in RE³. Hampe p. 9 gives an appreciation. Gustav Koffmane was the first to transcribe the text for the CpbVevKS. II, 12—15 to which he appended some notes. Hoffmann makes a brief citation on p. 12, and an allusion on p. 18. Alfred Hegler, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mystik in der Reformationszeit* edited by Walther Köhler, Berlin 1906, pp. 216—218 gives a new reproduction of the text but since he says that the document was furnished him by Köstlin, it is doubtful whether the transcription is his own or was the copy which Köstlin says he himself made.

IV. The version used for the scriptural citations was the then current Vulgate in which Schwenckfeld made free variations.

V. The content of the missive may be outlined as follows: 1. The determination to plead his cause with Hess in the spirit of Christian love. 2. The asseveration that his motive in presenting the rediscovered truth is unselfish. 3. The discussion of the attitude of the Scriptures toward indecision of conduct in religious crises. 4. The ground for fraternal

anxiety lies in the fact of membership in the body of Christ. 5. The reply to a specific allegation about Hutten's book. 6. An answer to particular accusations in Hess's satirical rejoinder to the previous letter of Schwenckfeld. 7. The apology for the charge of faint-heartedness. 8. The conviction that his friend would see how painfully he had misconstrued the spirit and words of that letter. 9. The deprecation of controversy and estrangement. 10. An allusion to the well-known methods of evangelization. 11. The farewell.

In the Apparatus Criticus the variant readings are indicated under: Schneider I; K. = Koffmane; H. = Hoffmann; He. = Hegler.

B.

Ego vero apud quosdam¹ que defenderem causam meam? quam comico² illo Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit Nunc autem Hesso³ fratry nostro nihil aliud dicam quam quod Charitas | nihil agit perperam, nec cogitat malum⁴ Etiam si opus esset Christum testary possem | me hacteng scriptis⁴ aut factis nihil aliud in causa Euangelij quesijasse quam gloriam suam | atque tibi Hesse tuam salutem Quamobrem si Hesse genius tibi imponit vt mihi | irasceris fiat sane: modo preter peccatum fiat⁵ Christum precor

Ad Litteras⁶ tuas: Obijcis mihi dictum Paulj Mosique tandem sententiam. Quj vero | animum inducere possum? te id fecisse serio, Certe alius mihi videtur sensq isto|rum verborum Sed quando tantopere placuit vt mihi Paulum pro tua summa ad|duceres⁶ cur priora illiq tuę sentencię verba non allegastj ea viz Eos qui peccant | coram omnibus argue⁶ Sed forsā videretur tibi precipitancia quedam et importunitas | tuos commystes⁷ hoc est prelatos⁸ sic arguere: Non est consultum neque etiam | opus paulinum sensum hic recensere ne sus Minervam doceat⁹ Quid autem: | Nonne videbatur iudeis magna precipitancia . factum . Paulj Actorum . 9 . Et | Continuo in synagoga predicabat. Christum⁴. sequitur enim stupebant⁸ autem omnes | Iam obticeo communissimum illud ad Gala: . 2^f.

20 Mosē quis non videt (quamquam Dominico¹⁰ tuq olim non vidit) nihil

l. 1. que the obvious reading manifestly designed for quo as all the editors render it. l. 5. In hacteng the g = us; this abbreviation is preserved throughout. l. 7. He. omits mihi and writes irasceris. l. 9. Litteras, K. Literas. l. 10. vero, He. vere. l. 12. summa, He. sententia. priora, K. precor. l. 13. viz = videlicet; K. vero; He. videlicet. l. 14. importunitas, K. inportunitas. l. 15. etiam, K. and He. omit etiam. l. 19. Gala, He. Gal. l. 20. Dominico, K. dominus.

¹ The prelates; the enemies and probably including some of the half-hearted or weak.

² Terence, Andria I, 41.

³ Johann Hess 1490—1547.

⁴ Proof of literary and other activity for the Reformation. ⁵ Proof of previous correspondence. ⁶ Possibly the same passage alluded to in Doc. III, 2 Tim. 1¹².

⁷ From συμμύστης.

⁸ The higher dignitaries of the diocese of Breslau, sacerdotal and monastic. ⁹ Proverb derived from the Greek.

¹⁰ Dominicus Schleupner 148?—1547.

a. 1 Cor. 13⁴, 5. b. Eph. 4²⁶. c. 1 Tim. 5²⁰. d. Acts 9²⁰. e. Acts 9²¹. f. Gal. 2¹⁴.

ad rem | tuam quadrare Non enim nobis sensus domini sed mandata eius
scrutanda sunt | Tu vero accipe interim illud si tibi non satisfacit quod
tuum allegatum in | eodem capite sequitur (Non inibis cum eis fœdus^a

Josue 23 Quod si volueritis gencium harum que inter vos habitant,
erroribus | adherere et cum eis miscere connubia atque amicitias copulare⁵
Iam tunc scitote quod | dominus deus vester non eas delebit ante faciem
vestram Sed erant vobis in foveam | ac Laqueum^b Adde quod dominus
non vno Loco precipit ad internicionem vsque | cum eis pugnare^c Et
de hoc satis

Quod autem fuerim pro te mi frater sollicitus: quod condolebam⁹ tue¹⁰
pusillanimitatj¹ iuxta pauli doctrinam 1 Chor: 12^d Breuiter quod non
secus erga | te quam in cor meum affectus sum: hoc tu obuertis nobis: vt
omnia in hac | tua nasuta epistola Dominus non imputet tibi mi Hesse
peccata tua^e.

Librum Hutteni² ex quo Andrea³ teste nihil ne verbum quidem cepj¹⁵
tu | sacrosanctum appellas sacra ironia tua: Ego vero Libens velim scire |
quid tibi in illo displicere possit si saltem veritatis amator es

Preterea vt in singulis me tibi bona Consciencia expurgem accipe et
hoc | scripsi⁴ ego: si mutasti principis⁵ animum: tu vero vt video pro si,
quia | Legisti Quod ego hic commertus sum: Ob Ceremoniolas⁶ nostras |
dicis Nos rursum: ob insignem tyrannidem et auariciam: quemadmodum |
tibi coram Luce clarius expendam et manifestatur⁹ sum deo propicio |
Interpretaris me te egregium et insignem adulatorem descripsisse Sed
quid | mihi cum carnali tua interpretatione Neque operę precium est prin-

l. 3. The) is lacking after fœdus. l. 7. dominus, K. deus. l. 8. internicio-
nem, He. internecionem. cf. V. pugnare, K. and He. pugnare. Et de hoc satis is
written far apart. l. 10. condolebam⁹, K. condolebam. l. 11. Chor, He. Cor.
l. 12. secus, K. secius. l. 13. imputet, He. reputet. l. 15. verbum, He. unum.
l. 16. ironia, K. venia; He. omnia. Ego vero, K. omits. l. 17. si saltem, the s
in each word seems to be doubled in the original; He. saltim. l. 18. Preterea,
K. Praetereo; He. Prelior. vt, He. uti. et, K. quod. l. 19. ego, the o
is obliterated. si mutasti, K. se mutasse; He. sic. l. 20. quia, K. quae; He. quam.
Quod, He. quid. nostras, K. meas.

¹ δλιγοψυχία cf. 1 Thess. 5¹⁴; modicus fidei [V]. Not the modern idea of pusillanimity.

² Possibly the *Vadiscus* or the *Dialogi Huttenici novi perquam festivi*. Scarcely the
Karsthans. ³ Andreas Arnold, at this time still pastor at Ossig. ⁴ There follow

quotations from Schwenckfeld's previous letter which Hess had misinterpreted. ⁵ Carl I
of Münsterberg-Oels. ⁶ Minor ceremonies which had been changed.

a. Ex. 23³². b. Josh. 23^{12, 13}. c. Deut. 7². d. 1 Cor. 12⁴⁻³¹, particularly
v. 26. Mentel Acts 18⁹ chorinter. e. Ps. 32² (31²); Rom. 4⁸ cf. Acts 7⁶⁰.

cipibꝫ | adularj in *causa* papistica Sed pontificibꝫ adulatur si qui sunt qui
adulantur | Vereor certe vt *verba* singula epistolę meę non dextro oculo
inspexeris et | consijdero mea monita apud te parum frugi esse Te vero
meminisse (4^a) decet et prophetam per asinam olim salubriter admonitum^a

5 Ego ammodo canam | receptuj feci *enim* quod debui facere

Egre fers mi Hesse quod in oclusa¹ *epistola* te pusillanimum vocarim
cur *autem* | tu ipse mihi non semel tuam pusillanimitatem es conquestus?
cur et ceteris | atque adeo presentj memoria vt possem hic *verba* tua si
velim ad | amussim recitare

10 Nihil dubito quin iam videbis quam iuste tam acrociter tam carnaliter
mecum ex|postulaueris ac si ego is essem qui celum terre miscere velit:
ac | si ego eciam is essem qui Hessum totum ad quod te coniecturo spec-
tatur | qui inquam Hessum deijcerem quem tanti hactenꝫ fecj atque nunc
et | semper facio et faciam quam diu superstes ero Nihil aliud de | te sensi
15 quam quod decet probum virum Tu *autem* quid de | me sencias nihil
moro Quamquam non velim nos traducj mutuo presertim coram infirmis
ne Verbum propter nos tandem male audire possit | Facilius ferocitatem
falsam fero quam tu mihi ad miraculum vsque impingis | Satis perspectum
est vniuersis fratribus² immo et inimicis³ qua via in propagando⁴ | euangelio
20 ingredior Vale mi frater in domino Et valeant omnes qui | inter nos dissid-
ium volunt⁵ Ex pago⁶ nostro die Calixtj⁷ 1521

Tuus Schwenckfeldij

(Another hand wrote crosswise underneath the subscription:)

Schwenckfeldij

25

contencio cum Hesso

1. 2. adulantur, K. consentiant; He. refutant. 1. 4. asinam, K. and He. asinum.
1. 5. ammodo, K. and He. amodo. enim, Schneider I. omits. 1. 6. oclusa,
Schneider I. and K. acclusa. pusillanimum, Schneider I. pusillanimim. 1. 7. tuam,
He. omits. 1. 8. et, He. in. presentj, the n is partially obliterated. possem,
K. possim. 1. 12. coniecturo spectatur, K. converteris spectatum; He. omits spectatur.
1. 15. quid, Schneider I. quod. 1. 16. presertim, K. praesens tu. infirmis, K.
referes; He. infernis. 1. 17. ferocitatem, K. ferociter. 1. 18. falsam, K. ivisse; He.
omits. miraculum, K. miracum. impingis, He. impungis. 1. 19. est, Schneider I.
habeo. propagando, He. propaganda. 1. 20. ingredior, H. ingrediar. omnes,
Schneider I. omits. 1. 21. nostro, He. meo. 1. 22. Tuus Schwenckfeldius
is almost obliterated by the crease of the letter and rust; K. Schwenckfeld; He.
omits it entirely. 1. 25. contencio, K. threnodium.

¹ More likely the close of the letter than an enclosure or separate writing. ² Does
this indicate organization? ³ Particularly the prelates. ⁴ Organized activity in
reform. ⁵ Mainly the prelates. ⁶ Ossig. ⁷ The festival in honor of Calixtus I,
Bishop of Rome from 217 to 222, generally celebrated on October 14.

C.

Truly, had I to defend my cause before certain individuals, how could I do it better than by quoting the maxim of the comic poet: servility begets friends but truth begets hate? Now however, that I have to do with Hess, our brother, I will say nothing else than that love does nothing false, nor does it meditate evil. Also were it necessary Christ could bear me witness that in the cause of the Gospel I have hitherto sought nothing else by my writings or by my acts than his glory and, so far as you are concerned, your salvation, O Hess! Wherefore, O Hess! if your demon impels you to be angry with me, be it so; only I pray Christ that you do so without sin.

As to your letter: for your defense you confront me with a saying of Paul and finally with a thought of Moses. But verily how am I to persuade myself that you have done this seriously? Surely it seems to me that there is another meaning to those words which you have quoted. Yet since it is altogether so pleasing to you that you can adduce against me something of Paul as your crowning argument, why did you not cite the words prior to those you quote in support of your opinion, to wit: those that sin reprove in the sight of all? But perhaps it would seem to you to savor of a certain rashness and rudeness to reprove your associates in holy orders, the prelates, in such a wise. It is neither advisable nor necessary to discuss the Pauline meaning here, lest a sow presume to teach Minerva. But why should you mind their criticism of being too precipitate? Did not the act of Paul as narrated in the ninth chapter of the Acts always seem to the Jews a great piece of hastiness where one reads: and he was continuously preaching Christ in the synagogues? For on the heels of that straightway there follows the clause: and all that heard him were amazed. You might expect me to quote Galatians 2, but I will keep quiet about that very well-known passage.

Although your Dominicus did not see the purport of the citation from Moses, who is there that does not at once observe how little it fits your case? For we are not under obligation to investigate the Lord's meaning so much as his commandments. Maybe you will not be satisfied with the

fact that in the same chapter from which you have quoted there follows the sentence: you shall not enter into covenant with them; — in which case, please consider this passage from Joshua 23: because if ye desire to adhere to the errors of these nations which live among you and to exchange marriages and to join in friendly alliances with them, now then know ye that the Lord your God will not destroy them from before your face, but they shall be a trap and snare for you. Add to this the statement which the Lord enjoins in more than one place, that they are to fight with these Canaanites for their utter extermination. About this side of the question surely enough has been said.

But now as to the point about which I have been anxious concerning you, my brother. It is true that we have been jointly grieving over the littleness of your courage; and we are doing this according to the teaching of Paul in 1 Cor. 12. Briefly, the fact that I do not act toward you otherwise than I feel in my heart, — this very sincerity of mine you turn against us, as you do everything else in this your pert letter. May the Lord not impute your sins to you, my Hess.

The book of Hutten from which I have taken not even a solitary word, as Andreas can testify, you call sacrosanct in your detestable irony. I do indeed very much wish to know what you can find displeasing in that book, if at least you are a lover of truth.

Besides let me consider the details of your letter so that I may with a good conscience clear myself in every individual point to your judgment. Reflect upon this fact: I wrote: If you have changed the mind of the prince. Now indeed you, as I see, read because for if. And as to what have I been guilty herein? You say that it is on account of our minor ceremonies; we reply that it occurred because of extraordinary tyranny and greed, as I can demonstrate to you with luminous clearness and shall show you when I see you, if God be propitious. You also interpret me as though I described you to be a distinguished and extraordinary flatterer. But what difference does your coarse interpretation make to me? Nor is it worth while to crawl to princes in the papal cause; but whoever they be that crawl, the crawling is after all done to the bishops. I am truly afraid that you have not regarded the separate words of my letter with a favorable eye, and I consider my warnings to you as bearing but little fruit. Surely you ought to remember that even a prophet was once wholesomely admonished by an ass. I, in the fullest sense of the word, sound a retreat, for I have done nothing but what it was my duty to do.

Further, you bear it ill, my Hess, that at the close of my letter I have called you fainthearted; but why? Have not you complained to me not only once but often of your lack of courage? Why did you give expression to the same feeling in the presence of others and that so

repeatedly that I could here on the spot recite your very words with perfect exactness if I wished to?

I do not doubt moreover, that you already perceive how very justly you have expostulated with me in such a cruel and coarse way! Just as if I were a man who desires to mix heaven and earth; and just as if I were a man who wants to subvert Hess wholly and cast him into the condition which is contemplated in your conjecture; I say, just as if I were a man who would actually ruin this Hess whom I have hitherto held in such high esteem and now do so and always will as long as I live! I have no other feeling concerning you than such as befits an honorable man. But what you think about me gives me no concern. Although I do wish that we might not mutually traduce one another, especially before the weak, lest the Word should finally be evil spoken of on our account. I would rather bear your mistaken savageness than that you should drive me to such a startling extreme. The method of propagating the Gospel upon which I am entering is sufficiently evident to the entire circle of the brethren and indeed to our enemies. Farewell my brother in the Lord and let us bid farewell to all those who are anxious to make discord between us. From our village on this day of Calixtus, 1521.

Your Schwenckfeld.

The contention of Schwenckfeld with Hess.

D.

The Latinity is assuredly equal if not superior to any example of the literature of correspondence in this period. Neither the Ciceronians nor the Erasmians captured him; there is no imitative quality in it, it is as fresh and original as any bit of dead language can be. The vocabulary is in large proportion one of unrepeated words and these are out of the beaten track. Two require special remark: *commystes* is of mixed formation and peculiar in its termination of the accusative; the classical *symmysta* is found in Spalatin's letter to Luther September 5, 1518, and *symmystes* in the missive which the Strassburg preachers addressed to Luther November 23, 1524. Both alike signify a fellow-priest of a specific college cf. Köstlin's explanation and Koffmane's criticism. The word *ceremoniolas* referring to minor ceremonies is very infrequent and occurs only in mediaeval Latin. The idioms show a wide reading as well as deftness in the use of the language. We may cite as examples: *fiat sane, animum inducere, nihil ad rem quadrare, libens velim scire, coram luce clarius expendam, opere precium, non dextro oculo inspexeris, ammodo canam receptui* (cf. Mûnzer to Luther July 9, 1523), *egre fers, ad amussim, superstes ero, nihil moror, tanti facere tandem male audire possit, ad miraculum usque impingis, qua via in propagando evangelio ingredior* (cf. Mûnzer to Luther July 9, 1523). We doubt if in the same space any of his cotemporaries can show a finer facility of idiom.

II. A few observations must be noted about the letters and figures: The small *c* is used for *t* preceding *i*, although the conjunction *eciam* is also written *etiam*. The small *e* stands for *e* proper and for the diphthongs *æ*, *œ*; for these latter however, the form *ē* is often used. The letter *j* is represented by *i*; while *i* is sometimes designated by *j* especially at the end of words. Small *s* has the short and the long form. In the middle of words *u* stands for *u* proper and also for *v*; while *v* serves for *v* and also for *u* as an initial letter. The small *y* is represented by *y* and by *ij* undotted and joined together. Some of the capital letters have two or even more styles, one of which is imitative of the printed shape. A distinction has been made between *J* and *I* in the printed text in accordance with what seemed a difference in the script. The rules

of initial capitalization are fairly well established. Paragraph, sentence, question and quotation have the initial capital. The usage as to proper names is not uniform; the divine names however are generally so distinguished. Prominent nouns, certain adverbs and conjunctions on which there is a stress are occasionally so treated. Single figures are generally written with a period preceding and following. Their shapes are fairly uniform, the greatest variation being in the figure 1, as to the elongation of the hook and the shortness or length of the shank.

III. Punctuation also follows fairly exact methods. The regular comma is used between different clauses and at times does duty for a semicolon. The colon is more frequent being used after brief phrases to introduce a subject; it serves also to designate a quotation; it too takes the place of the modern semicolon; and is further employed to indicate an abbreviation. The period appears once at the end of a sentence, and with figures and abbreviations. The close of a sentence or paragraph is almost always left unpointed, a wider or narrower spacing suffices to mark the break. The interrogation sign is inserted before the full query is stated.

IV. The abbreviations are of several kinds. Adjectives in the superlative and words in the dative and ablative plurals and some nouns are occasionally abridged by a colon. The omission of medial and terminal letters is indicated by curves, single or double, placed above the word. Medial or terminal *er* and *ur* as well as other syllables are represented by certain curves more or less upright. The period precedes and follows or simply follows shortened particles. Horizontal lines are used to indicate prefixes and suffixes as well as letters. A few tironic signs appear to designate adverbs or conjunctions. In two instances owing to some flaw in the paper a letter has scaled off. Not a little of the writing is faded with age and use.

V. Schwenckfeld has a marked fondness for proverbs. He quotes from Terence the lines which were equally a favorite of Wimpfeling and which passed into the *Adagia* of Erasmus. He himself repeats this apothegm in several of his subsequent writings, most notably in a posthumous manuscript which is a defense of his *Erklärung*. He also uses an aphorism of Cicero's in the adaptation *ne sus Minervam doceat*, which legend attributes to Demosthenes. The phrase *ego ammodo canam receptui* had passed into a sort of gnomic expression for leaving the field in good order after having done your duty. Nor is he less familiar with Vergil, in the deprecation *si ego is essem qui celum terre miscere velit*.

VI. Probably none of Schwenckfeld's writings furnish us with such a display of satire, irony and humor. There is decided wit in choosing the way of pleading his cause and no less in challenging the demon of Hess. The swift turn of Moses and Paul against his friend, the deprecation

of himself as layman over against the brilliant theologian, the unobservant, sleepy eyes of Schleupner, the trepidation of Hess at the brink of decision, the characterization of Hess' epistle as *nasuta* as if it were with a turned-up and sharp nose that he had indited it, the wringing of the neck of Hess' irony about Hutten's book, the challenge of the lover of truth, the rebuke of the misinterpretations of the previous letter, the scorn of the episcopal adulators, the vision of Balaam's ass protesting against the prophet's progress to doom, the rebuke of pompous fierceness, the very farewell in which their mutual enemies are bidden to depart, — all these surely indicate a man of wit as well as humor, who can rise to righteous vehemence when false judgments need the lash. Probably the finest stroke of all is where he so deliberately spaces the words *et de hoc satis* when he wishes to end that side of the controversy.

VII. It should be observed that Schwenckfeld was not at pains to revert to the purest classicism. The Latin had made vast changes in the formation and position of words and in the syntax especially of the subjunctive mood and conditional phrases, while it was maintaining its existence as the speech of the learned. Long literary, legal and theological usage had fixed these alterations. Such lexical and grammatical variations had as much right to exist as had any national speech to be modified in the course of its development. It can be justified as much as Hellenistic Greek, Coptic or Syriac. The Gauls and Iberians each of them for themselves also made such modifications. Nor are such divergences to be necessarily viewed as a degeneracy. Scholastic and monkish Latin have much to vindicate them historically. Built on the Latinity of Jerome and Augustine mainly, it had its own history. Invention did not die out of it; such works as those of Anselm, Aquinas, and Hugo of St. Victor are not to be despised either for capacity to express thought or to express it well, which are certainly the two uses of language. Surely the mediæval hymns have an objective beauty all their own. There is more claim for original life in the Latin of a Kempis than there ever was in all the simulating truck of the classicists whose merit was not in the elegance of their Latinity but in the studies incited by the imitation of the ancients. There was much more chance for giving vent to the dawning moods of the nations in the Latin of a Kempis than there was in the Erasmian revival. Happily however humanism was homicidal and at the same time suicidal. After slaying its adversary it slew itself to make way for the higher differentiations of modern genius.

E.

Schwenckfeld, now thirty-one years of age, appears in this letter as completely devoted to the cause of the Gospel. He is possessed with an undivided energy to advance its principles. He has evoked the active hostility of the prelatie party. He has gathered about him a large number of friends whose hearts had been touched and who cordially support his aggressive movements. He was given to winning individuals and he longed to persuade Hess to forsake his halting attitude and consecrate himself to the innovations. Schwenckfeld had also made modifications in the order of worship and in church appointments. He was actively engaged in the study of the Scriptures but not to the neglect of either ancient or current literature. He was in pursuit of truth and therefore admired Hutten; what points he had won for himself he stood for and lived by. His aim was practical and progressive. He had learned to use his possessions for religious and social reform. He appears by far the nobler figure in this controversy with Hess; his indignation rises to majesty, his refutation to an overwhelming satire, and yet his love triumphs because it will not let his friend go. The letter shows him to have a great heart and no less a great head for understanding and handling men and events. The entire missive furnishes us a psychological insight into the burning soul of the man. Through its private but hospitable portals we enter upon the survey of this master and take our first steps along the middle Way.

II. It should be born in mind that this correspondence was not written with a view to publication. It was purely private and reveals undesignedly the intimacy of two earnest thinkers and spiritually minded men.

III. There is an impassible gulf between Schwenckfeld and the curialists. He had taken the irrevocable step which separated him from them; his whole nature was an assurance that this was positive and final; he never would return. The clang of battle is in the entire letter. The prelates are recognized as the implacable masters of the opposition. There existed also a class of faint-hearted hesitants whom Schwenckfeld would rescue from the mediæval toils.

IV. Johann Hess¹ was born in Nürnberg in September 1490, and was therefore of about the same age as his later friend. Although his father was a merchant, the youth was much dependent upon his own means, and at first seems to have been a travelling scholar, for we find him at the Latin school of Zwickau. From 1505 to 1510 he was a student in Leipzig, coming under the influence of that remarkable humanistic teacher Sommerfeld (Aesticampianus) who put a life stamp upon the young enthusiast, so that he espoused the side of a Christianized humanism. From 1510 to 1512 he was at Wittenberg pursuing similar studies until he took his master's degree in 1511. Then he devoted himself to the law under his fellow-citizen, Christof Scheurl, the eminent jurisconsult. Hess was surrounded with a swarm of poetasters and fiery modernists who however sported in antique garments. Although he indulged but little in verse-making, he did love the atmosphere of these would-be classicists who endeavored to reconstruct their time into a feeble imitation of the Greeks and Romans. The only real good they effected was the revival of philology, the editing of texts and the development of criticism. Hess himself issued a section from the younger Pliny's Natural History, *de vitanda ebrietate*, in 1512. The work was published by Johann Grtinenberg who later printed the first edited missive of Schwenckfeld. Hess' tract is noteworthy, not so much for itself as for its companion poem: *Antidotarius contra furiosam Veneris Frenesim*, a translation into verse from a German original which had obtained considerable circulation. The lines were by Wolfgang Kannengiesser, a native of Zwickau, who allowed himself to adopt the awful equivalent *Guolfus Cyclopius*, and is insufficiently known in Reformation history as Dr. Cyclops of Magdeburg; a man of colossal attainments, a skilled physician, an unquenchable champion of religious reform, and especially insistent upon freedom of conscience. Hess and he became bosom-friends. This little work seems to have had a particular moral purpose, for it dealt with the two distinctive vices of student life. The friendship with Johann Lange and Spalatin was also a flower of this time. Luther had not yet influenced him, but the patristic studies begun under Aesticampianus were now zealously broadened; hence the quality of earnestness gained ground in the master's character. In 1513 he visited his native city and found his law preceptor Scheurl in office there. By as yet an undiscovered influence Hess received the appointment of notary

¹ Köstlin RE³ gives the bibliography up to 1899. The chroniclers and the historians should be added as also Fibiger, Buckisch and the Ms. *Acta Capituli*; No. XXXVII of the *Schriften für das deutsche Volk* is Adolf Henschel's *Dr. J. S. der Breslauer Reformator*; add the later articles in the ZGAS., *Silesiaca* and in *CpbVevKS.*, and the *Breslauer Studien*.

in the episcopal chancery at Neisse under Bishop Thurzo; on May 1, 1514 his name appears for the first time subscribed to a document. It was not long before he became a favorite of that Bishop, who too was not only an ardent cultivator but a generous patron of humanistic studies. Out of his income Hess was now able to pay his Wittenberg debts. In 1515 he accepted the post of tutor to Herzog Joachim at Oels. In this year also he was endowed with a canon's stall at Neisse. In the year following, in consequence of a widespread pestilence, he went with his pupil, according to a tradition, to the University of Prague; and then visited different nobles in Bohemia and Silesia. In his leisure moments he resumed his patristic studies and was deeply moved by the Origenistic doctrine of the inner life, on whose cultivation Christian experience must fundamentally dwell; he also conceived a great attachment for Paulinus, the Bishop of Nola's poems and tractates, but particularly for his vital faith and practical Christianity. The circle of his acquaintances grew and his correspondence with it. After eight months of this wandering life, master and pupil returned to Oels, whence he writes to Spalatin on April 13 how he had been devoting himself to the reading of the Scriptures, particularly the Gospels, Paul and the Psalms. The next month he was sent to Wittenberg with certain relics, which the Bishop presented to Frederick the Wise, that great collector of such precious fragments. The influence of Luther as his spiritual father now began to assert itself. Thence he goes to Erfurt and delights himself in the circle of the humanists. He revisited his home, drawn thither probably by the illness and death of his mother. With December we find him back again at Oels where other pupils are associated with the prince. A canonry was given him at Brieg and by the favor of Carl I a similar position at the Church of the Holy Cross in Breslau. The intimation that he became the stated preacher at the Dom seems to be legendary. He spent some time in Wien, but the Bishop desired him to become a greater proficient in law and therefore sent him to Bologna, where he took his doctorate, and was as well a shining, companionable light among the many German students there. He also visited Rome and made other journeys in Italy, giving rein to his antiquarian and epigraphic predilections. On his way back he visited Oecolampadius at Augsburg. A temporary lameness compelled him to rest at Nürnberg, where he however enjoyed the society of a delightful circle of friends who called upon him; Pirckheimer alone was prevented by illness. Early in 1520 he is back at Neisse. Early in July he is ordained at Breslau to the priesthood and on the eighth of that month reads his first mass in the Propstei at Oels. Little over a month later the Bishop, who had so befriended him and who had written so many affectionate letters to him, passed away. On the first of September Jacob von Salza was elected his successor, and with

that act the historic turmoil with Rome begins. From this time on a period of inner conflict and indecision for Hess followed. The spell of the prelatie life becomes too strong for the impressions that Wittenberg had made upon him. He and Schleupner adopt the policy of delay. It is from this extremity that Schwenckfeld would deliver him.

V. Schwenckfeld was of course trained in memorizing, writing and speaking Latin. When a boy at school, he once rattled off breathlessly an entire vigilia consisting of fifteen psalms and fifteen lections; this undoubtedly was a Latin exercise. He must have frequented the Latin schools or else he could not have met the university requirements for matriculation in the studium generale or in the studium particulare. Moreover all lectures and declamations were in that tongue. In the house of his ordinary where he was required to live, the conversation had to be in Latin. The range of authors indicated by his quotations and by his idioms seems to have been not inconsiderable. He had therefore a culture equal to that of his educated cotemporaries and upon which he never ceased to build.

VI. Servility and pliance are vices abhorrent to Schwenckfeld. All distinctions of class required it; etiquette was grovelling; the courtesan's or courtier's life was a perpetual crawl; the peasant knelt under its loathsome burden; authors indulged in it to beg for bread. The Church was riddled by its craven spirit. Hess himself had dreaded it. In his letter to Spalatin April 13, 1517, dated from Oels, he expresses his fear lest the Bishop should recall him from his pleasant life of tutorship to the death which characterizes a career at court with its aulic ashes, its disagreeable racket, its unjust patronage, its intrigues, its cheats, its lickspittle ways, and other concomitants of a residence at Italian capitals. This comports with the citation from Terence. A larger view of the evil is given us in Document VII.

VII. The activity in evangelization is here directly avowed. It takes two forms, one of writing and possible publishing, but of course the greater part was by correspondence; the other of deeds such as personal conversation, fraternal conferences, public addresses meetings for study of the Scriptures and prayer. The earlier missives connected with this wide-spread activity have not been recovered. He protests that his aim as an evangelist was unselfish; he sought no personal ends. He pursued an organized system widely known, approved and sustained. This was in 1521 and not a mushroom; so that Schwenckfeld appears in the rank of an active reformer and indeed an acknowledged leader at that early date. This is an undeniable as well as an overwhelming fact, yet what author has mentioned it in any suitable way?

VIII. The proofs of his scriptural readings are abundant in this letter. From the Old Testament there are citations from Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, the Psalms; from the New Testament the Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy. These latter quotations are from the Pauline epistles; it is the initial step of the testimony that the Schwenckfeldian type of reformation was mainly grounded upon the Pauline interpretation of Christ.

IX. Dominicus Schleupner was born sometime in the eighties of century XV. His father was a goldsmith at Neisse who made the silver image of St. John the evangelist for the Hofkirche there. He first studied at Craców in 1498, and took his bachelor's degree in 1500. In 1503, January 7, the Acta Capituli report him as one of the five clergy imprisoned by the magistrates of Breslau. In 1504 he is already a notary of the Bishop who favors his appointment to certain offices. In 1506 he takes his degree of Master and in 1513 he is elected canon of the Kreuzkirche and three years later of the Chapter of Breslau. Of course he was well acquainted with Crautwald and became an intimate friend of Hess. Apparently Schwenckfeld himself had met him personally. On April 7, 1519 he appears on the Register of Wittenberg where he remained until 1520 when he withdrew to Leipzig after the death of his patron. From what Melanchthon says, Schleupner was impelled by some timidity as to what course he should take with regard to the new faith since the Bishop was no longer alive to sustain him. This irresolution seems to have affected Hess. While here Dominicus nevertheless preached reformatory views. It was in February, 1521, that the Chapter inquired into his absence from Wittenberg, but were satisfied with his twofold explanation. It was not until May 30, 1522 that he entered upon active duties as canon at Breslau. He comes again to the surface a bit later on.

X. The evidence of Hess' faint-heartedness is cumulative. The previous letter had dwelt upon it, this one reaffirms and justifies the charge; Schwenckfeld appeals to the personal confessions made by Hess to himself and to a number of interested brethren. The evangelical fraternity was grieving over his weakness. Outside of this are contemporaneous letters of Luther and Melanchthon which dwell upon it with questioning sadness. On July 3, 1520 Luther reproached Hess for his silence, and assures him that no further communication would come from Wittenberg until the suspicion should be removed that he was forgetful of them and did not care to exchange letters with them any further. Nor did Luther write again until March 15, 1522 to congratulate him on becoming an evangelist. On June 8, 1520 Melanchthon dwells on the fact mentioned in a letter of Hess to him about the opposition of the Sadducees, over which antagonism Philip was pleased. His letter of August 1 reflects on the canon's long

silence. An unusual interruption continues to February 20, 1521 when Melanchthon expresses his wonder at the suspended correspondence and urges him to take his stand for the Gospel. In April, 1521, he says: I am not wont to doubt your faith; I could wish that you had more manliness.

XI. The fact that Schwenckfeld was a layman is here intimated in the use of the proverb illustrating the difference between a non-professional and a master theologian as well as by the story of Balaam and his admonitory ass. But he does not cringe to any sacerdotal functionary. He is a perfectly free lance; he follows his own plans and supports his own methods. He is thoroughly friendly and stimulating to the canon but not subservient to any priestly order. He vindicates the right of a Christian priest by invariably acting as such. He never is absent from the altar of the true temple.

XII. Schwenckfeld appears as a very decided admirer of that Hutten who as historical critic, publicist, and humanist was one of the mightiest foes of Rome. Indeed he may have met him at Frankfurt a/O. when the young knight had matriculated at the opening of the University, a year before Schwenckfeld. He regards him very decidedly as the exponent of truth and wonders that Hess should criticise him. This means that our author was friendly to that type of humanism which had espoused the evangelical interest, and which pulverized the evils inherent in the curial history. The work here alluded to could scarcely have been an early one; and the likelihood is that it was in Latin, from the nature of Hess' charge. The note states our surmise and the Praedones come nearest of all to answering the conditions. Schwenckfeld believed in that form of publicism which made religion animate politics and that sort of criticism which exposed the papal fictions. He sympathized with Hutten's desire that Germany should break loose from Rome.

XIII. Arnold, as baptismal and surname, is unusually frequent in Silesian documents from century XIII onward. It has given its name to Arnoldsdorf, Arnoldshof and Arnolds mühle. It abounds in records connected with Lüben. Our Andreas is mentioned in a solitary instance and then as the altarist of Sts. Barbara and Agnes in the Pfarrkirche zu Lüben. This position he resigned on May 13, 1521, just five months before our letter, which is a suggestive fact; his successor was Michael Dittmann. Whether Andreas was the pastor at Ossig before his resignation has not been determined, nor have any other facts of his previous life been found. Thomas Arnold was a sort of bailiff in 1517, and a Paul Arnold served in the same capacity in 1522, while a Nickel Arnold appears as a householder in Liegnitz 1517. It is altogether likely that Andreas was a native of Lüben and that he was very much of the same age as his patron. He

certainly was even now on terms of the closest fellowship with Schwenckfeld, participating in his readings and correspondence.

XIV. Here is the fairly clear assurance that Schwenckfeld had already begun to make minor changes in worship; naturally these would include such observances as were most out of harmony with the Gospel. They probably lay along the lines of restoring the vernacular, modifying the masses in number and as sources of revenue, abolishing the veneration of the host and removing all pictures that served to minister to superstition. Possibly the baptismal form was abbreviated; more emphasis may also have been put upon evangelical preaching and less upon the sacramental idea of worship. These initial modifications were but few and yet, as far as they went, were made positively. Naturally these innovations evoked prelatie enmity and also aroused the hostility of Herzog Carl. On October 8, six days before our letter, Sebastian Helmann (Reisig) wrote to Hess, giving an account of the revolution in Wittenberg; and on December 8 Ambrosius Moibanus dwells a moment upon the same in his letter to Hess, so that there was a sort of synchronism in the alterations. Moibanus tells us of a long talk he had with Crautwald on this subject, wherein the notary expressed his surprise at the dubious ways of the learned men at Wittenberg, alluding chiefly to Carlstadt and Melanchthon. Such iconoclasm he opined should not be so suddenly made but remain subjects for discussion and be held under advisement. Moibanus himself begins to question the adoration of the sacrament. Crautwald had obviously not gone so far as his later friend, but he had at least entered upon the stage of doubt.

XV. Schwenckfeld as we have later proof was in the habit of making accurate and full memoranda of weighty conferences and events. He kept notes of his addresses and sermons; probably all these were combined in the shape of a daily record; the precision with which he could quote Hess' own words would seem to warrant the inference that this was a very early habit. Alas! whither have these journals gone?

XVI. It would look as if a fraternity of evangelicals were even at this time in existence; there is the amplest evidence of its compact activity a few years later. How loosely or closely this was organized at this date cannot as yet be demonstrated, but that Schwenckfeld was the life of it is clear, and that his methods were approved by that body is also apparent. It would probably be not very far from the facts, if one surmised that they met for prayer, conferred about plans, heard reports, and engaged in joint movements. They may also have had some common fund. The *Acta Capituli* render large evidence of the extended religious agitation: the collapse of revenues and gifts especially of wax, the uproar among the monastic bodies, the printing of Hus and Luther books.

Schweidnitz, Neunmarkt and many rural communities had advanced far in evangelicalism; antimonastic and anti-clerical demonstrations had been made in Breslau, Brieg and Liegnitz.

XVII. The capacity for being a good friend was one of Schwenckfeld's traits. He was deeply interested in Hess; he had done much for him; he was probably concerned in some of his promotions; he had extended to him material help; he recognized the prime talents and engaging qualities of Hess; he pressed on him the largest consecration to the restored Gospel in affectionate yet earnest words. Under exasperating provocation he yet will not let the breach be final and compels the spirit of love to overcome the heat and vehemence of the controversy. It is suggestive that many of Hess' letters bear the motto *sola fides et amicitia* as a caption. Dr. Cyclops once was dearly beloved, but Hess broke with him as he did with Crautwald, Eckel and Schwenckfeld.

XVIII. The name Ossig is probably of Slavic origin and is quite common because it designated a stockade or abbatis, a place of defense and refuge for the new colonists or conquerors. Schwenckfeld's estate lay five kilometer south of Lüben, which was a district, Weichbild, of the Fürstentum Brieg that had just passed into the possession of Friedrich II, after the death of his brother Georg I, on May 30 of this year. When Ossig came into the proprietorship of the family is not yet determined, but it was theirs before the grandfather's time. Schwenckfeld became the owner after his father's death, the right thereto being granted on September 16, 1519 while Georg was still living and was Schwenckfeld's suzerain. The need of superintendence was not unlikely one reason for his retirement from the court at Liegnitz. The church was under his absolute patronage and its present pastor was Andreas Arnold. It must have become evangelical some time before this letter. The population of the village consisted of officials, farmers, gardners, cotters and tenants, a few craftsmen, storekeepers and publicans, in all possibly about three hundred souls. Only a fragment of the old manor house remains. The church itself was entirely remodelled in 1610. All the early church records have apparently been lost.

XIX. The date of this letter is 1521 and not 1527. A comparison of the figure one with all the autographs demonstrates this clearly. It is possible that such a misreading caused the collector to put this after the letter of 1522. Schneider adopted the later date as alone comporting with the content, which he regarded as indicative of the final breach with Hess. But that rupture, so far as there was any, took place in 1526 on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and was intimated in the reply of the magistracy of Breslau rejecting the Liegnitz overture of the Stillstand. The contents favor rather the earlier date because there is no allusion to

any sacramental dispute. Further by 1527 Hess was the settled pastor of a great evangelical church so that the charges of indecision and lack of courage about breaking with the prelates could not then be true; that had long been done. Again he was not then associated with any princes. Hutten too had passed away four years before, and Arnold was no longer at Ossig. The very letters of Luther and Melanchthon in 1520 and 1521 forbid any other date than 1521.

XX. We are now introduced to the man who was a noble of ancient family, with university training, with an estimable political reputation, with a large circle of devoted friends, with rare gifts of eloquence and literary ability who had undergone a mighty inward change that was to dominate his whole life. We meet him just after he had become a disciple of Christ and having begun a propaganda of the Gospel. He has renounced his worldly advantages and has entered upon the life of an evangelist. This letter reveals him as an individualist. He has become an apostle of individualism and so he remained. He appears equally as a layman who is unabashed by all the array of orders and prelacy which massed themselves against him. He appears as a man of conscience who has shuffled off mere legality and casuistry and has concerned himself with other questions such as individualism as against the priesthood, the real seat of authority, the extent of obedience, the rightfulness and obligatoriness of vows, duty with regard to ceremonials, the claims of sacerdotalism, the real nature of sin, the ethics of forgiveness, the doctrine of mediation, the essence and order of the Christian life and similar features. He appears also as a man who fought for the Kingdom of light as over against the Kingdom of this world. What view was Schwenckfeld going to take of the world as a whole? Would he regard it as the best possible world under its then stage of development? Could he be an apologist for the evil which was mixed with the good and consider that evil as a necessary part of its history? Or must he call collective iniquity by the same name that he would call individual unrighteousness? Will he be content to float along with the Hellenic stream and delight in the double strands of goodness and wickedness, or will he be a prophet to rebuke the commixture and insist upon purity as a fundamental requirement for entering the Kingdom of God? Will he play Lydian airs to eviscerate manliness or will he come with stern Doric recorders to awaken courage and arouse enthusiasm against the foes of spirituality? Will he say with Gottfried Keller that human nature is in itself virtuous and you have only to be natural in order to be righteous and pure? Will he vindicate the Libertines, the Lucianists, the Icadists? To such questions there can be only the one answer, that he is on the side of Christ's, St. Paul's and St. John's view of the world. He will remain the unrelenting foe of all fleshly schools of thought, symbolism and action.

F.

The maxims which are induced from experience in the world can rarely attain the dignity of ultimate rules of conduct. Such proverbs may theoretically express the quasi motives underlying the facts, but they are seldom earnest and thorough enough for developing the best qualities in our nature. Machiavelli, Montaigne, Rochefoucauld can be no guides for moral wisdom.

II. Love is made the basis of practical demeanor in the Schwenckfeldian system. He made an honest attempt to bring it to bear upon all relations, Godward and manward. The presentation of it will grow upon us as we follow the evolution of his tenets and the events of his career. We must put it down among the foundations and regard it as a regulative norm for the ethical judgment. He designed it to control all his friendships as well, and yielded to its demands for identification, substitution and sacrifice.

III. The spread of the Gospel is a primary duty in the Schwenckfeldian body of truth and that with pen and deed and property.

IV. The regenerated layman is the fountain of human activities in the Kingdom. He is divinely commissioned to represent Christ. He is his true vicar; all other things and offices flow out of his priesthood, prophetship and kingship.

V. Two words are employed to bring before us ultimate authority. The Gospel stands for the entire christological current of the Scriptures. The Word is living and stands for God's personal revealer, whose words are spirit and life. Hence the Scriptures as giving us the facts of such revelation must be the final authority or constitution for the individual believer's conscience and therefore for the Kingdom of God and the Church. This is a radical divergence from the mediæval dictum under which he had been reared.

VI. Decision of character requires decision of conduct. There can be no alliance between the friends and foes of the Gospel. Separation may become an imperative when moral and religious issues are involved. When the Logos comes to his own and they will not receive him, what is he to do? The service of God must also be an undivided and con-

centrated one; all other service must be comprehended and regulated by it.

VII. There come junctures in which reflection must precipitate itself into action; else the clock-hand passes on and the opportunity is lost. Obedience to a commandment may be of richer moment than inquiry and study into its reasons and significance. The time of action requires forward deeds not a procrastinating deliberation. Faint-heartedness paralyzes faith as well as restrains from the volition due. Faith to be vital must be courageous and aggressive.

VIII. Schwenckfeld adopts the Pauline theory of the spiritual organism of the Church; the relation which exists between Christ the Head and his members is vital. Hence the members themselves are partakers of one another; the honor of the one is the honor of the other; the suffering of the one is the suffering of the other. Schwenckfeld did not treat this as a pretty sentiment to be hung upon the wall of his room or as an impracticable ideality to be romantically gloated over, but he believed in it, he wrote it, he practised it. It was a pure concept in his doctrine of the Kingdom and of the Church, but one that must be lived up to.

IX. To be a lover of truth is the ambition of the rational soul, no matter what difficulties may be involved in the definition of truth. And one may say that the devotion to what seemed to him to be eternal verities, natural, revealed, experienced, was something grand, inflexible, undeviating. His old age pursued it with the same ardor, but with an amplitude of horizon which the earlier manhood had not dreamed of; for the accumulated ethical and christological thought for which he did battle was well linked, logical and coherent.

X. The maintenance of a good conscience was fundamental in Schwenckfeld's conception of the life in God and the life in the world. You shall never find it lacking from his missives. There is consequently the candor, sincerity and transparency which are the products of a strict training of the moral sense and a constant watchfulness over its consciousness of responsibility for thoughts and actions. The man who would know himself has much to study and much to grieve over and repent of, but he has also a discernment of growing strength; his will-power to direct the energies of life gets to be well in hand; he learns to pilot his boat between all quicksands and reefs.

XI. Ceremonies are to be regarded as explanatory and supplementary; when not directly ordained they are not to be conceived of as permanent and final; in no case are they to be clad with an authority equal to the thing they represent; they are not to usurp the place of the truth they symbolize. The truth has an inherent energy which may require new and richer forms of expression or it may so clarify itself as to speak

directly to the soul without the intervention of such media. Therefore ceremonies must be subject to change and be treated as subordinate methods for expressing reality. In harmony with this principle Schwenckfeld made considerable variation in them.

XII. This picture of the office of a friend is beautifully set before us and is based upon the love of Christ and the love of the brethren, in which there may be sweeter and stronger degrees of intimacy but never to the destruction of equality.

XIII. Christian conduct before an alienated world is of the highest moment because of its influence for good or ill. The undemonstrated Christianity or the Christianity which a man professes and does not illustrate falls easily before the arrows of the enemy. The demeanor contradictory to the essential principles of the faith is a subtle foe of the truth which it pretends to adopt. The suppression of the inclination to revenge and of the desire for the recognition of the self as somebody of the first significance, are requisite not only to true brotherliness but to keep the lineaments of Christ's life fresh before the world. It is the Son of God we are to magnify and not ourselves. Therefore righteousness is imperative. The rights of others must be recognized mutually, and those rights can only be sacrificially surrendered, that is when others do wrong and inflict injury.

XIV. The old system as exhibited by prelacy is for Schwenckfeld a tyranny and stands for an insatiable avarice.

XVI. The propagation of the Gospel requires organization. A brotherhood to promote its ends is indispensable. The Kingdom is social and therefore demands society. In order to develop the highest type of social consciousness, it must itself exhibit a form of that which it would impress upon the world.

XVII. At the base of this letter lies the certainty that a profound change had taken place in the life of the statesman and counsellor. He is moved by some new force that seems to possess and direct his whole nature. He has ceased to regard the court as the ultimate of his career. The glory of Christ seems to animate him while it strips him of selfishness. It is not a merely intellectual revolution; it is not a highly excited state of sensibility; it is not a sudden and violent wrench of his volitions; but a higher will has laid hold upon him and opened up to him a new purpose and end in life. The change was as spiritual, balanced and permanent as any we know in history.

III

Letter to Johann Hess

June 13, 1522

A.

This second autograph is No. 3 of the same Rehdiger collection Vol. VII, and is placed before the previous one probably through a mistaken reading of the date of No. 4. It is written on similar folio paper 32' by 21' 5'', on both sides of one sheet; the script on the second page extends to a little below the middle. The letter as first sent to Oels was folded five times; afterwards for the repository it was creased four times, the middle crease of which has suffered somewhat from exposure, and most of the rust is on the right hand side of this crease. There is a little abrasure on the lower edge of the paper where one lateral fold remains, the others having disappeared. The whole document however is in better condition than the previous one. The paper is without watermarks. There are three impressions of a seal, the wax of which has been entirely broken off. The stamp on the left hand lower side of the second page has made an indentation showing that it was a haut-relief; it consists of a double concentric edge enclosing the bust of a young soldier with a standard in his hand; the profile is still fairly visible, the cap, doublet and pennant are quite distinct. It may have represented Schwenckfeld himself in his early manhood. The seal was circular and the depression is 1' 7'' in diameter.

II. The handwriting of this Ms. is finer and more compact; the dark ink has scarcely faded. The underscorings were most likely made by Schwenckfeld himself.

III. The literary history. 1. The first printed notice of this missive is by Samuel Benjamin Klose in the *Neue Literarische Unterhaltungen*, 1774 pp. 167 sqq. He prefaces his extracts with the remark that Mosheim made a mistake in ascribing Schwenckfeld's exile to Friedrich II; he is convinced that this does not agree with the facts which he believes show that the Herzog was overruled by Ferdinand. He further says that Schwenckfeld had a great desire to see the Gospel universally extended and expressed this in a number of letters. The one in which he calls upon Hess to preach the truth publicly is so wonderful that Klose feels constrained to edit it in parts and then proceeds to print certain passages therefrom. The quotations are such only as illustrate this point; the text

in so far is reproduced with tact and accuracy; the personalia however are entirely omitted. Unfortunately he closes his little article with the observation that Luther had expressed his opposition to Schwenckfeld with extraordinary moderation in the letter to him of April 14, 1526!

2. Johann Wilhelm Fischer in his *Reformations-Geschichte der Haupt- und Pfarrkirche zu St. Maria-Magdalena in Breslau*, Breslau 1817, p. 25, translates brief parts from the Klose text.

3. Schneider I. gives the full text as Beilage Nr. 1, pp. 33, 34 with commendable accuracy, although his parenthetical corrections were unnecessary. He also makes comments upon it in the course of the history.

4. Köstlin gives a summary and partial translation in the ZGAS., VI, pp. 128—130. He also makes certain comments on Schneider's readings; he alludes to this letter again in RE³ in which he mistakenly refers to Schneider II. as the source of the reprint.

5. Ziegler in *Die Peter-Paul-Kirche zu Liegnitz*, Liegnitz 1878 refers to it on p. 41, and quotes from it in note 54.

6. Hampe mentions it pp. 9, 10 with slight citations.

7. Hoffmann gives a number of readings from it with keen and appreciative commentations.

IV. The letter consists of 1. a superscription which is a rare usage with Schwenckfeld. The phrase served to remind himself of the spirit in which he should write; and his friend would be cautioned not to judge the letter otherwise than his correspondent purposed; he should interpret it as it was assuredly meant. 2. The salutation of only a word. 3. Schwenckfeld's delight in Hess' missives and the proof they give of a high quality of mind. 4. His expectation of the large fruit of Hess' talents as a preacher. 5. The discussion of what constitutes a call, together with some personal affairs. 6. Against silence in religious matters; opportunity is urgent and admits of no delay; the contrast between Hess and Creusing in this particular. 7. The news of Marcus' progress and the danger of elevating education above religion. 8. Hess' powerful delineation of the state of spirituality among the curialists; a veritable picture of Antichrist. 9. The beautiful commendation of Andreas Arnold in return for Hess' commendation of Fabian Eckel. 10. Hess' renunciation of his canonries and the question of future support. 11. Personalialia. 12. The valediction, date and signature. 13. The prayer. 14. The address which is on the second page on the fifth folding. The phrase *de vocacionis expectatione cum D Andrea Arnoldo* was probably made by Hess himself, judging from his occasional habit of summarizing in marginalia and on the outside of letters.

V. The scriptural quotations are freely adapted from the Vulgate; they are in no case verbatim, sometimes only a solitary word is employed.

In Apparatus Criticus Kl. = Klose; H. = Hoffmann.

B.

In charitate loquamur cum fratre^a

Salve Legi litteras tuas frater mi in christo / eo auidius quo rariores
fuere¹ / illę animum quendam | mirificum graphice mihi videntur de-
pingere: cuius fructum ego iamdudum et quidem | desijderanter\ ex-
pectaui / atque eciamnum indies expecto Vel ob id potissimum quod⁵
multis | consciencijs afflictis auxilio esse possit (animo tuo inquam):
quod Christo innumeras | Lucrifaceret^b animas: atque adeo hereditatem
sibi in celis firmiter stabiliret^c | Sed video te vocem deij vocantis ex-
pectare vt scilicet prodeas in publicum: for:|san bene facis: laudo: tamen
non admodum: quamuis ullus ex nostris sacrificulis | in hoc tecum senciet: 10
qui se vocatos et missos (etiamsi nihil mino) iactitant palam | Tute quem
ego vocatissimum puto / vocacionem ampliorem tibi expediri reris? Nescio |
que sit illa Nisi columbam e celo descensuram arbitrarere^d Vocatus es
inquam a | deo quia certus quod verbum deij habes: et quod deus hoc
verbo velit pasci ecclesiam | suam^e preterea Nemo ignorat te atque omnes 15
presbyteros² docendi³ gratia esse constitutos | a deo: Ve mihi nisi euan-
gelizanero^f: Tu gratiam euangelizandj habes vberime | et in hoc Doctor⁴
es nobis vnico Theologię vt doceas Ecce quantus hoc tempore | posses esse
in ecclesia christj / quamuis non velim quippiam precipitanter et immodeste

l. 1. loquamur, might be loquimur or loquemur; Schneider I. loquimur. l. 2. Salve,
not Salutem because Schwenckfeld when giving the full word always writes Salve.
litteras, Schneider I. literas. l. 4. In cuius the 9 = us; this abbreviation is preserved
throughout. l. 4/5. expectaui, Schneider I. expectabam. l. 10. ullus, Schneider I.
ullus (nullus). l. 11. iactitant palam, H. palam iactitant. l. 14. Schneider I.
inserts (es) after certus. l. 17/18. Tu gratiam euangelizandj habes vberime et in hoc
Doctor es nobis vnico Theologię vt doceas, underscored. l. 18. Schneider I. inserts
(ipse?) after tempore. l. 19. KL inserts vel after quippiam.

¹ Was this the only letter since October 14, 1521? ² Not sacerdos or sacrificulus;
he may have been influenced by the Greek. ³ Schwenckfeld distinguishes between
the teaching and the preaching functions. ⁴ Hess was made Doctor of Theology
at Bologna 1519; tradition says September 9 and puts it wrongly at Ferrara.

a. 1 Cor. 13¹.
f. 1 Cor. 9¹⁶.

b. 1 Cor. 9¹⁹.

c. Lk. 12³⁸.

d. Jo. 1³².

e. Acts 20²⁸.

a te gerj | Ego si quam gratiam *item* in hoc spiritus domini imparcietur/
 euangelij gloriam vt Laico¹ | quesiturus sum Non enim satis commodum
 atque consultum videtur iniciari nunc sa|cris illis Nec pium tacere: illi
 spiritu dej vocantur meo iudicio/ quos occulto | spiritus impulsu deus
 5 incitat vt eloquantur pure verbum suum: pure inquam: non | ambitione:
 non vana gloria: non cupiditate aliqua ductj Immo sijncere in gloriam|
 christj atque proximj commodum Hec ita me loqui puta vt nihil non ex
 animo | Verum si tu sentis de vocacione hominum/ coniecturo et eam
 olsne² tibi contigisse³ | vt videlicet Locum Fabij⁴ tui occupasses: quod-
 10 ipsum mihi admodum gratum | fuisset/ cum principem⁵ nostrum atque
 vere nostrum Patronum euangelicę doctrine | ad manum habuisses: tum
 Andream⁶ illum iam tibi presentem/ mihi pastoris | Loco sodalisque char-
 issimj reliquisses

Cauendum nobis est frater ne Christum taciturnitate nostra offendam9/
 15 quando vt | vlt Augustino in epistola ad Cassulanum⁷ Non min9 peccat
 qui veritatem dej celat quam | qui falsum dicat Nemo accendit Lucernam
 et ponit eam subter modum^a | Ignem veni missurus in terram/ quid volo
 nisi vt accendatur^b

Si Lutherus⁸ tuo/ exemplo angulo innixus accubuisset non haberem9
 20 hodie nos laicj | tantam partem euangelicę doctrine: atque quam vellem
 fructu hoc est vita et | moribus haberem9 Redeo nunc ad epistolam tuam
 Jubes me nihil esse de te solli|citum/ cum nunquam fui sollicitior/ et
 mecum multj fratrum Quemadmodum adaptas tibi | pauli illud Domin9
 potens est me seruare in illum diem^c Ita nos viciissim | optam9 vt officium
 25 paulj exequaris Non enim mediocris spes ecclesię christj in te | vnico sita
 est Cooptatus es in ordinem theologorum at vide ne condicionem iam |
 oblatam amittas quam in posterum magna iactura non poteris resarcire^d

1. 1. item, Schneider I. et. 1. 4. spiritus, H. spiritu. 1. 6. sijncere, H. sincere.
 1. 14. nobis est, H. est nobis. 1. 15. Cassulanum, Schneider I. Cassulam. 1. 16. dicat,
 K. dicit. 1. 19. exemplo, written above the line. 1. 20. hodie, was first written
 hodie and then the s was crossed. 1. 22. sollicitior, Schneider I. sollicitior.
 1. 25. enim, K. omits. 1. 25/26. Non enim mediocris spes ecclesię christj in te vnico
 sita est, underscored.

¹ Schwenckfeld decided to be a layman but he had discussed the question of becoming a priest or an evangelical minister. ² At the Propst Kirche zu St. Marien und Georg. ³ Hess had a call to Liegnitz probably early in 1522. ⁴ Fabianus Eckel died 1546, was called to the Kirche zu Unserer Lieben Frauen in Liegnitz in place of Hess and began his service on Pentecost, June 8, 1522, six days before this letter. ⁵ Friedrich II; his sympathy with the Reformation was already active at this date. ⁶ Andreas Arnold, now at Oels. ⁷ Ep. LXXXVI. Not a quotation but an induction. ⁸ The allusion is to the three great tractates of 1520.

a. Lk. 11³³.

b. Lk. 12⁴⁰.

c. 2 Tim. 1¹².

d. Heb. 12¹⁷.

Pontifex Wratislaviensis¹ vt audio te pro sua insperata clemencia ad prandium: Pastorem: Wolawiensem² pro sua insperata crudelitate ad carceres vocare iussit | Nimirum quia tu obtices mundum: ille eloquutus est deum Habuisses occasionem vtique | colloquendj de euangelio: Mihi certe quia forsitan immodice Loquor/ male conuenit cum episcopo | Jurasti in euangelium³ fac vt non soli tibi sit iuratum sed et proximo

Amo ego fratrem⁴ tuum puerum optime indolis et gaudeo de Institutione illius | sed ne vincat nos: Christe: in hisce rebus gloriacio carnis⁵

O quam Christiane Christj frater mihi depinxisti mundum immun- dissimum et principes | tenebrarum^b: Precamur deum vt denuo princeps 10 mundj foras eijciatur et iudicio | perpetuo iudicatur^c quo ego captiuissimus et mundo submersus Liberari possim: (3^a)

Ecclesiasticissimj quemadmodum volunt haberj pij: ita prorsus sunt omnium impijssimj Atque adeo | vt regnum ⁵Antichristj^d in eis in dies magis me agnoscere apparet Fabium tuum mihi commendastj | ego vicissim 15 tibi Andream meum commendo quo in studijs meis eciam priuatissimis confabulationibus vnico confidenter vsus sum Is reuera amicitia tua non mino quam ille dignus Vir probus atque pius: nihil sibi arrogans doctrine Magis vult ex | Christiana verecundia se ignorare multa viderj quam sciolus esse: promptissimo est ad | discendum: et in hoc vt discat docendi offi- 20 cium assumit Hunc tibi iterum com- mendo tanquam meipsum profectus est olsnam non ambiens lucrum sed salutem anime | et tuam quidem amicitiam adeo vt si tu abesses vix ille adesset

Quod vite Canonicalj renunciastj⁶ nescio an satis commodum satisque tempestiuum fiet | pater domini nostrj iesu christj provideat tibi de pingui 25 episcopatu vt illud quod au- dis: re ipsa atque doctrina declares Ego operam meam item in hoc si possum ad- ministrabo vt consuleres/ tandem fidelibus christj et mihi

l. 5. episcopo seems to have a cross such as sometimes stands in the abbreviation.
l. 6. sit, K. omits. l. 10. principes, Schneider I. principis. l. 11. eijciatur =
ejiciatur, Schneider I. ejiciatur. indicatur, Schneider I. iudicetur. l. 14. in eis,
written above the line; Schneider I. in ils. l. 15. me, written above ag which has
been crossed. apparet, Schneider I. appareat. l. 16. eciam, H. quam in. l. 19. viderj,
written above the line. l. 20. esse, written above viderj which has been crossed.
l. 25. pater domini nostrj iesu, Schneider I. Primum dominus noster Jhesu. pingui,
the n is imperfect. l. 27. item, Schneider I. et. tandem, written above
the line.

¹ Jacob von Salza 1481—1539. ² Ambrosius Creusing, died 1548. ³ The priest's
oath on the Gospel at ordination. ⁴ Marcus Hess. ⁵ Schwenckfeld reflects the
prevalent Reformation opinion. ⁶ In 1522.

a. 1 Cor. 5^a. b. Eph. 6¹². c. Jo. 12³¹. d. 2 Thess. 2.

De Augustin¹ operib⁹ nihil audio quamuis multi librij et quidem
Leui nummo Glogauie² adducuntur

Bricci³ qui erat Wittenberge pollicitus est in itinere se ad me redi-
turum sed | male seruauit fidem Tu interea quid scripseris Luthero⁴ quid
5 is respondit | taces quia plenus rimarum sum hac atque illac profuo⁵

Nihil scribo de condicione mea quia Andreas copiose tibj omnia
enarrabit

Vale in domino nostro iesu christo et pro me ora Salutabisque vni-
uersos isthic | mihi notos precor propter iesum vt non offendaris ex epistola
10 mea que nihil aliud | quam charitatem pre sese fert Vale iterum tu mihi
omnium charissime Ex rure⁶ die | sexta post penthecoste⁷ Si posses in
nundinis: Ioannis⁸: Wratislauiam venire da rem et ego operam vt illic
essem futur⁹ 1522

O rex glorie domine virtutum:
15 ne derelinquas nos | orphanos^a: Caspar Schwenckfeldig
Sed mitte promissum patris in | tuissim⁹ tug:
nos spiritum veritatis^b Amen amen:
Eximio atque integerrimo viro
d. d. Ioannj Hesso theologo
20 ecclesiastico fratj christj et suo
ad man⁹

De vocacionis expectatione
cum D Andrea Arnoldo

25 Olsne

1. 2. Glogauie, Schneider I. Glogovia. 1. 3. est, the e is imperfect. 1. 5. respondit,
Schneider I. respondit (responderit). profuo, Schneider I. profuo (perfuio).
1. 6. omnia, Schneider I. coram. 1. 10. sese, Schneider I. se. 1. 11. penthecoste,
a not unusual form; K. pentecosten; Schneider I. pentecosten. 1. 14. domine,
Schneider I. dux. 1. 15. Schwenckfeldig, Schneider I. Schwenckfeld. 1. 19. d.d. =
domino doctore. 1. 23/24. De vocacionis expectatione cum D Andrea Arnoldo,
Schneider I. omits. 1. 24. D = Domino.

¹ Amerbach's edition 1506. ² During the fair at Pentecost, June 8. ³ Pro-
bably Magister Briccius, subsequently Bürgermeister in Prague. A Henricus
Britzick de Britzick matriculated at Frankfurt a. O., October 16, 1515. Gregorius
Britz (Briccius) from Landau matriculated at Wittenberg May 9, 1523. ⁴ After his
return from the Wartburg, Luther wrote to Hess on March 15, 1522. ⁵ Terence,
Eunuchus I, 2 l. 25. ⁶ Ossig. ⁷ Friday, June 13, 1522. ⁸ St. John the Baptist
fair, June 24, 1522.

a. Jo. 14¹⁸. b. Lk. 24⁴⁰.

C.

Let us be controlled by love when we speak with our brother.

L Greeting. I have read your letter, my brother in Christ, with all the more avidity because your communications are so rare. They seem to me to depict graphically a certain marvelous mind, the fruit of which I have awaited a long time already and with great desire indeed; yes, I even now do await its product day by day, because of a truth it can furnish most effective aid to many distressed consciences; I say, your mind can be all that because it could be winning innumerable souls for Christ, and moreover it could be confirming an inheritance for itself stably in heaven. But I see you are waiting for the voice of God to call you in order to make you come out publicly. Perhaps you are right; I praise you indeed, yet not altogether; take any one of our priestlets you please, does he agree with you in this? They boast openly of being called and sent, although they are not in the least so. But of all men I deem you to have the greatest call and yet you are of the opinion that a more ample vocation should be furnished you. I do not know what this can be, unless you think that a dove is going to descend from heaven. I affirm that you have been called of God because it is sure that you have the Word of God, and that God wishes his Church to be fed by this Word. Besides there is nobody who does not know that you and all presbyters are appointed by God for the purpose of teaching: Woe is me unless I preach the Gospel! You have in a very rich measure the grace of preaching, and in this endowment you are a Doctor of theology in a peculiar sense for our benefit, namely, so that you may teach us. Just see how great a power you may be in the Church of Christ at this time! Although I am not willing to have you do anything precipitately and tactlessly. I for my part shall seek the glory of the Gospel as a layman according to what degree of grace indeed the Spirit of the Lord may have imparted in this matter, for it does not seem sufficiently opportune and advisable for me to be inducted into these sacred offices at this juncture. Nor is it consonant with duty to keep silent. In my judgment they are called by the Spirit of God whom God incites by the hidden impulse of the Spirit to proclaim his Word with a pure motive; with a pure motive I

say, as being led not by ambition, not by vain-glory, not by any cupidity whatever, but far rather as prompted to preach in sincerity for the sake of the glory of Christ and the welfare of one's neighbor. Please consider that I speak in this wise wholly from my inmost mind. But if in reality you feel that there must be a human call, I conjecture that this too could have been attained for you at Oels; to wit, you might have occupied the place of Fabius which very result would have been altogether gratifying to me, since you would have had our Prince and one who is truly our patron in the evangelical teaching at hand, and you would have left this Andreas who is now present with you, to be in the position of pastor and most cherished companion to me.

Let us take heed, brother, lest we offend Christ by our taciturnity, since, as Augustine expresses it in his epistle to Cassulanus, he who conceals the truth of God sins no less than he who speaks falsely. No one lights a candle and puts it under a bushel. I have come to send a fire upon the earth; what do I wish save that it be kindled?

Had Luther according to your example settled down reposefully in some hiding-place, we laymen could not have had so great a share in the evangelical teaching to-day, and how I am wishing that we were enjoying its full fruit in life and morals! I return now to your letter. You beg me to have no solicitude about you just at the moment when I never was more solicitous, and many of the brethren are so along with me. Inasmuch as you adapt the saying of Paul to suit your case: the Lord is able to keep me unto that day, so we in our turn long to have you pursue thoroughly the function of Paul, for the hope of the Church of Christ is placed upon you peculiarly and in no middling degree. You have been made indeed a member of the order of theologians, but see to it that you do not let go the opportunity now offered which you will never be able to retrieve in the future, even with the greatest sacrifice.

The Bishop of Breslau as I hear has with unexpected clemency invited you to breakfast; he invited the pastor of Wohlau with unexpected cruelty to go to prison; doubtless because you kept silent with regard to the world, whereas he has spoken for God. You might have had an opportunity at all costs in your conversation to speak about the Gospel. I certainly do not stand well with the Bishop, perhaps because I speak too freely. You have sworn upon the Gospel, act so that the oath may not be for your profit alone but also for the good of your neighbor.

I love your brother, he is a boy of fine natural gifts and I rejoice in his training; but O Christ! let not the boasting of the flesh, even in such a sphere as that of education, overcome us.

O, in what a Christian dress you have depicted for me, my brother in Christ, the utter impurity of the world and the rulers of its darkness!

Let us pray God to cast out the prince of this world soon and to judge him with a perpetual judgment, so that I who am held in heaviest captivity and am immersed in the world may be delivered.

In proportion as the most churchly wish to be regarded as dutiful, are they really the most undutiful of all people; and to such a degree that it day by day becomes clearer to me that I must confess that the kingdom of Antichrist is among them. You have commended your Fabius to me; I in turn commend my Andreas to you, with whom I hold the most confidential companionship in my studies and also in my most private conferences. He in fact is worthy of your friendship not less than Fabius. He is an upright and dutiful man. He does not arrogate to himself any learning. Out of his Christian modesty he would rather seem ignorant of many things than be found a smatterer. He is very quick at learning and he has assumed the teaching function in order to learn. I commend him again to you as if he were myself. He has gone to Oels not for the purpose of soliciting money but for the salvation of his soul, and indeed for the sake of your friendship, so much so really, that if you were away, he would scarcely have appeared there.

I do not know whether to consider your renunciation of the canonical life as quite advantageous or as quite opportune. May the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ provide for your support out of a rich bishopric so that what is said of you, you may declare by very deed and teaching. I will give my attention and service to this matter too, if I am able, so that you may decide to care for the faithful of Christ and me.

About the works of Augustine I hear nothing, although there are many books for sale at Glogau and indeed at very cheap prices. Briccius who was at Wittenberg promised to come to me on his return journey but he has not kept his word. What you have written to Luther and what he may have replied, you keep silent about, because I am a pitcher full of cracks and I let the water out on all sides.

I write nothing about my state because Andreas will narrate everything copiously to you.

Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ and pray for me; you will also salute all who are known to me there. I pray you for the sake of Jesus not to take offense at my epistle which in its very nature manifests nothing else but love. Farewell again to you who are dearest to me of all men. From the country on this sixth day after Pentecost. If you can come to Breslau during St. John's fair, I will give heed to be there at that time. 1522.

O King of glory, O Lord of strength, do not leave us desolate but send the promise of the Father upon us, even the Spirit of truth. Amen. Amen. Your most devoted Caspar Schwenckfeld.

D.

The Latinity has the same characteristics as that of the previous letter. The capacity to express emotions in delicate and varied language is to be noted particularly. There is a no less rich vocabulary although strikingly different from that of the first autograph. One may draw attention to *indies*; the intensive use of *vel*; *sacrificulus*, cf. Hedio to Zwingli beginning of April, 1523, and Jacob Probst to Luther end of 1524; *lucrifacere*, cf. Gerbel to Luther March 23, 1525; *resarcire*, cf. Carlstadt to Luther Feb. 18, 1525; *conjecturo* is not classical but mediæval; *confabulacio*, *gloriacio*, *ecclesiastissimus*, *tuissimus*. Many also are the idiomatic forms, such as *eo audius quo rariores fuere*; *graphice depingere*, cf. Münzer to Luther July 9, 1523; *forsan bene facis*; *tibi expediri reris*; *immo sijncere in gloriam Christi atque proximi commodum*; *nihil non ex animo*; *si tu sentis de vocacione hominum*; *quando vt vult Augustinus*; *cooptatus es in ordinem theologorum*; *habuisses occasionem utique colloquendi de euangelio*; *mihi male conuenit cum episcopo*; *jurasti in euangelium*; *magis me agnoscere apparet*; *se ignorare multa videri*; *male seruauit fidem*; *copiose tibi omnia ennarabit*, cf. Luther to Melanchthon 1525; *pre sese fert* and others. There are no direct proverbs unless the quotation from Terence had become such.

II. The missive abounds in gentle wit and humor: The priests with their idle boast of a vocation; the expectation of a dove to descend upon Hess; the fine play on what might have been for the enhancement of friendship had Hess accepted the call to Liegnitz; the impossible image of Luther as shut up in a corner; the reply to the charge of Hess not to worry about him just at the moment when Schwenckfeld and the brethren were most anxious lest his courage should fail; the contrast between the two unexpected invitations, and between the fear of the world and the dauntless preaching of God; the superfine churchmen who deem their discharge of formalities to be a genuine evidence of piety; the comparison of himself to a leaky vessel. Not many letters contain so much exquisite satire and such refined wit.

III. The usage as to letters, both vowels and consonants, is the same as in the previous document. The punctuation varies only in the use of the oblique line / for the comma. There is but one new tironian mark; the incorporated line for the initial, medial or terminal letters or syllables is entirely wanting.

E.

Schwenckfeld had not been idle since October 14 of the previous year. He had decided finally not to take orders but to remain a layman, and as such he produced fruit worthy of an apostle. Schwenckfeld undertook a political journey to Wittenberg probably in February; with this he combined an inquiry into the new reformatory acts. He says distinctly that in 1522 he had seen and heard Münzer in a colloquy with Justus Jonas and Melanchthon. Nor would he fail to learn from Carlstadt's own lips what his opinions were. It is possible that he was commissioned by the widowed Herzogin of Brieg to request Bugenhagen to write her a comforting tractate. There is the highest authority for saying that he preached constantly, and that before princes, nobles, bishops as well as the people. Markgraf Georg of Brandenburg and Herzog Albrecht of Prussia were among his auditors; crowds of Silesians had frequented his services. Although his hearing was somewhat affected, that did not interfere with his religious duties nor with the conduct of state commissions, but it settled his resolution to withdraw from the routine of the court. He won his prince to accept the apostolic faith and to favor its propagation. He looked upon Hess as a man so gifted and trained that he ought to be the leader of evangelism in Silesia. To relieve him of the religious uncertainty which reigned at Oels and to bring him to an ultimate public decision, a call to Liegnitz was extended to him, of which Seckendorf also speaks. We also see Schwenckfeld parting with his most intimate friend; it was not easy to forego the society of so modest but accomplished a scholar and so like-minded a pastor as was Arnold.

II. Hess was apparently still unable to come to a definite conclusion as to his duty to make a public declaration of his new faith. Yet he had resigned his canonries; to lose so many prebends at once made a serious gap in his income. Such a sudden step also involved a measure of publicity certainly. He had however not lost the favor of Jacob, for at his invitation he had taken breakfast with the Bishop at Neisse. Hess had declined the overture of a call to Liegnitz. Probably he felt it his duty to remain at Oels so long as there seemed some ground for hoping that Carl might adopt some reforms; a view in which he was justified by

the letter of the Herzog to Luther, on June 29, 1522. Hess is also anxious to extend the range of his patristic studies; he had evidently sought to procure a complete edition of Augustine.

III. Fabius was better known as Fabianus Eckel; so he signed his letter to Hess March 8, 1532. He was probably born at Liegnitz, January 20, c. 1495, receiving his baptismal name from the martyr Fabianus. He entered the University of Frankfurt a. O., April 23, 1512 and became bachelor in the spring of 1514. Paul Eckel had preceded him in the fall of 1508. The stories of Ehrhardt up to 1522 are idle. Before this year he had been at Oels and was a friend of Hess, but a far more determined advocate of the Reformation. Apparently Schwenckfeld knew him before his acceptance of the call to the Kirche zu Unserer Lieben Frauen in Liegnitz, a little before Pentecost, where he had just held his first evangelical service on Whitsunday, June 8. He became one of the most devout, learned and progressive leaders of the Middle Way.

IV. The existence of a brotherhood who were interested in the work of evangelization, and therefore in the attitude of Hess, is again made patent in this document. It must be regarded as a powerful factor in the religious rehabilitation of Silesia. Unquestionably laymen of all ranks were members of it, which added to its enthusiasm and efficiency.

V. Friedrich II, 1488—1547, is represented as now among the reformers; and not only as having a personal conviction but as being a patron of the evangelical movement. This puts him in the front rank of the earliest reformatory princes, the significance of which the historians have ignored and the *Acta Capituli* have misrepresented.

VI. Andreas Arnold is here portrayed to us in most attractive colors. He is not only the pastor, but the dearest sort of a companion. The word for conference, *confabulacio*, is the same with which Moibanus describes his colloquy with Crautwald on December 8, 1521.

VII. Marcus Hess was born c. 1505, and was now about sixteen years of age. He was matriculated at the University of Wittenberg July, 1523 and lived under Melanchthon's roof. He subsequently studied medicine.

VIII. Luther had no warmer admirer than Schwenckfeld. So intense was his first enthusiasm that he sat on the benches at Wittenberg at the end of 1518 or early in 1519, long after his student career was over. Every book of Luther was directly on his shelves. Yet he could never be the blind worshipper of any man; his sense of personal accountability for the free use of his faculties was too rigorous for him to accept the word of any master as final. But that the emancipation of the laity was due to Luther's revolt he acknowledged with gratitude, even after Luther had descended to abusive deeps against those who exercised

their private judgment and dared to reach conclusions different from his own.

IX. Jacob von Salza is portrayed with no very amiable features. He appears as favorable to Hess who was still somewhat of a courtier, but as the enemy of a free spoken evangelist and not at all friendly to Schwenckfeld's zealous propaganda. His methods are like those of the prelates and he was immersed in the impure and worldly curial life which Hess himself had described so vividly in his letter. It was this very regard for Hess which came as a turning-point in Jacob's episcopal career. He did not lose his personal or official sympathy when that scholar went over irrevocably to the cause of religious betterment. Nor did he antagonize Wittiger or Crautwald or Schleupner as they in turn withdrew. It would appear that Jacob so modified his ground that Axleben and Schwenckfeld were justified in their letter of January 1, 1524 in regarding him as having become a moderate, with strong inclinations toward some reforms.

X. Ambrosius Creusing was a native of Kanth near Breslau, if Ehrhardt's source can be trusted. On April 23, 1508 Ambrosius Kreusnigk de Wratislavia appears on the Register of the University of Frankfurt a. O. He was promoted to the baccalaureate in the same year on September 29. He may have first preached in the manor house of Hans von Rechenberg. Thence he went to Wohlau, and because of his advocacy of the Gospel he was summoned by the Bishop to Neisse, and cast into the Timmertze; he was transported thence by night to the fortress of Ottmachau. Wohlau at this time was in possession of the Thurzo family and Stanislaus Thurzo was the Bishop of Olmütz. These circumstances made the arrest of the pastor an easy matter. Some effective protests led to his release but with the injunction not to preach Lutheranism. His later history as a Schwenckfelder will come before us. There are two direct allusions to him in the Acta Capituli on June 2, 1522 and January 26, 1524.

XI. The works of Augustine here referred to must be those of the edition of 1506 published at Basle by J. Amerbach or their reprint at Paris in 1515. Schwenckfeld had already begun his studies in the Bishop of Hippo's writings. This summation of the thoughts from the epistle to Cassulanus gives us an idea of his method of reading and noting.

XII. The city Glogau with its five annual fairs was on the highway of trade from the South to Poland. Very likely these books were on sale at the fair held during Pentecost, a few days before our letter. Breslau itself had the privilege of maintaining warehouses in that city.

XIII. If the Briccius here mentioned was the future Bürgermeister of

Prag, Brikcius, and this is the most likely solution, then we have a very important fact brought before us. Of their previous acquaintanceship we know nothing. Brikcius was a Utraquist, but was of the Cahera party who favored Luther. He had not been a regular student at Wittenberg. Schwenckfeld, after his own visit to that city and his return before Luther had come back from the Wartburg, was solicitous about the actual progress of affairs, and Brikcius had gone to Wittenberg to investigate and to negotiate with the promise of return to Ossig. Schwenckfeld had also a profound interest in the Utraquists and their present growing division between the progressive elements and the conservatives. The phases of the Husite history were now everywhere discussed. Carl I's own letter to Dr. Martin dwelt on the injustice of Rome to his illustrious grandfather and the entire family. The Chapter desired the suppression of the books of Hus which were now coming from the press. These various synchronous flights show how comprehensive were the questions which were flocking together like whirring pigeons.

XIV. Hess had evidently asked Luther about the change of ceremonies, and especially about utraquism to which Carl I seemed inclined. In his reply, March 15, 1522, Luther apologizes for his brevity. He is back from the Wartburg in spite of Pope and Caesar. He praises Carl I for his zeal in behalf of the Gospel, but bids Hess to see to it that faith and love constitute Christianity, not communion in both kinds. Mere participation does not make a Christian. Thus the Reformer sought to check the further advance of Carlstadt's, Melancthon's and Zwilling's innovations. Naturally Schwenckfeld would have been glad to have heard this letter of Luther. He was also unaware of what Philip had written on the 25th of March. The little Grecian had accommodately taken the back track from the utraquism which he had just so ardently espoused. *Furor est, non pietas, nolle infirmitate aliorum hac parte obsecundare.* For him circumcision was now nothing, only a new creature; and certainly he himself was such after those winter doings of 1521.

XV. Schwenckfeld speaks about his condition as a matter concerning which Arnold would give a copious statement. This word must refer to all the personalia of Schwenckfeld; it could not be interpreted as belonging exclusively to his health. It doubtless embraced every feature of his life and work.

XVI. In 1522, of the four annual fairs at Breslau the first came in Midlent after *Lactare*, March 30; the second and greatest came on the festival of St. John the Baptist, June 24; it was this which Schwenckfeld suggested as a time for their coming together, cf. Fibiger pp. 39/40.

F.

In order to any honest conception of Schwenckfeld one must recognize in him the dominance of the law of love. The beginning and the end of this letter show this to be the key.

II. Culture carries with it the responsibility of radiation and diffusion. It is the habit of much erudition and skill to lapse into a fallow stage wherein the faculties themselves slowly lose vitality, and the capacity for furnishing contributions to the general welfare fades away. There is not a worse form of egoism than the reticence which under the persuasion of modesty declines to do or say anything for the common good.

III. This was a period of aroused conscience. The individualism thus awakened led to penetrative moral questionings, for numerous were the points which started stark out of sleep and asked alarmedly for an immediate answer. The trammels of the old system lay upon the soul like a nightmare; to batter down suddenly what was held as solid and final was no easy task. To reconstruct the psychology and the ethics was still more knotty. The quickened moral sensibilities were often in straits what to do. Hence the part which the conscience plays in the Schwenckfeldian system must be affirmed with a strong accent.

IV. The winning of souls for Christ is not a modern phrase. The old English word *lucrific* has unfortunately become obsolete, but is akin to the term here used, and the Vulgate employs it to express St. Paul's idea of gain.

V. What constitutes a call to divine service? There are two factors, the one internal, the other external; this latter needs no further mention. The first requires: 1) an intellectual knowledge and a vital experience of the living Word and his utterances. 2) The gifts of teaching and evangelizing; these must have the widest attainable training and testing by actual trial. 3) The purest motives of devotion to Christ and to the welfare of men. 4) The direct inner impulse of the Spirit which gives no rest except in obedience to this imperative.

VI. Schwenckfeld believed in the personality of the Holy Spirit and his capacity to influence the human will. It is to be observed that this requires individualism and free personal choice. It is in opposition to

traditional, official, hereditary ideas of service. It may therefore lead to the associate and established form of the ministry or to separate, individual work. Both must be acknowledged as divinely authorized; the individualistic has as much right to existence as the associational, for it is the basis of activity. No human authority has any power to check it; it must be allowed to work itself out into fruit, and therefore must not necessarily be constrained to take orders. How often has it proved its superiority in result over the organized and formulated! K stlin thinks that this was the first point of difference from Luther; rather, Luther had variant moods which his disciples gradually precipitated for him.

VII. He professed his faith in the organized Church but at the same time asserted his right of forming a brotherhood for private and public meeting. For a vitalized relationship and thorough expansion of the Church mutuality and intercession are primary forces.

VIII. The functions of the ministerial office here adverted to are. 1) The comforting of perplexed consciences. 2) The gift of teaching. 3) The gift of evangelization. 4) The conduct of social life into suitable productive channels. 5) The conscientious declaration of the simple Gospel. 6) The study and improvement of opportunity.

IX. Striking is the use of the word presbyter. It is probably due to his reading of the pastoral epistles while he was meditating upon his duty as to taking orders. How far the term is removed from the Cyprianic bishopric and from the medi val priesthood did not fail to startle him, and that all the more because he decided to remain a layman.

X. It is to be observed too that Schwenckfeld has no objection to university degrees, even for the clergy; nor does he oppose theology as a provisional expression of systemized facts concerning the Kingdom of God.

XI. He was intensely concerned about his own deliverance from secularization and the enlargement of his life in God; his confession to Hess shows the severity of the struggle.

XII. Hess' picture of curialism as he knew it, and particularly as reflected in the diocese of Breslau as he had observed it, calls forth the growing conclusion in the mind of Schwenckfeld that the kingdom of antichrist must be among this disordered clerical mass.

XIII. There is not to be found in human writings a more beautiful depiction of friendship than Schwenckfeld's commendation of Andreas Arnold.

XIV. He accentuated the necessity of making ample provision for the support of the ministry.

XV. To comprehend a situation, to understand its causes, to forecast its issues, to make a commensurate preparation for carrying out its detail to the epilogue are providential, Christian duties.

IV

**Letter to a friend who is on the point
of losing his faith**

March 31, 1523

A.

THE only copy of this letter as yet known to exist is in the possession of the Hauptbibliothek der Frandjeschen Stiftungen of Halle a/S., and is No. 13 of Ms. B. 33. The entire Ms. is described by Karl Weiske on p. 17 of the Mitteilungen über die Handschriftensammlung der Hauptbibliothek der Frandjeschen Stiftungen zu Halle a. d. S., as follows: "19. Handschrift B. 33 enthält Kopien von erbaulichen Briefen und Sendschreiben in einem einem gewissen Daniel Sudermann in Strassburg gehörigen Bande. Die Sendschreiben, von denen manche an N. N. gerichtet sind, sind C. S. unterschrieben, einige datiert wie z. B. der fünfte (vom 3. September 1555); die Unterschrift des vierten Briefes gibt als Verfasser genauer an Caspar Schwendfeld, Diener aller Liebhaber Christi. Der siebente Brief, welcher überschrieben ist: Vom Tauff der dritte Brief C. S. 1560 trägt die Unterschrift: Ist nit getruet worden. 1595 von seine eigen Handschrift abgeschrieben." It is of thick paper, bound in limp inscribed parchment, and measures 21' by 16' 3". It numbers 90 leaves, written on both sides. The outer and lower edges are for the most part uneven; in portions of the volume, and especially as far as p. 25^b as well as at the end, the outer margins are discolored, and the corners show some abuse and impairment. There are however, many pages of great clearness and beauty; the text itself is everywhere unmarred.

I. The contents are in six variations of the handwriting of the Vicar of the Bruderhof in Strassburg, Daniel Sudermann, an ardent and educated believer in Schwendfeld's system of the Christian life. He gives a brief account of his own career in his annotated copy of M., now in the Universitätsbibliothek of Halle a/S.: D. S. Ist geboren Anno 1550. Er ist Catholisch, aber bald Anno 1558 In der Caluinischen Schul gangen. Auch zu der Lutherischen predig mit gangen, Den Teuffern auch zugehört. Ist Anno 1594 zu erlanntuß der Warheit kommen, vnd hat A° 1624, biß vffgeschrieben seines alters 74. noch stard, frisch, vnd gesund, als lang der Herre sein Christu wil. t. biß 1628. 1629. Gottlob. 1630. 1631. His death occurred in 1631. Compare with this the fuller sketches by A. F. H. Schneider, Zur Literatur der Schwendfeldischen Lieberdichter bis Daniel Sudermann, Berlin 1857, pp. 9—20 with the Anmerkungen; and the essay in the Kerkhistorische Studien by Christian Sepp, Leiden 1885, pp. 238—277. Cf. ZUL. s. n.

The incidents of his remarkable career as artist, poet, collector, transcriber, propagandist, author, publisher, unionist, will be dwelt upon at a later period. This Ms. is one of many such collections prepared in folio, quarto, octavo and smaller sizes by his untiring and loyal pen. The usual signs of his facile hand appear in this volume. The outside of the cover has a crown with N^o underneath. On the inside Daniel Suderman zu Straßburg stands at the top. On the left margin one reads:

Mein freund, haßt Ihesum Christum lieb:

So werd an diesem buch kein dieb.

How he would caution a non-believer he omits to say. On a number of pages he has made slight pen-sketches of a rose with or without halo or ring; index fingers in all the delicacy of copperplate also occur. The varieties of script, all of them being cursive, are as follows:

1. pp. 1—44^b an elegant, official form, left-oblique, with slight changes of size.

2. pp. 44^b—46 official, less graceful, right-oblique:

3. pp. 47—49^b reversion to 1.

4. pp. 50—63^b a more compact and hurried, private form, right-oblique.

5. pp. 64—67^b it is again official, but very delicate and compressed; the inclination is left-oblique. The pencil rulings for the margins and the lines remain. One finds in the grace and symmetry of this section particularly the indications of an artistic hand. The writing has all the appearance of print.

6. pp. 68 (66)—74^b a small private style with signs of hurry; for this and other reasons probably, the transcriber confesses that the copy must be corrected.

7. pp. 75—81 a large, heavy private form, right-oblique; the copy from which this transcription was made was done so badly that both needed revision. This treatise has a separate numbering (1—7) as well as the continuous one. The remark appended by Sudermann as to the authorship of the preceding tract is again in his most delicate official form.

8. pp. 82—84^b he returns to 5; the guiding lines however are erased, although the first page indicates that they were drawn. This is the exquisite script of our present letter.

9. pp. 85—88^b the form of 2 reappears, but not always with strict observance of the right-oblique.

10. pp. 89—90^b there is a return to 8, but not with exactly the same grace; slight evidences of the pencil lines are here observable.

In all cases it may be remarked that the copyist does not carefully keep within the limits of the right-hand line. Marginalia occur in considerable numbers, particularly in connection with the finer scripts; there are also dots arranged in lozenge angles and a capital N with or without

the halo or ring above, as well as the index finger to indicate what seemed to the copyist to be important passages. The calligraphy presents no difficulty; the very few Tironian signs and the abbreviations resolve themselves.

Sudermann wrote these letters and pieces directly from autographs or from the copies made by Schwenckfeld's amanuenses; it is these latter which occasioned him the most trouble, and he has indicated the desirability of further correction; this, however, never came to pass.

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At end: muß Corrigiert sein.	

12. Ein Christlicher Sendbrieff.

pp. 75—81.

C. S.

s. a.

At end: ist gar vbel abgeschrieben gewesen, muß Corrigiert sein, nár die wórt. Weil von der bekantniß der wahren vnd falschen Kirchen, hievor gedacht wirt, welche der alt R. Schilling gemacht: So halte ichs dafür, er habe auch diesen brieff gestelt: doch magß wol S. E. C. corrigiert haben, wie dan sie vil bejeinanderen gewest sein.

13. Copeß eins Christlichen tröstlichen schreibens, so ein recht gúthertziger Christglaubiger, ain bekümmerten Menschen, der von wegen der Zweispalt des glaubens vnnnd widerwertiger lehr, in seim gewissen, glauben, lieb, hoffnung, vnd entlichen vertrauen zu Gott, etwas Irrig vnd zerstreuet gewest ist, geschrieben hatt:

pp. 82—84^b.

C: S:

At end: Datum am letzten tag Martij. Anno Domini.
MDXXIII. C: S:

This is followed by the postscript.

14. Etliche stúcken auß C: S: brieffe gezogen.

pp. 85—87^b.

Marg.: Wirt im abschreiben geféhl und unrecht geschrieben sein. This applies to a correction of the text. s. a.

15. Frag stúck vff die Concorbi.

pp. 88—88^b.

s. a.

16. Johan Marth: an Fraw J. B. Freiberg.

pp. 89—90^b.

At end: Datum am Sontag Júbilate. A: 1579.

J. M. An Fraw Felicita. von Freibúrg.

III. The distinct watermarks are threefold: The imperial coat of arms. The crown with five rays, four of them terminating in a sphere; the middle one elongated with a diminished sphere and surmounted by a bifurcated flame. The fool with cap.

The leading word is kept throughout the most of the collection.

The ink is a deep black which has suffered no fading and seems indelible.

The parchment cover is a leaf from a Ms. of Century XIII. It is a fragment from Jerome's letter: *ad Avitum quid cavendum in libris regi dēxwv*. In the Basle edition of his *epistolae*, 1526, the text begins at fol. 68 B. l. 7: *rogatus ut traderet to ut majestas ac* . . At this point the folio was cut off. The resumption is at the top of the inside page; *et*

ursum maiorem filii, fol. 68^b C. l. 8 to *et forsitan ex his*, C. l. 20, where the next line is cut in two. The back lid begins at fol. 68^b: *et aliud corpus sinceri* [synceri], D. l. 7 to *diabolum num incapax* . . , where the scissors have again terminated the text.

The outside page seems to be an exhortation of some lector at the Collationes, for the end reads in capitals: *Ier ad AVITUM Ubi ea que in libris periarchon Origenis ad uersus fidem catholicam sunt comprehendit*; so that this must have been an appendix to the letter itself. The larger capitals NTC below are cut in half. As Vicar of the Bruderhof, Sudermann may have used for occasional covers to his own Mss. such fragments of the old library as were discarded. The volume is sewed above and below with many close stitches, about two centimeters in length.

This particular Collection came into the possession of A. Pfaff, who has inscribed his name at the foot of page 1, with the date 1680. The next trace of ownership is given by Weiske's statement p. 16 of the *Mitteilungen* in which he says that an elderly candidate of Medicine, Schmidt, presented it among other Mss. to the library of the *Grande-Stiftungen*.

IV. The letter we are now to consider, is No. 13 of the series. It is in the official left-oblique script, beautifully symmetrical and compact. It consists of 6 pages, from 82—84^b, and has three distinct parts: a) a superscription longer than usual, amounting to a title; b) the letter itself; c) a supplement of Johannic passages to substantiate the teaching of the missive.

Part one. The caption may indicate that this letter was subsequently used as a tractate for distribution among the wavering minds of that period, whose feeling of certitude was shaken, to a greater or less degree, by the checkered aspects of the Reformation. Such a use will account for its preservation, in spite of its early date and non-printing, and for the fact that it found its way to Southeast Germany, as in general but few of Schwenckfeld's Silesian letters did; for apparently he did not concern himself about the safe-keeping of those earlier personal documents. The description of the purpose of the work given in the inscription is slightly broader than in the body of the missive; for the first adds the occasion of defection, ascribing it to the disunion engendered by dissensions concerning the faith and by the contradictory teachings then current, whereas in the second the cause is not mentioned, but simply the fact of error and distraction, which had brought the former believer into such a far estrangement. Schwenckfeld himself may have explained the occasion of the lapse to the copyists.

The heading is extraordinary because of the use of the word *Copeñ*, and because of the unusual length. Indeed, there is nothing like it in the entire series of captions in this collection.

a) It follows therefore, that Sudermann did not compose it; for this particular letter is no more a copy than is any one of the others; he

would scarcely have ventured to distinguish this one document in this unique way, seeing that the entire collection, save one letter, is made up of the products of Schwenckfeld's pen. Sudermann simply wrote what he found in the papers before him.

b) Did Schwenckfeld himself then prepare this inscription? In that case he would be only the editor of a letter which some fellow-believer had written; its merits however were so considerable that he felt constrained to give it wider currency. If this were so, the superscription would be his own statement of the design and contents of the missive, ein recht gütthertiger Christgläubiger would be an anonymous author. There are several considerations which make this theory impossible; α) Schwenckfeld never puts his name to any document which another had composed, without definitely mentioning the author, or making a statement or using a title which easily identifies him; β) the initials of his name are not only at the close of the epistle, but directly after the caption. Sudermann held that this description applied to Schwenckfeld and recorded that opinion by adding the initials. The subscription answers for itself; γ) further and chiefly, the personal tone of the exposition and the appreciation are indeed such as any two friends might address to one another, but for an editor to put his name in the place of the author, as if those were his own sentiments, would at least be singular, if not presumptuous. Moreover, as will appear, there are in this letter certain ideas which are inherent in Schwenckfeld's type of thought. No one is likely to have been so well schooled in these, at so early a date, before there had been any extensive development of their detail.

c) There remains therefore what is the altogether most probable alternative. Either some amanuensis or intimate of Schwenckfeld made a copy, before the original was sent on its errand, or the one addressed himself issued it, after he had experienced its recovering benefit. In either case the superscription was then added, so as to leave author and recipient unknown. Copies were sent on kindred missions, after the original had proved its healing ministry. Such a transcript was made somewhere in South or Southwest Germany, as the dialectic peculiarities which we find in this transcription indicate. A certain exemplar of this kind found its way into the hands of the von Freyberg family, and was given over by them to Daniel Friedrich, who in turn transmitted it to the custody of Daniel Sudermann. At a date later than the year of our missive Schwenckfeld wrote a consolatory letter to Valentin Ickelshamer, one of the earliest German philologists, during his serious illness. On his recovery, in deep gratitude, the recipient published that letter, at his own charges, in 1537. That incident may, in some measure, illustrate the circulation of the one now under review.

Part two is the letter itself, which observes the usual divisions: a) Invocation combined with salutation and proffer of service. b) Exposition and Disposition, which conjoinedly stand for the discussion of the subjects involved. c) The Appreciation or concluding prayers and wishes. d) The date, here without place. e) The signature.

Part three. A long line divides this from part two. It is in the nature of a postscript and consists of confirmatory texts from St. John's first Epistle. These may have been subjoined in the first copy, or afterwards, when the letter had obtained a wider circle of readers. Changes in the Silesian dialect of the original were probably made, for the same reason. Sudermann is not likely to have done this, for it must be borne in mind that he was a faithful transcriber whose ambition it was to produce the documents as he found them.

V. But to whom was it addressed? Here we are utterly at sea. There are certain fairly definite probabilities however which may be ventured upon:

a) He did not belong to the clerical order, as then constituted; from the caption and the nature of the appeal, he was more likely a layman, as was his correspondent himself.

b) He was a man of a certain eminence and influence, so that his defection caused remark and anxiety among the friends of the current spiritual innovation.

c) He had been noted for his deep interest in the Gospel and his steadfast pursuit of the Christian life for many years.

d) The two were on such terms of intimacy as to warrant such an intensive spiritual letter, for Schwenckfeld calls him a particularly beloved friend.

e) The two were at a considerable distance from one another. Schwenckfeld knew nothing of the catastrophe until the tidings were brought to him through some mutual acquaintance. Such an ignorance would have been impossible, if the sufferer had been within the range of Schwenckfeld's frequent and wide journeyings. Moreover, a shipwreck of faith, as disastrous as this, does not happen in a moment. Had the friend lived anywhere within ordinary reach, surely his consoler would have heard of the declension, before it had reached such a sad extremity. Vicinage would surely have brought the physician to the door, at the first signs of the malady. Add to this the prominence which the man's long-standing faith and his activity in religious affairs had naturally given him. Any retirement from the field, would have elicited Schwenckfeld's concern immediately. We have already seen, with what anxiety he instantly rebuked Hess for his irresolution. And again, if they were not far removed from one another, they were surely coöperant. No man in

Schwenckfeld's neighborhood could escape that wide-awake solicitude; how much less one who was so dear and so influential for the right. A fellow-workman's withdrawal, standing too in such close heart-relationship, could not have escaped that watchful and decisive eye. It is not surprising that in the busy period of Holy Week, when such important matters were taking place under his responsibility and supervision, that he could do nothing more than indite this wise letter to his troubled friend and give the assurance of his spiritual presence, sympathy and intercession.

f) It is entirely certain that this to us unknown reformer had a religious experience of longer standing than that of his correspondent. And this makes it not improbable that he also counted more summers. A tone of gentle deference pervades the communication, such as would be due to a man of riper years and knowledge of divine things, as well as extended service in the cause once so absorbingly pursued.

g) The religious state is described in the caption as one of a degree of errancy and consequent distraction in conscience, faith, love, hope, and that these were bringing him to the verge of loss of trust in God. The letter itself characterizes it more simply, as an errancy in faith, involving distraction. The causes are given in the heading alone; they are the dissensions in the faith and the contradictory teachings everywhere in vogue.

Beyond such statements, nothing positive can be affirmed as to the personality of the receiver. Desirable as it would be to have some nearer knowledge of an individual who had developed so early and incisive a concern in a simple New Testament Christianity, it would be idle to make guesses, especially since so little of the inner life of even the most conspicuous Silesians of that day has been preserved.

VI. The letter was probably written from Ossig, or possibly from Liegnitz, when Schwenckfeld was busy with drafting important works through the whole of Lent and Passion tide. He, at any rate, was so occupied as not to be able to undertake any long journey from home. The date is March 31, 1523, a period from whose fertilities so little has been conserved.

VII. As to the time of copying Sudermann gives no statement as he occasionally does in other transcripts; but the entire volume was certainly prepared after his investiture as Vicar of the Bruderhof in Strassburg April 27, 1594, because he gives his residence on the inside cover as in that city. In that No. 7 was transcribed in 1595, our copy may have been written about 1596. There are no marginal notes in our letter; an index finger occurs on p. 84 on the left hand side at the foot of the first paragraph of the supplement.

VIII. Of the quotations from Scripture only a few are complete; in others, words are selected from the context and joined with a fuller citation; the most of them are fragmentary. A somewhat paraphrastic use of the thought is also to be observed; for this becomes a favorite custom with him. In the present state of the text one finds Luther's version of the N. T., and the Zürich Bible were the only translations used. The rest of the passages seem to be original renderings and adaptations by Schwenckfeld himself.

IX. Mention of the missive, so far as known, is made nowhere. Had it been printed, Schwenckfeld would scarcely have omitted it from his Catalogue. It does not appear in the folios of 1566—1570. Possibly it was reserved for the other intended volume; if not, then it could scarcely have come into the possession of the von Freyberg family, until after 1570¹.

¹ It may be of interest to recall the fact that Wolfgang Capito who became a friend of Schwenckfeld a few years later than the date of our letter, had issued in 1519 the following translation made by him. *AD RE Verendissimum Atq. || illustrissimum principem, D. || Albertum Archiepiscopum || Moguntinū, Cardinālē &c. || eplū V. Fabricij Capitonis. || PARAE^{nis} Prior Divi Jo. || Chrysostomi ad Theodorum la/ || psum, V. Fabricij Capito/ || ne interprete cū praefatione, || ad eundem D. Albertū Archiep Mogūt. Card.*

At the end: *Basileae tertio nonas Nouembris. Anno, M. D. XIX.* (Printed by Froben.)

There is however not the slightest connection between the contents of the two works.

B.

Copeij eins Christlichen tröstlichen schreibens, | so ein recht¹ gütlicher Christ-
gläubiger, aim bekümmerten Menschen, der von wegen der Zweispalt |
des glaubens vnnnd widerwertiger lehr, in sein ge|wissen, glauben, lieb, hoff-
nung vnd entlichen vertrauen | zu Gott, etwas Irrig vnd zerstreuet gewest
5 ist, | geschrieben hatt: G: S: 2

Die gnad vnd Barmherzigkeit Gottes des Himlischen | Vatters thom-
vber euch, vnd bleib Ewiglich bey euch. | Vmb Jesu Christi seines geliebten
Sohns willen, vnnnd | durch ihn, das bitt vnnnd wünsch ich euch, mit erbietung |
meiner willigen dienst zuuor, besonder lieber Herr vnd | freünd. Nach dem
10 ich bericht³, wie ihr etwas Irrig | Im glauben, vnd gleich zerstreuet seidt,
So hab ich | nit wollen vnderlassen euch zuschreiben, vnd zutrösten | Vnd die-
weil ich nit bey euch sein lahn, doch im geist | vnd mit meinem Gebett, Erer
vor Gott dem | Allmechtigen nicht wil vergessen, bin auch ganzer | hoffnung,
weil euch Gott der Herr, vor vil Jahren | ein sondere liebe zur warheit des
15 Euangelij⁴ vnserz | Herren Jesu Christi, vnd einen Eyffer nach seinem | Wort⁵
(82) vnd Erkantnuß zufragen hatt geben, auch die | seinen zulieben, Er werde auch
das End gut machen, | vnd euch solches als der barmherzige Gott gnedig-
lichen lassen genießen. Amen.

So sollet ihr euch nur an den Herren Christum, vnnnd | sein Wort, das
20 nit fehlen kan halten, seine thewre er|lösung vnnnd gnedige wolthat mit glauben
vnd ganzer | hoffnung bedencken, vnd vertrösten, das euch sein bitters | leiden
als einem armen nottürfftigen sündler, mit seinem | verdienst zutheil seij wor-
den, so kündt ihr im glauben | nit Irr werden. Ihr wisset auch das der Herr
Christus | nit vmb der gerechten, sonder vmb der sündler willen | kommen ist⁶,

l. 9. vnd, or it might be vnd. l. 12. bin ichs after lahn omitted? l. 13. ich after
Allmechtigen omitted? l. 17. als had a third s which has been partially erased.
l. 21. euch omitted before vertrösten. l. 23. ihr written above the line.

¹ Variations of this phrase are frequent M. t. p.; L. t. p.; L. 364 A. 373 A. cf. also
Karlstadt, Luther, et al. ² In the greater number of cases Sudermann places these
initials after the superscription as well as at the close. ³ so. worden, the omission
of which is quite customary. ⁴ Denotes the four Gospels together with that which
St. Paul received by revelation. ⁵ Means Christ's own utterance as being spirit
and life.

vnd sein blüt für vnserē sünd, Ja für der | ganzen Welt sünd miltiglich am
Creiß hatt vergossen, | solches lasset ewern trost sein^a.

Zu dem sollet ihr das New Testament¹ vnd sonderlich | den Passion² oft
für euch nehmen, vnd allen tag ewer | Gebett mit seuffzen³ ewres hertzen
sprechen vnd bedenden | damit ihr das leyden Christi vnd seines Worts wol | 5
erinnert werdet, vnd euch sein gnügthun durch seinen | bittern todt, wol vnd
fest Inbildet, Ja alle ewre sünd | vff sein Creiß leget, so würde euch wol
werden, den | der Herr Christus ist gültig vnd barmherzig, er ist | nahe allen
denen die ihn mit ernst anruffen^b, Er ist der | einige Nothhelfer in allen an- (82^b)
sechtungen trübsal vnd | ängsten, darumb so befeisset euch, das ihr allein 10
durch | sein Wort, bei ihm vergebung der sünden suchet, | das ihr euch ihme
ganz befeilet, euch in sein gnad vnd | barmherzigkeit erget, mit herzlich
zuversicht, Er | werd euch von ihm nimmer gescheiden lassen werden, | Inn
solchem sollet ihr oft euch üben^c, den Herren Christum | Ziemmer lieber ge-
winnen, dann wer ihn lieb hatt, vnd | sich guts zu ihm versicht, den kan er 15

l. 5. das mistake for des? leyden for leydens might pass. l. 7. würde mistake for
würdt?

¹ No edition is here alluded to, nor need it necessarily be the German. It may be well to recall the fact that on Sept. 21, 1522 the first ed. of Luther's N. T., was published; already in December of the same year the second edition appeared. ² This may refer to the N. T. sections of the Gospels portraying the sufferings of Christ, but it does not exclude the small devotional books which gave the passages and explained them more or less; appropriate collects and prayers followed. Manifold editions existed at this time. Schwenckfeld himself published one entitled

Deutlich || Passional vnseres Herren Jesu || Christi. || Mit schönen tröstlichen Gebetlein | vnd figuren. || C. S.

At end: Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Künegund Wächterin.
1548.

There are evidences to show a much earlier circulation of this work as Ms. and as book. We must not lose sight of Schwenckfeld's aim to provide good devotional literature as one of the ways to aid in a reformation of the Christian life. These books always breathed a catholic spirit. Naturally the Passion was a frequent homiletical theme. Cf. Thomas & Kempis: opp. ed. Pohl: Vol. III p. 174 sqq.; Vol. V p. 57 sqq. Cf. etlich schluß reden von der rechten betrachtung des leydens Christi. Aiv sqq. in Ain löblicher | güter || notwendiger Sermon | von sterben || wie sich der mensch darzu schiden || soll mit etlichen schlußreden vom || leyden Christi | Ausgangen Von || Doctor Steffan Castenbaur Augustiner ordens in seiner || gefandnuß umb gottes || wortes wissenn | zu Rülborff || 1523 cf. Crautwald's von Bereitung zum sterben. It may be well to remind ourselves of Dürer's Große Passion as the most elevating of the illustrations of that date. ³ An integral part of energized, dynamic prayer; cf. ZUL. s. n. A series of words are here given to express the methods of private devotion, vid. F. ⁴ For the use of spiritual exercises vid. F.

a. Matt. 28²⁸; Mk. 14²⁴; 1 Jo. 2². b. Ps. 145⁸, 9, 18.

nit lassen, wie | Er auch Im Euangelio sagt*, glaubt mir*, dan dem glau- | bigen seind alle ding möglich^b.

So sollet ihr euch befeissen zuglauben, das der Herr | Jesus Christus der Sohn Gottes, Ewer erlöser, Ewer | einiger seligmacher vnd Ewer Herr vnd
5 Gott sey°, | wie dan sein Wort lautther anzeigt, wer lahn euch | den schaden, wan Christus mit euch ist^d.

Mehr sollet ihr glauben, wie ihr dan ohne Zweifel thut, | das Ihr durch den bitteren Tod Christi vom Ewigen | todt seht erlebigt, vnd das Er euch am stamm | des Creuzes, das Ewig leben hat erworben, Also | das Ihr mit
10 dem Herren Christo, vnd mit Gott seinem | himlischen Vatter in seinem Reich¹ (83) werdet Ewiglich | wohnen, solchs laßt ewer trost, vnd einige hoffnung sein, | Vnd nach dem wir arme sündler vns selbs Je keines | wegs köndten² helfen, wie auch der Herr zu seinen | Jüngern sagt, das wir ohn ihn nichts vermögen°, so | hat Er vns alle ganz tröstlich zu ihm geladen, da | Er spricht, kompt her
15 zu mir, alle die ihr beschwerdt | vnd mühselig seind, Ich wil euch erquicken, Math: 11^e. | Solches sollet ihr oft bedenden, vnd sunst nirgend | Ewer seelen heil vnd seligkeit, dan bei Christo suchen, | Nicht bei eufferlichen dingen, sonder mit dem Propheten | Ewre augen vnd herz erheben³ zu dem, der da wonet | Im himmel^e, vnd ihn, in aller ansechtung, mit seuffthen | anrufen, vnd
20 bitten er wölle euch gnediglichen helfen, | vnd wen ewer gezilte stünd⁴ kommet, einen seligen | abschied verleihen. All ewr vertrauen setz außß | leiden Jesu Christi, vnd hoffet, das sein bitter tod | Ewr Ewigs leben sein werdt, dann wer in ihn glaubt | sol nit zuschanden^h, sonder in allen nöten getrost werden, | Wer sich auch mit seinem blut im glauben besprenget, | das zur vergebung
25 der sünden ist vergossen, sol derselben vergeihung erlangen, vnd in seim gewissen geheilet vnd gereinigt werdenⁱ.

l. 1. * In the forepart of the Ms. collection the star is more carefully drawn, as on pp. 17, 33, 33^b, 39^b. Sudermann uses it to indicate a) a passage in the margin, b) another reading or a correction, c) or a noteworthy passage, which is the use here and on p. 63 l. 19. He employs it some eight times in the entire work. l. 11. We should expect ewern cf. p. 61 l. 2; the omission of n is due either to the disregard of terminations so frequent in this letter or to not observing the abbreviation by the copyist. l. 16. sunst, in Schwenckfeld's autograph to Ruff he uses *sunst* (mhd.); nirgend: there is a flourish to the d which usually represents en, but may stand for es; certainly nirgendes is met with. l. 20. er wölle, Schwenckfeld himself writes er welle.

¹ The Kingdom is more than the Church. Not that he belittles the significance of either the body of Christ or the visible fraternity of believers. ² köndten = können.

³ The spiritual and liturgical *Sursum Corda*. ⁴ your appointed hour; lit. your hour set (by God) as goal. This transitive use of the verb is quite in accordance with the original meaning of *zil* (*meta*) and often met with in mhd.

a. Mk. 5³⁰. b. Mk. 9³⁰. c. Jo. 20³⁰. d. Rom. 8³¹; Matt. 28³⁰. e. Jo. 15⁵ [V]. f. Matt. 11²⁸ var. g. Lam. 3⁴¹. h. Rom. 9³³; 10¹¹. i. Heb. 10²³.

Darumb geliebter Herr, so seidt getrost vnd starkmiltig | mit Christo vnserm Herren, Er Ist der trew Hirbt^a, der | die Irrende schafflin führet, sie befriedet, (83^b) vnd in seinen schaffstall brengt^b, befeisset eüch aüch, das Ihr gern Almüssen | gebet, Eüch in den werden der liebe übet, Jederman | barmherzigkeit beweiset, vnd all ewr anligen Christo | vnserm Herrn heintragen^c, so werdet 5 ihr erfahren, dz | Er eüch nit verlassen wirt^d, Es ist vnser Christlicher | glaüb nit schwach, noch Irrig, vnd in dem kürzen | Sentenz des Herren Christi begriffen, Wer an mich | glaübt, der hatt das Ewig leben^e, Aber die Jenigen | machen die leüth Irr, die sich vom Regierenden Christo¹ | der das haupt seiner 'gemeind² ist, aüff andere eüßerliche ding abführen, 10 vnd darin lehren vertrauen | da doch weder trost, hilff, noch heil ist zü finden. .J.

Vnser Herr Jesus Christus der Erzhirbt, vnd Bischoff | vnserer Seelen³ laß Eüch ihm ganz befolhen sein. Amen. | Datum am letzten tag Martij. Anno Dominj MDXXIII. | G: G: 15

In Summa³ In der ersten Epistel Johannis am Zweyten, | steht vnter anderm also geschriben: Meine kindlin, solchs | schreibe ich eüch, aüff das Ihr nicht sündiget, vnd ob ie mandt | gesündet, so haben wir einen fürsprecher bey Gott, Jesum | Christ, den gerechten, vnd *derselb ist die versünung | für vnser sünd⁴. .J. 20

Habt nicht lieb die Welt, noch was Inn der Welt ist, | dann so ie mandt (84) die Welt lieb hat, In dem ist nicht | die liebe des Vatters: dan alles was In der Welt | ist (Nemlich die wollüst des fleisches, vnd lüst der | Äugen, vnd hochmüt des lebens) Ist nicht vom Vatter, | sonder von der Welt, vnd die Welt vergehet mit ihrer | lüst: Wer aber den Willen Gottes thut, der 25 bleibt | In Ewigkeit¹. Das alles ist hoch zübedenden, | vnd nit züherrachten. Der Allmechtig schaff in allem | seinen willen mit barmherzigkeit. Amen.

1. 3. in seinen schaffstall, it looks as if Sudermann had first written seinem and then imperfectly altered the m into n. 1. 5. all ewr anligen may be singular, or = alle ewre anligen. 1. 6. dz common abbreviation for das. 1. 9. sich mistake for sieh = sie. 1. 17. ich written above the line.

¹ A favorite term as descriptive of the Kingdom of Christ and the glorified Lord of the Sacrament. ² ἐκκλησία. ³ Probably not in the original letter, but added later by Schwencfeld himself.

a. Jo. 10^{11, 14}. b. Lk. 16⁴⁻⁶. c. Ps. 55²². d. Josh. 1⁵. e. Jo. 3³⁶, Zürich.
f. Eph. 5²³, Zürich. g. 1 Pet. 2²⁵ cf. 5⁴, Zürich. h. 1 Jo. 2¹⁻². i. 1 Jo. 2¹⁵⁻¹⁷.

C.

A copy of a Christian letter of Consolation. A very good-hearted believer in Christ wrote it to a person laboring under spiritual grief. He had become somewhat errant and distracted in conscience, faith, love, hope, and was in ultimate danger of losing confidence in God. This pitiful condition was due to the current dissensions in the faith and to the contradictory nature of the teachings which were advanced.

May the grace and compassion of God our Heavenly Father draw nigh to you and abide with you eternally, for the sake and through the instrumentality of Jesus Christ his beloved Son. This is my prayer and desire for you; let me also proffer to you beforehand my ready service.

My dear Sir and friend, whom I hold in such particular affection:

No sooner had I been informed that you were somewhat astray in your faith, and that at the same time you were distracted by reason of such a spiritual ailment and its causes, than I resolved to write to you at once without fail, possibly I might afford you some solacing relief. It is a regret to me that I cannot come to see you and be in bodily companionship with you; but you know that I am present with you in my spirit and will not forget you in my prayer before almighty God. Many years ago God the Lord granted you a marked degree and quality of love for the truth of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor did he neglect to bestow upon you a striking zeal of inquiry into his Word and knowledge. You will also let me mention that he endowed you with a ministering love for his people. Do these signify nothing to his responsive nature, and are they forgotten by him who bestowed them? Hence I am quite of the hope that he will make the end good for you, and that so merciful a God will graciously permit you to enjoy the fruits of such endowment and service. Amen.

Therefore cleave solely to the Lord Christ and his Word, which cannot fail. Consider deliberately, with faith and entire hopefulness, his precious redemption and gracious beneficence. Feed yourself with the conviction that his bitter suffering, as well as his merits, have become your positive possession as a poor, needy sinner. With such a strong sense of personal relationship, you cannot go far astray in your faith. Moreover, you know very well that the Lord Christ has come, not to save the righteous, but

sinners, and that his blood was benignantly shed on the cross for our sins and indeed for the sins of the whole world. Let these facts be your consolation.

Further: you should frequently read the New Testament and particularly the parts that set forth his Passion. Yes, every day you should utter your prayer and meditate upon it, not perfunctorily, but with the deepest aspiration of your heart, so that you may be fully reminded of the sufferings of Christ and of his Word. By this medium then, you will form within you an unfading and abiding picture of the satisfaction he has wrought by his bitter death. Indeed you must regard your sins as laid upon his cross; then the blessed conviction, that it is well with you, will come into your consciousness; for the Lord Christ is kind and merciful; he is near to all who call upon him with earnestness. He is the sole helper in need, when we are involved in temptation, sorrow and anguish. Therefore give assiduous heed to seek forgiveness of sins from him solely through his Word; to commend yourself to him without reserve; to surrender yourself to his grace and compassion, with the hearty assurance that he will never let you be separated from him. In all such positive truths you must exercise yourself often, and thus gain an increase of love for him. For he who loves Christ, and seeks his own well-being exclusively in the Saviour, cannot be forsaken by him, as he himself affirms in the Gospel: only believe, for all things are possible to him that believeth.

You must sedulously labor to know and feel and trust that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is your Redeemer, your only Saviour, and your Lord and God, as his Word clearly manifests him to be. Who then can injure you, if he be with you?

Moreover, you should credit and appropriate, as you doubtless do, the realities: that you are delivered from eternal death through the agony of Christ; and that on the tree of his cross he has won everlasting life for you; and consequently that you shall live forever with the Lord Christ and with God, his Heavenly Father, in his Kingdom. Let such consummate truth be your trust and sole hope.

And because we poor sinners have fully learned that we can in no way help ourselves, as indeed our Lord says to his disciples, that without him we can do nothing, he therefore gives us all this comforting invitation: Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest Matt. XI. Upon such assurances you must repeatedly reflect. Nor should you seek your soul's remedy and happiness anywhere else than in Christ. O! do not resort to external things, but raise your eyes and heart with the prophet to him who lives in yonder heaven, and in every temptation call upon him with strong sighings, and beseech him graciously to help you; and when your destined hour comes, to grant you a blessed

departure. Put your entire trust in the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and hope that his bitter death may be your eternal life; for he who believes on him, shall not be put to shame, but shall be solaced in every extremity. Whosoever is sprinkled in faith with that blood, which was shed for the remission of our sins, shall attain pardon, and shall be healed and purified in his conscience.

Therefore, my beloved friend, be comforted; be also very courageous with Christ our Lord. He is the faithful Shepherd, who leads the wandering sheep back; he pacifies them and brings them to his fold.

Study also to love the bestowment of alma. Exercise yourself in the works of love. Show every man compassion. And carry all your burdens to Christ our Lord. Then you will experientially know the truth, that he will not forsake you. Our Christian faith is not weak; it is not misleading; and it is embraced in the brief sentence of our Lord Christ: Whosoever believeth in me, hath eternal life. But there are blameworthy leaders who cause the people to err by turning them away from the reigning Christ, who is the Head of the Church, toward other and external things; and also teach them to trust therein, where surely no comfort, help or salvation can be found.

May our Lord Jesus Christ the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, have you wholly in his keeping.

Dated this last day of March in the year of our Lord 1523.

C. S.

In brief: in the first Epistle of John, the second chapter, you will find among others, these verses written: My little children, these things write I unto you that ye may not sin. And if any man sin, we have an advocate, the Lord Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins.

Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the vain-glory of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever.

The thoughts expressed in these words must have our highest consideration and are not to be contemptuously ignored. May the Almighty work out his own will with compassion in every possible sphere. Amen.

D.

THE prevailing language of this document is the Gemeinddeutsch of the period, yet, naturally, tinged with the dialectic peculiarities of the writer cf. *ich* . . . *ſahen* p. 60¹²; 62⁵; *brengt* p. 63³. How much of these dialectic peculiarities has been effaced by the copyist, is a matter of conjecture. That there has been meddling with the original seems plain from seemingly oberdeutsch characteristics appearing in a document preëminently mitteldeutsch. Forms like *aim* for *eim*, *geſündet* for *geſündiget*, *heimtragen* for *heimtragen*, *wölle* for *welle* would seem to be clear indications of od. interference. So too, may be the frequent occurrence of *nit* for *nicht*. For though the form is both od. and md., and a favorite with Luther, yet it is not observable in the early writings of Schwenckfeld (autograph letter to Ruff, print of 1523 = Doc VI). Though the character of the document's language be neuhochdeutsch, yet the separation from the standard of the mhd. period is not complete; that standard is still observable in a goodly number of words. According to mhd. phonetics and spelling, we find the umlaut of *a* expressed by *e* in *widerwertiger* = mhd. *widerwärtiger*, *gnädige* = mhd. *gnädige*, *gnädiglichen* = mhd. *gnädlichen*, *der Allmechtig* = mhd. *allmähtic*, *nemlich* = mhd. *nemliche*. On a par with that is the spelling *eufferliche*. According to mhd. phonetics and spelling we further find *vil*, *gezilte*, *anligen*, *wol[that]*.

While the modern principle of spelling to indicate the shortness of a vowel by doubling the following consonant is carried so far as to spell *anruffen*, *hilff*, *heiffen*, *hatt*, *vatters*, *gebett*, *biſchoff*, *offt*, *notturfftigen*, yet we meet with *er wil* = mhd.

Notably modern is the use of *h* to indicate lengthening of the vowel preceding, notable all the more in words whose vowel ought to be short according to the mhd. standard. Consequently we have *ſohns* for mhd. *sunes*.

<i>ihme</i>	for	mhd. <i>ime</i>
<i>ih</i>	»	<i>ir</i>
<i>ihm</i>	»	<i>im, ime</i>
<i>wohnen</i>	»	<i>wonen</i> ; (but there is also an isolated <i>wonet</i>);

nehmen for mhd. nēmen
 abführen > > abevūeren
 kahn > > kan has already been adverted to.

To indicate the organic length of vowel already long in mhd. *h* is met with in

lehr for mhd. lēre
 lehren > > lēren
 fehlen > > vēlen
 steht > > stēt
 vergeht > > vergēt.

Here belong the cases where the length-indicating *h* precedes the vowel or follows after the consonant next to the vowel, as in

wolthat for mhd. woltāt
 thun (in gnugthun) for mhd. tūn (tuon).

Even with diphthongs this misplaced *h* is found, cf. zutheil, lauth, leüth.

The aspirated pronunciation of *f* may be indicated by the spelling *thommt*.

Different from the spurious use of *h* as denoter of vowel-length, is the genuine *h* in *verleihen*, *nahe* and *befelhet* (*befolhen*), where it is organic and answers to mhd. *h* = *ch* (*verlihen*, *nâhe*, *bevelhet*, *bevolhen*). This spelling is all the more noteworthy, because in another instance intervocalic mhd. *h* appears represented by *ch* as in *versicht* for mhd. *versiht*.

The mhd. standard of phonetics and spelling is observable in *vm̄b* = mhd. *vmbe*.

vnderlassen for mhd. vnderlâzen¹
 verjünung > > verstēnunge
 sunst > > sunst.

Note *almuffen* as shortening of mhd. (md.) *almūsen*. Mark the interchange of thoroughly modern *auff* with the older *vff* where the law of diphthongisation is broken into, and long *û*, instead of becoming *au*, turned to short *u*.

On a par with this is the shortening of mhd. *i* to *i* in

inbilden for mhd. inbilden
 schäfflin > > schæfelin
 findlin > > kindelin.

But to go farther into details of this kind would be beyond the scope of this introduction; enough has been said to show the reader what philological interest attaches to this document.

Of course, the second part of the word deviates from the mhd. standard in so far as the long vowel *â* has been shortened.

II. The Punctuation:

- (,) or (/) to indicate
 - a) relative sentence.
 - b) phrases complete in themselves.
 - c) appositional sentence.
 - d) breathing phrases; copulatives are therefore disregarded.
- (:) indicates
 - a) abbreviations.
 - b) end of caption dividing it from the treatise proper, in order to keep up the fact of connection between the two.
- (.) at end of sentence only.
- (·P·) originally for etc.,
 - a) at end of the treatise.
 - b) at end of the first paragraph of the postscript.

III. For us Schwenckfeld begins to build his German style in this letter. Its characteristics put forth their first blossoms. — Here are a perspicuity which is clearness itself; a notable command of appropriate vocabulary; a logical development of his subject according to a well defined plan. There is also a method of collocating parts of speech in groups of three; also a way of building his periods in groups of three climactic sentences; to both of these sometimes a fourth term is added. This rhetorical peculiarity is not so conspicuous here as it is in the coming years. Nor can we fail to mark a certain glow, so that one feels the person behind the letter; the prevailing note here is one of a tender but wise sympathy.

IV. Sudermann presents some difficulties with his capital letters. H, K, V, Z and some forms of D show so little variation that he apparently used them indifferently as capital or small letter; hence the transcript of them may not always be uniform. In the main the smaller letters are in Latin script. The umlaut over single vowels acts as a modifier in ä, ö, ü. In ei, ö and ü it apparently is only diacritical; au is pointed áu and áü; eu is pointed éu and éü; v is pointed v̂ and v̂; all these seem to be diacritical only.

1 Syllabation at the end of the line follows the usual four rules exactly and is indicated by · as hyphen.

E.

AS to historical data, the document itself furnishes but few details. I. It is to be noted that it was written on Tuesday of Holy Week, March 31. This was the second day after Palm Sunday. The Church was on its way to the crucifixion and thence to the resurrection whose celebration fell on April 5. This period of revived interest in the Passion of our Lord makes itself felt in the entire letter. Just when the whole Church is reaching out to the fundamental fact of its life, this wanderer from the fold feels himself farthest removed from that Saviour, to whom and to whose Gospel he had been so sincerely and worthily attached. Schwenckfeld uses this soul-subduing occasion to remind his friend covertly of that better time which now seemed so dim and distant, and to bring up not only the themes of these hallowed days, but to persuade him to the study and rebuilding of the history and its significance. In that endeavor we have also a striking picture of Schwenckfeld's own lines of reflection and prayer during these commemorative hours. What he enjoined upon his friend, he himself was doing. By the cross whereunto he wanted his companion to retrace his errant steps, the young correspondent himself was lingering; his own spirit was resting at the fountain opened for purification and for quickening, that he might acquire vigor to pursue the reformation work with increased fervor. Here he sought courage to restore the simple ways and principles of Christ and the apostles. He, too, unquestionably was meditating upon the cleansing of the Church, and was wishing for its direct, unhindered nearness to Christ its head; he desired to help in its deliverance from the useless schemes of mediation and hosts of intercessors and assist in securing its freedom from the alliance and identification with the world, which had so obscured its mission and diminished its spiritual energy.

II. Schwenckfeld, as has been said before, was most probably at Ossig when he penned these lines. While he spent the greater part of his time on his own estate and did much of his work there, he was frequently at Liegnitz, where he would necessarily be during these stirring days; occasionally also at Brieg, Haynau, Lüben, Wohlau and near lying towns. In fact, we know from his own statements that he went on journeys for religious or political purposes quite constantly. But just now

in this Lenten season and during Easter tide he was immersed to an unusual degree in critical affairs nearer home, since he could not go to see his friend, even in this extremity. If we consider the author's tremendous activity with his pen, and the number of addresses which he made, the well filled calendar of his appointments, proofs of which we have already encountered in 1521, we can readily believe that he was weighted with correspondence and with engagements local and general, to a degree such as prevented his undertaking a more distant mission. We must conceive of him therefore, as profoundly engrossed in this spring of 1523; some of the formulated results of this activity we shall meet with a bit later. The question of communion in both kinds, the necessary changes in the liturgy, the wider circulation of the Scriptures, the call and settlement of several evangelical ministers, the appointment of a Lector on the old foundation in the cathedral, were some of the movements that were now being carried forward in Liegnitz and its neighborhood. The chapter of the Dom in that capital was largely moved to opposition, not only on account of proprietary rights, but through sympathy with the chapter in Breslau. The latter was making a determined struggle against the converted Franciscans of St. Jacobs, who in turn were ridiculing the old system; and were especially free in their onslaughts upon the Domherren, who resisted the moderate and accommodational policy of Bishop Jacob von Salza. In this very month they were moving King Louis and the King of Poland, Sigismund, to more aggressive steps against the incursions of Lutheranism. To add to their alarm, Lybisch of Breslau was publishing book after book of Dr. Martin, without rebuke. Moreover the negotiations with John Hess, who was now at Nürnberg, had begun. On this very day, during the absence of the Bishop at the court of the King, the chapter called the prior and preacher of the Augustinians at St. Dorothea to account for having inveighed against the prelates and clergy in public discourses. Schwenckfeld's hands were therefore over full; but he had the complete sympathy of Friedrich II, who, however, could not give much practical cooperation because he was just then immersed in settling the struggles of Schweidnitz to retain its liberties of coinage. According to some testimony, the Herzog partook of the Supper in both kinds probably Maundy Thursday, *Dies Viridium*, two days after this letter was written¹.

III. Schwenckfeld speaks of his friend's connection with the evangelical movement as of pretty long standing. The many years cannot be whittled down into a matter of five or six or seven. Even seven would bring us back only to 1516. Therefore this convert must have been influenced by something else than the sunlight which radiated from Wittenberg. Espe-

¹ The weight of evidence, however, seems to favor the same period of the next year.

cially when you consider that his character is described as one of rare devotion and zeal. We must presume that his constancy in forwarding the evangelical faith had yielded him a well recognized reputation and authority among his fellows. No one can acquire a love for the Gospel and be making a practical study of the Word and be gaining an experiential knowledge of it and be showing such a fruitful ministration to his neighbors, without a fairly lengthened self-discipline. It would seem right, therefore, to attribute his awakening to some light that had dawned before Luther really had made himself felt. The most likely source would be that which came from the brethren of Bohemia, otherwise indiscriminately called Piccards, whose simple doctrine and worship were not without propaganda in all the adjacent countries, especially, for a while at least, in the dominions of Karl I of Münsterburg and Friedrich II of Liegnitz. They were not without an impress upon Schwenckfeld himself, as we shall see later on. It was Lucas of Prague who with pen and speech reorganized the congregations and spread abroad their doctrines and church order and remodeled the social relation of the communities. He was a man of high intellectual vigor and eloquent address, as well as marked executive ability. It may have been under his revival preaching or by his books that the friend was first awakened, anywhere between 1507 and 1512. A side light is thrown on the tenets of the Unitas by the complaint of Hungarian and Bohemian prelates which they lodged against a Dominican who had turned Lutheran and preached in Tetzschen. He was condemned as being heretical in forty articles. A satirical criticism was published at Wittenberg¹, wherein five of these were criticised as being Pyckardish. The careers of Andreas von Dobczyn called Galka, Jacob Zelcze aus Stereberg², and the Herzog Bolko³ von Oppeln "a friend of truth and wisdom", afford distinct parallels in the latter part of the preceding century.

IV. This letter also throws some light upon the hurrying currents of the reformatory impulses that swept hither and thither, as the modern period broke its way through and partially submerged the mediaeval traditions. These irresistible and sudden tides caused a perilous change to come over the hitherto ardent disciple. Not improbably the great number of independent leaders who now sprung up and the tumultuous

¹ Flag an künigliche Maiestat Ungern vñ Behem wid' ainen Lutherischen münch prediger ordens über vierzig artidel von im geprediget | zu Tetzchen in Behemer lād. Im Jar 1522. M. Matheis Blochinger. zum leser. Christlicher leser. Zi Eeren den vñ Paris | Eöln vñ Bōuen | das sy nit allayn vngelerete seilte | vñ grobe gesellen | erlāt werden. Habe ich lassen druden vierzig artidel | über welche die pfaffen | Behemer lands | geurtailbt haben | vñ wie dñe affen | von denen von Paris geleert | wye du am ende aines hetlichen artidel lesen wirst. Wittenberg. ² Vid. article by Conrad in CpbVevKS. V, 201 sq. ³ Vid. article by E. Franklin Arnold in CpbVevKS. IX, 89.

outbreaks in Wittenberg may have furnished causes for this decline of his faith, as also the violent procedure of the Utraquists in their endeavor to compel the Unitas to join with them. To these must be added the iconoclasm practiced by the oligarchical communities; the turbulent uprisings of the mobs in different cities and towns, who threatened the overthrow of all stable government as well as the destruction of the unity of the Church; the sweeping modifications in the traditional ceremonials; — all such ill-regulated breaches of order were hazardous, revolutionary and perplexing to his mind and conscience. We must remember how loud, fierce and alarming these were, and how virulent and conflicting became the voices of the leaders in all camps. A conservative reformation such as he probably had hoped and labored for, was now well out of the question. The training of individual character as the first step toward any rational betterment of society appeared to be made hopeless, if indeed the possibility were not clean swept away. By these outward revolts and this raging fury about externals, to say nothing of the more riotous proceedings of those who stood for freedom without restraint of divine or human law, the anarchists of that day, the gentle progress of the Gospel seemed to him utterly shipwrecked. It was in this very year that Johann Böschenstain¹ published an exhortation enjoining the avoidance of similar dissensions. He founded it upon the contention in the household of Chloe: 1 Cor 1¹¹⁻¹³. Toward the end of his appeal he urges that no new sects be formed, whereby men are made partisans; the brethren should rather conduct themselves peacefully among one another, and remain in the teaching of Christ, and have their delight therein, because his yoke is sweet and his burden light. He will revive us and be our comforter. Put away all envy; read his true doctrine; his Gospel wavers neither to the right nor to the left hand; receive Christ only; let him be our teacher, Doctor, Master, and father; no one is good save he only; no one can lay any other foundation except that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.

Another work was written two years later in Nürnberg, and was the joint product of Dominicus Schleupner, the friend of Hess, who was alluded to in Schwenckfeld's first letter, Andreas Osiander and Thomas Venatorius². Its design was to serve as a medium for healing the many divisions especially as they existed in that city, which was a centre of almost every school of thought then current.

¹ Ein christliche vndericht Der brüderlichn lyeß | Durch Johaß Böschenstain | auß der hailgen geschryfft gezogen Bägefant | S. philippo Münch Collegaten zu Handelberg. | Anno M. D. XXIII.

² Ein gut vnterricht vnd getreuer Rathschlag | auß heyliger Götlicher schrift | wes man sich in disen zwittrachten | vnsern heyligen glauben vnd Christliche leer betreffend | halten sol | darin was Gottes wort vnd menschen leer | was Christus vnd der Antichrist sey | fürnemlich gehandelt wirt. | Geschriben an ein Erbern | Weysen Rath der löblichen stat Nüremberg durch jre Prediger. | M. D. XXV.

V. The conception of the reigning Christ, which so dominantly closes this epistle, had a double cause for being pressed home. His authority was desperately threatened. Frantic and infatuated men were indulging in vain speculations; they were anticipating the overthrow of everything that savored of a supernatural holiness and spirituality; they were bent on reinstauring Naturalism based on Greek culture; or a Materialism founded upon Aristotelian metaphysics. There were adverse councils of kings and princes who sought to break asunder the divine bands and to cast away from themselves the exacting religious and ethical cords that the new spiritual education demanded; these opponents of light were in full session. The saving element was forgotten amid the disorganization, the clamor and the disruption: the King was really upon the throne, bringing order out of the chaos, and precipitating a new civilization out of the dissolving elements of the days gone by. However cunning the devices of the pagans or the obscurantists or the sophists or the half-way humanists, his sceptre of righteousness was above their power to break. The second psalm found an analogue in the Palm Sunday that had just gone by, and in one of the incidents of Tuesday in Holy Week, when Christ's authority was so pointedly reprobated by chief priests, scribes and presbyters. Schwenckfeld may have had it in mind on that third day on which he wrote. What should follow in the celebrative hours could not but add intensity to the vision of that reigning Christ who appeared so stripped of all the externals of any but a mock majesty, as he went through death to reveal himself as the Prince of life. Surely such analogues floated through the mind of this writer as he sought to gain fixed points for persuading and consoling his friend in the sacred time. The cross is the true way to conquer self and the world; and he who exhausted its eternal significance is King over all, upon his throne.

VI. We would like to know what the effect of this letter was. Did the estranged heart return to its true resting place? We are constrained to feel that it must have been won, because the missive was preserved and evidently used for further missions of restoration. Experiences of such complications of conscience as this letter handles, seem not to have been infrequent, just in this year, as his epistle to the bishop of Breslau indicates: *Es kan aber ein fleischlich mensch / nicht leicht / rechtē frömitē erkennen / Sond' dz wissen wir wie durchs Euāgelion vn̄gelich viel gefangner gewissen / Ja auch vil vorkweiffelter menschen / errebt sein / vn̄ teglich erret werde / wie wir zū teil bey vn̄ern eygē pawrn erfarn. Civ.*

It would almost seem as if the beautiful Prayer in the Passional were composed at this time:

Gebeth für eynen angefochtenen vnd bekümmerten der lere vnd glaubens halben.

D Chriſte Jeſu / ſintennal denn in diſer argen welt ſo vil ab weg / ſo vil verfürung vnd irrung ſind / die zur hellen vnd verdamnuß lahten / ſintennal auch diſer zeit ſo vil Secten / ſo mancherley ehgne weſen vnd falſche hirtten / ſo vil widerwertige Lerer vnd leren auff der ban ſind / deren ſich etliche mit der ſchrift / etliche mit alter gewonheit vnd menſchen leren behelffen / damit ein yeder dz ſeine wil vertheden / das ich ſchier nit weiß wem ich armer ſol glaube oder trawen / wo ich mich hin leren / ja welche ich hören oder weß vnderweiſung ich ſol geleben / Vnd du aber im Euangelio ſprichſt / Kumpt zu mir alle die jr mühslich vnd beladen ſeid / ich wil euch erquicken. So kum ich zu dir als zu dem eynigen meſter aller himliſchen kunſt vnd weyßheit / vnd als zu dem rechten Lerer der götlichen warheit / mit vndertheniger demütiger bitt vnd anſuchen / wölleſt mir das rechte anzeigen / vnd mich zu eynem ſchüler in deyne götliche ſchule auffnehmen / in deynem wort durch den heiligen geiſt lahten vñ leren / das ich was mir nütz vnd ſeliglich iſt recht müg erkennen / das ich alle geiſter wiſſe recht zu prüfen / vnd deinen liebereichen geiſt D Chriſte Jeſu recht möge erkennen / auch deyne heylmachende reyne lere lern vnderſcheyden. (Ed. 1548. Jvii^b—K^b.)

F.

THIS letter deals with a very practical topic, the winning back of a soul that is losing its faith. This friend had long before adopted the formative thoughts of an apostolic Christianity. Indeed he may have been quite an influential leader in the very earliest stages of that movement both from Bohemia and from Wittenberg. When, however, the tide of variations had set in with its perplexing eddies, and the right of private judgment had yielded a seemingly unrelated, incoherent fruit, his sense of unity was perplexed; he would not return to the ancient fold, but his confidence in the simplicity of the new foundations was so shaken that he fell into the perils of negation. We see that the experience of the older friend did not lead him into indifference or bitterness. He was suffering under mental and moral distress and anxiety, under the yielding of the structure so dear to him to the storm beating around and upon it. It was an agony to resign faith, love, hope, and to feel his very confidence in God slipping away from him. He took no deliberate plunge into darkness. He had not banged to the door that was shutting out the light, as if such a temper of agnostic decision were any sign of strength or honesty or of an overmastering and martyr-like search for truth. The loss of the old and now the loss of the new were matters of painful foreboding and spiritual misery. It was not a romantic or melodramatic turning of the back upon the undiscoverable God and the glad embrace of a nameless and irrational or unconscious void; it was a grieved and riven heart that was being torn by its own perplexities and doubts over the God that stood so far off from the divisions rending his body, and who seemed to be allowing the rise of the new light to be the means for fostering the monstrous evils of disruption and violence. He conceived that his view of unity must or should be also God's note of the Church. Like so many of the philosophers of his day, who desired to impose on the universe their nomenclature and explanation of how things ought to be, he had no hospitality for any larger dea of the Kingdom. The way of discord, faction, chaos he could not conceive to be making for a higher oneness, that should be free and not uniform. He was not large enough to see that. The concord of love and liberty is something very different from the mechanical and automatic schemes of churchmen, statesmen and savants. Schwenckfeld's attempt at

the restoration of his friend is of the most unadorned yet gentlest kind. The exhortations abound with the sincerest evangelical appeal and comfort. There is no assertion of dogma, although dogma pervades the entire letter. The whole is surcharged with a volume of the friendliest feeling that gives its words a unique and personal value. There are not many letters of this period that can be compared with it for good judgment, winning, persuasive tenderness; and with all that, the tone of decision and certainty is not hesitant or wavering. The experience of the younger man is fixed and sure without being aggressive or bold. The deference due to his older associate, now a stricken and retreating leader, is everywhere conspicuous. There is fineness and delicacy in the treatment of the depression. There is not a note of reproach or of protest or of haste in the measured, simple and even musical flow of his plea. The language of it is well nigh perfect. It is to be noted that Schwenckfeld combats nothing; he indulges in no direct argument against his friend's position; he ignores everything that might savor of apologetic, or polemic. It is a wounded soul that he would heal; and he adopts a quiet and rationally curative method in treating the patient's disorder. His own steps are thoroughly positive and firm. He assumes the old evangelical consolations to be true, and enforces them. He leads his friend back at the outset to the ancient wells of life, and there he lingers. The author shows himself to be not only a sympathetic friend, but a skilled physician of souls, in spite of his unwhitened years, endowed with rare tact, with discriminating sagacity, and with an abundant common sense. Judgment and feeling are beautifully combined. He knows deeply and confidently whereof he speaks. The whole texture shows that he understands the character with which he has to deal; he adapts himself to those traits so familiar to him with studious regard. Hence his plea is not abstract, but concrete and personal. It is a good lesson for every pastor to study the thought and method of this prudent man of God, who was also a man of address and dexterity in the administration of public affairs, a genuine and righteous statesman. From his broad understanding of the world he gained a wisdom, which some religious leaders woefully lacked.

The divine personalities are the goals for faith to reach, just as they are its beginning, and continue to be its all supporting forces. Their economic relations alone are made prominent here. To restore the sufferer to his wonted consciousness of union with them, and to the enjoyment of their outflowing grace, is the end Schwenckfeld has in view. He portrays the Father, the Son and the Spirit uniformly in their beneficent purpose and activity. Their favor and compassion awaken the slumbering chords, or renew them if snapped asunder. The fullest proof of the good heart of God the Father is in the voluntary and unreserved surrender of the

Son of his love, and the eternal, and inexhaustible personal ministrations which are conferred upon and applied to us through him.

The prayer of intercession was always on Schwenckfeld's lips; and with him the claims of brotherhood in Christ led not only to sympathizing words, but to swift and helpful deeds. This was his conception of the Christian life. In the hurrying and full current of his fraternal activity one never sees a change. He trusted more in a personal interview indeed, where that was possible, than in the service of the pen; but never refused either. The type of spiritual character he had observed in his friend had these features: a) An unusual strength of love for the truth as represented by the Gospel of Jesus Christ; b) an enthusiastic spirit of inquiry into the experiential knowledge of the Redeemer. These qualities indicated an ardent desire for progress in apprehending the living Word which is Christ himself, and in obtaining that personal acquaintance and fellowship with the mind and heart and will of his Lord, which calls out all that is best in one. No word enters into Schwenckfeld's theology that does not represent life, and none is more prominent than knowledge, which however profound in theory it may be, is only deep so far as it is active and serviceable; there is no acquisition of heart or head deemed valuable, until it vitalize itself in energy and deed. It must be practical, experimental and experiential. c) A third characteristic of his friend was the power to win the common people by unremitting, unselfish hand to hand service. Such were the qualities that everybody knew to be in the man.

It must have been as remarkable as it was an unexplained difficulty that drove him from such a vantage ground into the barren wilderness in which his soul now found itself haplessly wandering with parched lips and fainting heart. Into this despairing jeopardy Schwenckfeld thrusts the sure and bright facts of a prior experience; he brings the fresh past before the memory of this estranged soul to reassure the man of the high levels from which he had strayed; not with the intention of deepening the gloom of his present despondency, but rather to bring before him the unforgetting God. The sufferer was still an instrument in the divine plan; the ever-thoughtful mercy was not now unmindful of the by-gone fidelity, and could not forget its willing and mature service. There is abundant hope that the afflicted soul should yet enjoy the results coming to him directly for what he had been permitted to do for his fellows. With that encouragement from those recent days that had been so diligently and unselfishly laying up stores for the future, Schwenckfeld addresses himself to the positive methods of restoration. I. The first suggestion is that his friend must concentrate his entire nature upon the inviolability of a genuine relationship to Christ and his Word, the word here being the collective personal utterances of Christ, which are spirit and life. The redemption wrought

by him, the sufferings and the outflowing merits, — these remain as the inalienable portion of even a solitary gleam of faith. They still continued as elements of his own better self. That which had been wrought into the fibre of his being could not be so lightly lost. The deep consciousness of need as a sinner must make the experience once more vivid and consoling, as well as tributary to his restoration. It is to be remarked that Schwenckfeld believed in the atonement as intended to benefit all humanity. The bloodshed on the cross was for the sins of the whole world. II. The second remedy lies in the frequent reading of the New Testament, especially in those parts which set forth the passion of our Lord. These lections are to be accompanied with such meditations and prayers as spring from the deepest sympathies and longings of the heart, in view of the substitutional sufferings of the Saviour. In that full tide of feeling no room for doubts and discouragements can be left. One's own problems are answered by that mastering solution. They are wholly swallowed up in that ocean. The consciousness of the cross must become a daily and present picture in the soul. Observe here again how the Word is associated with Christ in the same sense as above, because all that Christ said was a maxim founded upon infinite knowledge or upon the experiences which came to him from his humiliation. The friend was also to keep before his heart the life and passion of his Lord, as a satisfaction which he had made complete by his bitter death. Schwenckfeld held to a certain view of the vicarious experiences of Christ as meeting every demand, which could possibly be made upon us, with absolutely cancelling sufficiency. The theory of it he does not enter upon here, as being far from his present purpose. By the liberty thus given to the prisoner of hope he must feel that his own sins have their doom and their deliverance on that cross. Therein lies the mystery of his and all reconciliation. The following extract from the preface to his *Passional* will illustrate Schwenckfeld's sense of the value of meditation upon the cross. *Daß leyden Christi im gläubē recht verstanden vnd betrachtet / ist ein gewisse heilmachende arhney / für allerley frandheit leibß vnd der seelen / Drumb sol der mensch in allem anligen / trübsal vñ widerwertigkeit auch in allerley ansechtung der sünden vnd des bösen geists / mit den gedanden seynes herzens bald zum creuß Christi lauffen / sein heiliges leiden recht betrachten / Ja wer der sey / der da hat gelittē / wie vnd warum er gelitten / mit gläubigem herzen flehßig warnemen / daß er jm das ganze vnschuldige leyden / sterben / vnd leben Christi fruchtbarlichen eynbilde / vnd alles was jm an leib vnd seele widerwertiges begegnet / gleichsam in eynem gegenwurff drehn sende / brinnen bedende und ansehe.* III. From that vantage ground of realization Schwenckfeld points his friend to a cumulative series of practical tests and assurances which may once more be his portion, not only in reflection and imagination, but in very deed. They shall be for

him an atmosphere to breathe and live in and a possession to make a part of his individuality. One must start out with a determined conviction that if Christ says a thing, it must be so. If he affirms that the Lord is merciful and gracious, that he is a veritable and unchanging Father, he thereby proclaims an unassailable verity, a foundation-law of grace. That means, the believer shall put his foot down resolutely and say amid consuming fires and under overwhelming waters, God is Love. If he does not, his view of the World will go down into the abysses of a self-wrecking pessimism. But that perverse will does not destroy the serenity of the heavens above, or the imperturbable fact that love rules and overrules. This was Schwenckfeld's experiential, heart-felt belief, as well as declaration, to which he clung in spite of the many bitter cups he had to drink; for him there was nothing sad or desolating when Christ was by. And so he exhorts his friend to begin in the full view of the cross by laying that down as a fact not to be shaken by any appearance or delusion or passing cloud or raging storm. If then God be love, the man who seeks recovery must cultivate a sense of Christ's nearness; he must feel the elemental omnipresence not only, but the ever accessible companionship of the man who has mastered evil. And from that arises the privilege of intercommunion; the exchange of thought and feeling is secured; the outgoing of aspiration and the incoming of grace become possible; the solacing unburdening and elevation of prayer with its revealing answers are great and blessed matters of course.

But let us consider more at large, our author's theological position as a basis for estimating his devotional system here proposed. Schwenckfeld sought to use the good wherever it might be found; he was eclectic because universal. He would not follow narrowly one trend of religious thought to the exclusion or rejection of all others. He refused to be a dessicated scholastic; he declined to be a pantheistic mystic; he would be no blind disciple of reason; he would sing after no school of mere feeling; much less would he mount the volitional powers and ride their horses to death. As theologian or psychologist or philosopher, he could never be one-sided. He knew there was a truth in mysticism so called which he appropriated without a shudder, while he rejected its irrational elements. He knew there was a deep in rationalism, although he would not allow it to suppress other equally weighty elements of personality and life. It is the attempt to put mysticism apart by itself, and rationalism apart by itself, and thus make them antagonistic, that has marred much that is sensible and helpful in either. Schwenckfeld sought to be no more and no less mystical than Christ or St. Paul or St. John or St. Peter. He aimed to be no less and no more rationalistic than the Saviour and his apostles were; he tried to be just as practical as his

venerated teachers, St. James included. Nor would he ever separate morality from religion; theology and ethics were an eternal unity for his balanced and earnest mind. No more did he separate knowledge from life. Truth for him must be personality with material nature linked thereto as a servant. The eternal, infinite verity could not be an abstraction. Law everywhere for him was an induction from things as they exist in motion or at rest. The definition-makers of the branches of other knowledges are just as obstinate as the definition-makers in theology; neither of them will look at the universal whole at work; neither of them will regard being and motion as the ultimates; nor will they accept its practical unity as sufficient. What they crave and must have, like spoiled children, is identity. Each conceits himself to be not a microcosm, but the whole macrocosm; each little monad wants to be the largest; each little frog would like to swell himself to an ox in his growing ambition, and in this mood he aims to reduce the symbols and realities of the universe and its transcendent Maker to his level of attainments and to his terminology. He wants to fill the whole house with himself, whether he be Platonist or Aristotelian or Pyrrhonist, Thomist or Scotist or Augustinian, idealist or realist or materialist. In such schools you cannot place Schwenckfeld, because he is simply biblical; he wishes to follow the universality of Christ. He is neither mystic by itself, nor rationalist by itself, nor practicalist by itself; not only because all these terms are indefinite, but because he would include in his way of thinking all the factors involved in them that are scriptural.

In connection with the reading of the Passion we find the exhortation to the use of successive grades of devotion. By those who neglect them these steps are called mystical, whereas they are simply evangelical and such as the Scriptures have enjoined upon the disciples of spiritual life from time immemorial. Prayer, aspiration, meditation, memory, imagination, surrender: herein the sovereign elements of personality are brought into exercise. 1) Prayer is fundamental as the ordered expression of one's mind and heart to God in all spheres of interest that should engage the soul. Its subjects and objects are limitless, although here the immediate material concerns our Lord's sufferings. Schwenckfeld in the context commends the use of the voice, probably as requiring more order and care and reverence in our approaches to heaven. 2) Combined with prayer is what we may render a deep, heart-felt aspiration, not unmixed with keen grief. It is recorded of our Lord that before healing the deaf and dumb man, he looked up to heaven, and sighed, Mk. 7³⁴. Again he sighed deeply in his spirit when the Pharisees sought a sign from heaven with the view of tempting him, Mk. 8¹². He groaned in Spirit before awakening Lazarus, Jo. 11³³. So his soul was troubled when the Greeks visited him, Jo. 12²⁷. It is he who in the days

of his flesh offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears, Heb. 5⁷. The remembrance of these agonies of spirit has always strongly influenced those who have sought to deepen their own experiences and who desired to follow Christ most closely. All the more that, as St. Paul says, the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity; for we know not how to pray as we ought, but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. The consciousness of the inexhaustible, unsearchable vastness and depth of God's being; the fact that our own nature in its parts and as a whole has immeasurable possibilities; the ground of a union with the Infinite, however that be explained, monistically or dualistically, has always led the thoughtful to endeavor to realize more and more these problems of the unlimited spiritual, to obtain a growing consciousness of the union itself. In the word *ὁ στεναγμός*, *gemitus*, as applied to Christ and the Spirit, we have a description of phenomena connected with that obscure realm. The inner nature is capable of sufferings which express themselves physiologically in sighs and groans and deep breathings. These have some remote kinship with those of Christ and the Spirit. If the signs of that deeper life are thus daily brought into our view, why may we not seek to understand them in relation to the world of duty and suffering? If we can have the shallowness of our spiritual nature in any way deepened, why not struggle after so holy an experience? It is this very desire and aspiration that have led to certain forms of imitation. Among these we find: a) The physical, which imagines that the exercise of the bodily organs in sighs and groanings and grimaces is sufficient; a gloomy and vinegary countenance accompanied with doleful respirations is affected; all these are beastly and mocking formalisms which rest on the delusion that you can attain elevation of the spirit through mechanical contortions. One does not have to look far for examples among nominal Christians of all ages and schools; nor are such mimic devotees lacking in any of the existing religions of to-day. b) The sentimental imitation. This is simply a superficial emotional exercise, but which, by indulgence, easily passes into permanent hysteria and convulsions and ecstatic states. The shocking simulation of experience leads to the grossest and most fanciful exaggerations of facts in Christianity. What are more blasphemously revolting than espousals and stigmata? c) The legalistic, whose processes of sufflation and exhalation are reduced to a system; and as such are prescribed for the conscience. The devotee goes through these exercises like a senseless puppet or a dancing jack. Many of the coarser forms of monasticism and pietism as well as the brotherhoods of the mystics fell into this barren, unnatural, unwholesome, and degenerate practice. d) But the facts are unequivocal; they remain. The aspirations do exist and are in need of a wise culture. α) There is such a thing as

a consciousness of sin, which becomes intenser and deeper along with the experience of deliverance from its desolating power. β) There may also be a growing apprehension of the sufferings of Christ, all the acuter in the heart of him who regards these as vicarious and as participated in by the entire God-man. This is enlarged by the Pauline thought of our filling up the measure of Christ's sufferings. γ) There is also the conviction of the vast difficulties and procrastinations of the Kingdom in coming to its fulness. What does not remain to be done? When one reflects on the details of life as it is, and what it ought to be, whether in us or in others, and when we stretch our observation over the condition of the race, who can deny that these inner groanings of the spirit must overtake us? The book of Lamentations does well portray the throes of the soul in the survey of a terrible disaster to the Kingdom. And what does it mean to pray: Thy Kingdom come? δ) Our desires too for truth and righteousness and love are far larger than we can realize. The very impatience in possessing our souls for growth, for fulness, for completion, in the individual, in society, in the Higher Communion, fosters an imperative in us which seeks and demands heroic self-sacrifice. The far reaching ideals set before us, — do not these make us sigh and groan and cry out in our spirits? These are but fractional intimations of the methods in which the inmost being longs to attain the richer consequences of fellowship with God. Prayer for these things to be vital will certainly often be accompanied with such struggles of soul and body in the effort to attain a larger acquisition of the great ends of being. And it is in this sense that Schwenckfeld would have us expand and intensify our entire communion with the light.

3) Hence we are not surprised to find in this letter the use of a quieting meditation as involving all the processes of thought until an intellectual conclusion is attained, until the mind has grasped the subject and made it ready for practical service. Therefore Schwenckfeld does not ignore intellect and understanding, whether as applied to the ordinary matters of knowledge or to those which are the subjects of a comprehensible revelation. Erbkam indeed, designates him as the chief of the intellectual mystics in the period of the Reformation. That he is intellectual is true, but unless mystical is the equivalent of biblical, the use of this term is a misnomer. Apart from that high estimate, it needs to be emphasized that Schwenckfeld was sane in all his processes and required sanity and thoughtfulness and reflection from every man who would follow Christ. Mind was given us to serve God with all its powers, however you may designate or analyze these. Thought, carried through to a definite judgment, is his characteristic.

4) He next advises the cultivation of memory. He urges us to hold in recollection the facts and the results of our thought with firm and

clear retention; he also incites us to reproduce them; to have their contents so well in hand that we can marshal and command them at once. There lies in this the power of excluding evil. The peopling of the mind with the good treasures of reading or experience enables us to drive out in a moment the troop of alien and repulsive things which seek to weaken and besmirch us. The constant reproduction of what is sound and true strengthens the memory itself for the best use of its functions.

5) Then he invokes the employment of a faculty which those who claimed to be the only evangelicals so studiously ignored, — imagination. This is the power to form pictures within oneself; to endow the gathered treasures of memory with breath and motion and all the signs of life and beauty. It is the divine ability of making the duller things radiant, for it demands color, tone, delicacy, nobleness. It must clothe its images not only with present grace, but with the possibilities of which our eternally expansive nature is capable. What these can be is to come forth from what they are now, with the added lustre and splendor of that infinite grace which faith, hope and love seek and gain from God. In that divine light, and in that only, one sees more light. The intellect which excludes the creative power of imagination only breeds skeletons. Its dark chambers are replete with lifeless abstractions. Its mind is like a grave full of dry bones. It is one of the fatalities of metaphysics and theology that both alike generate words and conceit them to be living and moving entities. The ideology and the panlogism of the schools are hopeless ghosts. Personality alone is the basis of the universe and imagination keeps that vividly before us; it is the artistic faculty and the ever reconstructive power in us; it rebuilds with tenfold beauty every vicissitude and ruin. It foreshadows the future life and makes it a present attraction. For the genealogy of names and concepts it brings forth the trooping generations of being. Instead of a treatise or an encyclopedia it gives us the concrete. Men worship the genealogies and the encyclopedia, and forget the active universe with the God who produced it. In the pursuit of terms, which are good in their place as formularies of what is, they forget that they are themselves alive and live in very definite relations. Imagination is a wholesome check and restorative to prevent a man from atrophying his best nature, as so many dry as dust physicists, and naturalists, and chemists, and philologists, and historians, and philosophers, and theologians do, for fear of being called mystics. The mathematician with his parabolas and infinitudes is the largest minded mystic of them all, and yet who is more intellectually expert? Imagination is the mother of spontaneity. It has the inventive faculty and energy. If you will, it has within itself all the virtues of "Phantasie" and of "Einbildungskraft".

6) Emotion and will under such an impulse are sure to follow, and are not to be held in the unreasonable bonds of selfishness, nor can they be checked from assuming their due sequence and issue as a constituent of our personality. These rivers, so full of fresh waters, seek their outlet; feeling and volition go on their knees to God and his Son in complete submission and surrender. Thus they find their unrestricted freedom in doing the will of God.

It is in this order of development that Schwenckfeld presents the all-sufficing survey and appropriation of Christ who, for him, is the great spoken Word of God, the Revealer as well as the Redeemer; in the fullness of whose cross also one finds the only wholesome way toward solving the problems of our present transitorial and educational life.

IV. We must now revert to the main elements for the recovery of faith: The soul in every phase of trial must remember that Christ is the only Mediator; he alone can and does forgive sin. Therefore, Schwenckfeld exhorts his friend to look to the Lord exclusively; none but he can speak the healing, restorative word. Our author would thus cut off the whole system of intermediaries as well as the sacerdotal army who stood ready to assert their priestly assumptions and absolving power. He would rescue his friend from falling under the spell of that ancient system of cumulative intercessors which he had once escaped.

V. The thorough commitment of oneself to the same Redeemer is another factor in the recovery. That requires the feeling of certainty and the assurance built thereon that what Christ promises he will unerringly perform. It is the hesitancy and doubt that cause the wavering and tottering and sinking. If one pauses to ask himself, is he a God sufficient to do these wonderful things, the peril of lapse is upon him. Schwenckfeld would rescue his friend from any scheme of self-salvation. He therefore urges the exercise in these positive truths, not mechanically or ritually, but vitally, so as to secure the increase of capacity which repetition brings, and at the same time evolve a resultant growing volume of love for him upon whom the soul is concentrated. These were the true spiritual exercises, the neglect of which so enfeebles and gradually prostrates the spiritual life.

1) The subtlest foes of the reformation were the schemes, ancient and new, which make all the relations with the unseen Word a play of magical and automatic forces, resident in human persons or in symbols; so that all that side of a man's nature involved in faith, which should be intellectually rigorous and free, could receive only an access of delusion and credulity, by trusting in the efficiency of such persons and symbols to work a miracle or effect a charm by exciting wonderment and emotion generally. It generated a sort of shallow romanticism which

was neither aesthetical nor ethical. There can be no more paralyzing influence than this; it prevents a real change of character and any earnest building up of a regenerated life by solid spiritual attainments.

2) Another even more injurious foe undermined a genuine reform, then and now, by the practical denial of the possibility to effect anything stable with man's spiritual nature as related to transcendence. The idea of a real domination of the Holy Spirit and an actual development of the reorganized psychology into pneumatology; the possibility of the existence or use of spiritual judgment, or the illumination which comes through the divine agency; the walking after the spiritual; the works of the Spirit; the fruits of the Spirit; — all these things were and are shut out as the vain pursuits of visionaries, dreamers and mystics. But Schwenckfeld was convinced that Christianity can never reach its goal under such limitations falsely imposed upon the rich, constructive power of the Gospel and upon the manifoldness of grace. To him such negations were a positive resistance of the Holy Ghost. He stood for just this dispensation of the Spirit. He exercised himself in these thoughts toward God the Father and the Saviour. He believed that there was a deep light which the Spirit could communicate directly to the receptive soul in perfect harmony with the Scriptures and out of its very fountains.

3) There were but few who stood for a third tendency, the resolution of religion into ethics; and they too were a hindrance to a spiritual reformation. These few cultivated a sturdy agnosticism with regard to all that lay between them and God. In practical result they were not far removed from those who confessed that the language of the Scriptures compelled them to acknowledge the probable existence of such truths, but they denied their practicability and availability for a human nature so largely self-sufficient.

4) A fourth group converted all things spiritual into fleshliness under the guise of freedom. They were theoretically few, but practically a preponderating mass. Schwenckfeld set himself to realize the significance and promise of the era of the Spirit. He entered into the apostolic ideas with ardor and immovable devotion. He would not be driven from that stronghold by any weapon of satire or of inventive persecution. Time has wholly vindicated his judgment practically; the truth would assert itself in the Church, in philosophy and in literature, in spite of the repressive measures of all sorts of mechanical orthodoxy. Men will aspire to and must obtain a practical consciousness of direct fellowship with God. Schwenckfeld exhorted this friend and the men of his generation to exercise themselves in these Scriptural first-principles, relations and duties. This was for him the very experiential knowledge of the Father and of the Son which was necessary to a life in God. That exercise meant a

vigorous discipline of self-knowledge and of self-control. He adopted none of the pragmatic devices and steps of any school of mystics, and he dreamed no pantheistic dreams and wrought himself into no hysteria or obsessional ecstasies or into any hypnotic sleep or calm. He discovered no new and contradicting revelations. He had no sympathy with a prophetism or a theosophy that dissents from the plain statements of the Scriptures. But that the Spirit had power to grant new insight into the Word and that it could move directly without media upon the heart, these were primary and essential introductions to his belief and life. His view of exercise¹ was a plain endeavor at realization of these verities on which Christ dwells so lovingly in John's Gospel. It meant order in the use of time and place. It meant a vital method in the study of the Bible. It meant the employment of the indivisible, united heart of man in self-culture. It meant an unremitting communion with God through all the varieties of prayer and the continuous doing of what was daily learned.

VI. The singleness of devotion to Christ has the immovable certainty that it will never be forsaken by him who is thus beloved. One must hold tenaciously to such promises as fibres in the sinews of faith.

VII. The struggle for constant dilating and enlarging realization of what Christ is as Redeemer, Saviour, Lord and God. It is not the simple mental acceptance of these facts; it is not the mere contentment with what is engaged to the believer thereby; but it is the use of that quality of the imagination which converts the statements of our faith into living entities and potencies; which enters into them to obtain their inspiration. From a searching and appropriating energy like that Christ can never be far off; a faith which seeks to live by its beliefs cannot fall so easily into dimness, vagueness and discouragement. To a generating true force like this there comes the triumphant conviction that Christ cannot be against one, but is positively and aggressively for and with him.

VIII. The entire series of benefits that flow from the vicarious cross to the individual must also be received and reproduced as the stable property of each believer. That they are attainable verities must be the basis on which he is to erect his religious and moral character. The deliverance from eternal condemnation; the present beginning of the life everlasting; the abiding companionship with the divine persons, not only here but beyond the veil, that is, in all stages of his Kingdom, but particularly at its consummation; — these are covenanted mercies in which the believer must take augmenting delight.

¹ Cf. Thomas a Kempis Opp.: *Libellus spiritualis exercitiis*. Ed. Pohl. Vol. II p. 329sq. *Brevis admonitio spiritualis exercitiis*. ib. p. 419sq. These however did not suggest Schwenckfeld's thoughts. The later "spiritual exercises" that are based on the metaphysical conception of a continuous Creation are foreign to his practical mind.

It is to be noted that Schwenckfeld a) feels that our condemnation as sinners is everduring, unless Christ change us and thereby deliver us from what the Scriptures call eternal death or the unending state of estrangement from grace. b) He dwells far more upon the blessedness of the heaven-wrought deliverance. c) He gradually expands the concept of the Kingdom until it occupies a large and inclusive place in his vital theology.

IX. The hardest lesson a man has to learn is that he cannot help himself in laying the foundations of spiritual life and in any genuine progress therein. The whole bent of all degenerate types of Christianity is to emphasize the ability of man to redeem himself or to get other helpless creatures like himself to do it for him. Some such weakness and misconception evidently had sapped and prostrated the belief of his friend. The humility that can confess: Without thee I can do nothing, has the choicest material at hand for a safe beginning and a natural development and a happy life-issue. Over against the moods of selfishness and egoistic endeavor, stands the blessed invitation: Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. To resort thither in every hour of darkness and heaviness, as well as in the more placid and joyous experiences of life, is the best medium for acquiring growth in grace. The comfort and uplift of it come most radiantly when the time for departure draws nigh.

Here Schwenckfeld shows that the Passion of our Lord is the basis of our religious thought and life, because that is the beginning of our redemption. The life of Christ given for us bestows life; the shedding of his blood procures for us remission of sins; therein is the hope of pardon; therein too are to be found the healing and the purification of the conscience. While there is only the mention of the word, conscience, it should be remarked that the cleansing, the freedom and the education of the conscience are weighty notes in Schwenckfeld's gamut of thought.

X. The capstone of his appeal is that on the basis of such facts in the realm of the Spirit, his friend should let their comfort whose clear shining had hitherto been hemmed in and obstructed, now flood him with their light and warmth and rouse him to a conquering courage. The Shepherd is coming to bear every wounded and wandering sheep back to the fold.

From this survey of inward duties to God, he turns to those incumbent upon us from our relations to our neighbor. He grounds these upon and embraces them all in love, not only as feeling but as deed.

I. The loving bestowment of alms: under which expression was comprehended in general the rational and helpful support of the needy and dependent members of the human family. This he required to be done

not perfunctorily, but as a real self-discipline; one must not only help in the restoration and upbuilding of those economically deficient from whatever cause, but study to love the work as a manifestation of an actual brotherly feeling. The true equation of relief is the personal interest one shows in those needing it, and the personal, affectionate efficiency in the administration of such resources. This is the only true way to rear the edifice of the united and morally progressive State. The organized social community must be joined together by the inner forces of a carefully schooled, awakened humanity, and not by extraneous and coercive measures which effect nothing coherent or permanent; a State without vital, ethical bands, is only a bundle of selfish individuals who have little in common.

II. Individual training in all the works of love. There are just as many outlets of service as there are infinitely varied promptings of a genuine affection. Love does not only not quail before the quantity and diversity of these demands, but it seeks out and multiplies the claims; it is zealous of ways and means; money values cannot exhaust it. To promote the happiness of one's neighbor should be a joy highly prized by the believer.

III. The universalizing of mercy. One must regard propinquity as the beginning of usefulness, whose waves widen and bear us out to a growing largeness of service. A most difficult thing it is for us to get beyond the smoke of our own chimneys. The barriers of provincialism are strongest where the territory is the smallest, or the most hemmed in by rivers and mountains, or the prejudice of race. It is difficult to cultivate a feeling that shall take in all humanity under every sky and across all seas; but we ought to be equal to justifying the limitless compassion which Christ manifested by including us at all in its scope. If the cross cannot shatter the walls of our narrowness, what will?

IV. The community of heaven with our cares, sorrows and burdens is never to be forgotten. Schwenckfeld urges an immediate appeal to him who carries all worlds in his heart. No promise is more supporting than the fact that Christ shares in our trials and sufferings. The barriers between the unseen and the seen are broken down most readily by keeping that upbearing fellowship. The world as a burden upon a sympathetic believer, anxious to see some fulfilment of his Lord's command, is none too great to be brought before the Saviour of the world. From him the disciple draws the largest resources for endurance and patience, in meeting this problem. From him comes the stimulus to an unquenchable zeal for the relief of human misery and for the overthrow of all the causes and resources of sin and its consequences.

Schwenckfeld now draws nearer to what was evidently one of the

fiercest of the lions in the way. The friend in his estrangement attributed the weakness which was really in himself to the Christian faith as it was unfolding itself under his alarmed eyes. The young disciple bids him remember this remedial sentence: He that believeth in me hath eternal life; it is a present possession and it is sufficient for all exigencies and crises of the true Church, if one will but stick to it. For it involves the fact that Christ is Almighty; he sits upon the throne in an all comprehensive and certain rule; he is the sole Head of his Church. That type of faith is lamentably weak, which substitutes a multitude of go-betweens, whose ambition it is to climb into the sovereign seat of the Lord. The teachers who would supersede the Gospel and apostolic religion by externalities of any and all forms, destroy all comfort, help and salvation by their ambitious visibilities. This applies to the papal claims, to the beginnings of temporal prophetism, to the confusions of State with Church, to revolutionary expedients, to the carnalizing and degrading of the freedom of the Spirit, and to the endeavor to explain the faith by any form of self-centred world philosophy.

It is true that these surging tides in human history are ever present in all ages and in all climes; but of course Schwenckfeld was looking at the shifting map of his own day, where these obstructions and reconstructions were rapidly crossing one another's boundaries in a struggle for mastery, and all of them checking or preventing the peaceful and harmonious development of spiritual religion. The friend had lost courage before this bizarre and complex struggle. His vanquished faith could no longer see the reigning Christ, and he forgot the nature of that Kingdom as one of righteousness, joy and peace in the Holy Ghost, in the darkness that those waterless clouds brought upon his soul. A topic which Schwenckfeld uses with frequency as a source of encouragement is that of the reigning Christ. It of course involves the fact of his Kingdom, as well as the thought of his headship over the Church¹. Men's occultations do not mar the radiance of these truths for the spirit that will hold fast to the simplicity of faith. The convolutions and involutions of formal and political churchdom are not the one ring of spiritual Christianity. The Church and the believer mastered by the world cannot enjoy the love of the Father as an indwelling motive and grace. This type of misallied sensuous Christianity must perish with all perverted sensuous-

¹ Schwenckfeld uses the expression, *Haupt der Gemeinb*, Eph. 1²²; 4²³⁻²⁵. The parochial idea is absent from the word *Gemeinde* as here employed; it is but another term for the Church visible and invisible. He uses it to designate the organized Church invisible as the real body of Christ and as in a state of purification for a higher stage of union with its Head. He does not expand his views of the church in this place.

ness. The solid, invariable test of a genuine faith is doing the will of God. The perpetual Kingdom which survives all worldly catastrophes is founded on this saying: He that doeth the will of God abideth forever. Such are the simple elements by which a vital religion goes to work in the world to persuade that world to fulfil his benignant, if sovereign will. It is not the pomp of circuitous ceremonials; it is not liturgies characterized by gorgeous and dramatic spectacles; it is not fire and sword and rack and ruin; it is not a self-sufficient view of the universe reasoned out of man's littleness; it is not a false alliance between the things of God and the things of Cæsar; it is not a coruscating prophetism with the sword in one hand and the keys in the other; but it is the spirit of freedom in Christ and the Kingdom which consists of righteousness, joy and peace in the Holy Ghost. The notes of a spiritual Church and a true brotherhood in Christ are freedom and simplicity in all spheres of Christian experience, of Christian service, of Christian worship, and of Christian polity.

G.

A.

aber but, however, *conj.*, 63²⁶; Aber 63⁸.
 abführen lead off 63¹⁰.
 abschied departure from this life, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 62²¹.
 aim see sub ein.
 all all, entire, *acc. sg. n.*, a. ewr vertragen 62²¹; a. ewr anligen 63⁵; alle *acc. sg. f.*, a. ewre sünd 61⁷; *acc. pl. n.*, a. ding 62²; *acc. pl. m.*, uns a. 62¹⁴; followed by relative: *nom. pl. m.*, a. die ihr beschwerdt... sein 62¹⁵; allem *dat. sg. n.*, in a. 63²⁷; allen *acc. sg. m.*, a. tag 61⁴; *dat. pl. f.*, in a. ansechtungen 61⁹; in a. nöten 62²³; followed by relative: *dat. pl. m.*, a. denen die ihn.. anrufen 61⁸; aller *dat. sg. f.*, in a. ansechtung 62¹⁹; alles *nom. sg. n.* das a. 63²⁰; followed by relative: a. was... ist 63²².
 allein alone, only, *adv.*, a. durch sein Wort 61¹⁰.
 Allmechtig almighty, der A. 63²⁷; Allmechtigen *dat. sg. m.*, dem A. 60¹².
 Almähßen alms, *sb. n., acc. pl.* 63².
 also so, thus, steht a. geschrieben 63¹⁷; followed by das: A. das Ihr.... werdet Ewiglich wohnen 62⁹.
 als as, a. der barmherzige Gott 60¹⁷; a. einem... sünd 60²².
 am see sub an.
 Amen Amen, 60¹⁸; 63¹⁴; 63²⁷.
 an on, in, *prep. w. acc.* euch a. den Herren Christum... halten 60¹⁹; Wer a. mich glaubt 63⁸. Contracted with *dat.* of m. or n. article to am: a. Creuß 61¹; a. stammen 62⁹; a. letzten tag 63¹⁴; a. Zweyten 63¹⁶.
 [ander] other, different, andere *acc. pl. n.*, auß a. eufferliche ding 63¹⁰; anderm *dat. sg. n.*, vnter a. 63¹⁷.
 ansechtung temptation, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 62¹⁹; ansechtungen, *dat. pl.* 61^{9/10}.

[angst] anxiety, *sb. f.*, ängsten *dat. pl.* 61¹⁰.
 anligen concern, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 63⁵.
 Anns in the year 63¹⁵.
 anrufen invoke 61⁹; anrufen 62¹⁹.
 [anzeigen] indicate, anzeigen, *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 62⁵.
 [arm] poor, armen *dat. sg. m.*, einem a. sünd 60²²; arme *nom. pl. m.*, wir a. sünd 62¹².
 auch or auch also, indeed 60¹²⁻¹⁶ bis 23; 62¹⁻¹²; 63²; Wer a. whosoever 62²⁴.
 auß up to, in: a. eufferliche ding abführen 63¹⁰; auß das so that: a. b. Ihr nicht sündiget 63¹⁷. Contracted with *acc.* of n. article to auß: all ewr vertragen seht a. leiden Jesu Christi 62²¹. See uff.
 [Auge] eye, *sb. n.*; Äugen *gen. pl.*, laßt der A. 63²³; äugen *acc. pl.*, Ewre a. 62¹⁸.

B.

barmherzig merciful 61⁸; barmherzige *nom. sg. m.*, der b. Gott 60¹⁷.
 Barmherzigkeit mercy, compassion, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 60⁶; (barmherzigkeit) *acc. sg.* 61¹²; 63⁴; *dat. sg.* 63²⁷.
 bedenden consider 60²¹; 61⁵; 62¹⁶; 63²⁸.
 [befehlen] command, commend, befehlen, *pres. ind. 2d pl.*, das ihr euch ihme ganz b. 61¹²; befehlen *p.p.*, Unser Herr... laßt Euch ihm ganz b. sein 63¹⁴.
 befeissen (sich) *refl.*, study, take pains, so sollet ihr euch b. zuglauben 62²; befeisset euch, *imper. pl.* 61¹⁰; b. euch 63².
 befehlen see sub befehlen.
 [befrieden] pacify, befriedet *pres. ind. 3d sg.*, sie b. 63².
 [begreifen] comprehend, begreifen *p.p.* 63⁸.
 [bekümmert] troubled, grieved, bekümmerten *dat. sg. m.*, aim b. Menschen 60².
 [berichten] inform, Bericht = berichtet *p.p.* (short for bin berichtet worden), b. 60¹⁰.

befchwerdt molested, laboring 62¹⁵.
besonder *adv.*, especially, b. lieber Herr 60⁹.
[besprengen] besprinkle, besprenget *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 62²⁴.
[beweisen] show, beweiset *pres. ind.* 2^d *pl.* 63^{4/5}.
beñ with, *at, prep. w. dat.*, bleib b. eich 60⁷; weil ich nit b. eich sein lahn 60¹²; b. ihm vergebung der sünden süchet 61¹¹; Ewer seelen heil b. Christo süchen, Nicht b. eüßerlichen dingen 62¹⁷; einen fürsprecher b. Gott 63¹⁸.
bin see sub sein (be).
Bischoff bishop, *sb. m.*, B. unserer Seelen 63¹³.
bitten ask, pray for; prayer, petition; *inf.* used as noun 62²⁰; bitt *pres. ind.* 1st *sg.* 60⁸.
bitter bitter, *nom. sg. m.*, sein b. tod 62²²; bittern *acc. sg. m.*, durch seinen b. todt 61⁶; durch den b. Todt 62⁹; bitterß *nom. sg. n.*, sein b. leiden 60²¹.
[bleiben] stay, abide, bleib *opt.* 3^d *sg.* 60⁷; bleibt *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 63²⁰.
blut blood, *sb. n.*, sein b., *acc. sg.* 61¹; mit seinem b. *dat. sg.* 62²⁴.
[bringen] bring, take to, bringt *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 63³.

C.

C[aspar] C[hwendelsch] 60⁵; 63¹⁵.
Christus Christ, der Herr C. 60²⁴; 61⁸; der Herr Jesus C. 62³; C. 62⁶; Unser Herr Jesus C. 63¹³; Christi *gen. sg.* 60⁷⁻¹⁵; 61⁵; 62⁸⁻²²; 63⁸; Christo *dat. sg.* 62¹⁰⁻¹⁷; 63¹⁻⁵⁻⁹; Christum *acc. sg.* 60¹⁹; Christum 61¹⁴; the German form Christ is on record 63¹⁹.
[Christgläubig] believing in Christ; Christgläubiger *nom. sg. m.*, ein ... C. 60^{1/2}.
[Christlich] Christian; Christlicher *nom. sg. m.*, unser C. glaub 63⁶; Christlichen *gen. sg. n.*, eins C. schreibens 60¹.
Copie copy, *sb. f.* 60¹.
Creutz cross, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.*, am C. 61²; *acc. sg.*, vff sein C. 61⁷; Creutzeß *gen. sg.*, des C. 62⁹.

D.

da when, *conj.* 62¹⁴; where 63¹¹; there 62¹⁸ (combined with der).
damit so that, *conj.* 61⁵.

dann for, *conj.*, introducing a causal clause 61¹⁵; 62²²; 63²¹; dan 62¹; 63²²; dan than, except, nirgend b. beñ Christo 62¹⁷; dan then, in fact, combined with wie: 62⁵⁻⁷ wie b. sein Wort ... angezeigt; wie ihr b. ... thüt; see also den = denn.

darin therein, b. vertrauen 63¹¹.

darumb therefore 61¹⁰; darumb 63¹.

daß see sub der.

daß that, *conj.*, verträsten b. eich sein bitterß leiden ... zütheil señ worden 60²¹; Ihr wißet b. der Herr ... umb der sünden willen kommen ist 60²³; beßeisset eich, b. ihr ... vergebung der sünden süchet, b. ihr eich ihme ... beßeisset 61¹⁰⁻¹¹; züglauben, b. ... Christus ... Ewer ... Gott señ 62³; glauben, ... b. Ihr ... seht erlebigt 62⁷; (glauben) ... b. Er eich ... daß Ewig leben hat erworben 62⁸; sagt b. wir ... nichts vermögen 62¹²; hoffet, b. sein ... tod Ewer ... leben sein werdt 62²²; beßeisset eich, b. Ihr ... Almüssen gebet 63³; Also b. Ihr ... werdet Ewiglich wohnen 62⁹; auß b. 63¹⁷ (see above sub auß); abbreviated *dg*: erfahren, b. Er eich nit verlassen wirt 63⁶.

Datum dated 63¹⁴.

dem see sub der.

den see sub der.

den = denn then, augmentative of wer 62⁵; for 61⁸.

deuten see sub der.

der the, article, *nom. sg. m.* 60¹⁴⁻¹⁷⁻²³; 61⁸⁻⁹; 62³ bis 12; 63²⁻¹²⁻²⁷; *gen. sg. f.* 60²; 63⁴; *dat. sg. f.* 61¹; 63¹⁰⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²⁴; *gen. pl. m.* 60²⁴ bis; *gen. pl. f.* 61¹¹; 62²⁵; 63²²; *gen. pl. n.* 63²³; des *gen. sg. m.* 60³⁻⁶; 63⁷⁻²²; *gen. sg. n.* 60¹⁴; 61⁵ (written daß by mistake); 62⁹; 63²³⁻²⁴; dem *dat. sg. m.* 60¹³; 62¹⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁸; 63⁷; used as demonstrative: *dat. sg. m.* 62¹²; 63²²; nach dem s. v.; ja dem s. v.; den *acc. sg. m.* 60¹⁹; 61³⁻¹⁴; 62⁸; 63¹⁹⁻²⁸; used as demonstrative: *acc. sg. m.* 61¹⁵; *dat. pl. n.* 63⁴; die *nom. sg. f.* 60⁶; 63¹⁹⁻²²⁻²³⁻²⁵; *acc. sg. f.* 63²¹⁻²²; *acc. pl. m.* 60¹⁰; 63⁹; *acc. pl. n.* 63²; used as demonstrative: deuten *dat. pl. m.* 61⁹; daß *nom. sg. n.* 63¹⁰; *acc. sg. n.* 60¹⁷; 61²; 62⁹; 63⁸; used as demonstrative: *nom. sg. n.* 63²⁶; *acc. sg. n.* 60⁸.
der who, which, relative, *nom. sg. m.* 60²; 62¹⁸; 63²⁻⁸⁻¹⁰; correlative, he 63²⁶; die

nom. pl. m. 61⁹; 62¹⁵; 63⁹; *das nom. sg. n.* 60¹⁰; 62²⁴.
derselb the same 63¹⁰; *derselben gen. pl. f.* 62²⁵.
des see sub *der*.
die see sub *der*.
die *Jenigen* those 63⁹.
ding thing, *sb. n., nom. pl.* 62²; 63¹⁰; *dingen dat. pl.* 62¹⁷.
dienst service, *sb. m., gen. pl.* 60⁹.
dieweil because, *conj.* 60^{11/12}.
doch though, yet 60¹²; 63¹¹.
Dominj of the Lord 63¹⁵.
durch through, *prep. w. acc.* 60⁸; 61⁶; *durch* 61¹¹; 62⁷.
dj see sub *das*, *conj.*

E.

ein *indef. article masculine, nom. sg.* 60¹; *acc. sg. f.* 60¹⁴; *eins gen. sg. n.* 60¹; *einem dat. sg. m.* 60²²; contracted to *aim* 60²; *einen acc. sg. m.* 60¹⁵; 62²¹; 63¹⁸.
einig only, sole, *einige nom. sg. m., der e. Nothhelfer* 61⁹; *acc. sg. f., ewer ... einige hoffnung* 62¹¹; *einiger nom. sg. m., Ewer e. seligmacher* 62⁴.
End end, *sb. n.* 60¹⁷.
entlich final, *entlichen dat. sg. n., in seim e. vertrauen* 60⁴.
Epistel epistle, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 63¹⁶.
Er he, *nom. sg. m.* 60¹⁶; 61⁸⁻⁹⁻¹²; 62¹⁻⁸⁻¹⁴ *bis*; 63²⁻⁶; *er* 61¹⁵; 62²⁰; *ihm to him, dat. sg.* 61¹¹⁻¹³⁻¹⁵; 62¹⁴; 63¹⁴; the older form *ihme* 61¹¹; *ihn him, acc. sg.* 60⁸; 61⁹⁻¹⁵; 62¹²⁻¹⁹⁻²²; *Es it, nom. n.* 63⁶; *sie them, acc. pl. n.* 63²; *spelt sich (by mistake written sich)* 63⁹.
erbietung offer, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 60⁸.
erfahren experience 63⁶.
[ergeben (sich)] *refl., surrender, ergethet pres. ind. 2^d pl., ihr ... sich ... e.* 61¹².
erheben lift, *Ewere augen ... e.* 62¹⁸.
[erinnern] remind, *erinnert p.p.* 61⁶.
Erlantnuß knowledge, *sb. f.* 60¹⁶.
erlangen obtain 62²⁵.
[erledigen] release, *erledigt p.p.* 62⁹.
erlöser redeemer, *sb. m.* 62⁴.
erlösung redemption, *sb. f.* 60²⁰.
erquickten refresh, revive 62¹⁵.
ernst earnestness, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 61⁹.

[erst] first, *ersten dat. sg. f., in der e. Epistel* 63¹⁶.
Ershirbt Chief-shepherd, *sb. m.* 63¹².
[erwerben] acquire, win, *erworben p.p.* 62⁹.
Es see sub *er*.
ettwas somewhat, *e. Jrrig* 60⁴; 60¹⁰.
[Euangelium] gospel, *sb. n.; Euangelij gen. sg.* 60¹⁵; *Euangelio dat. sg.* 62¹.
euch see sub *ihr*.
[eufferlich] external, *eufferliche acc. pl. n.: auß ... e. ding* 63¹⁰; *eufferlichen dat. pl. n.: bej e. dingen* 62¹⁷.
Ewer your, *nom. sg. m.* 62⁴ *ter*; *nom. s. f.* 62²⁰ *ewer*; *acc. sg. n.* 61⁴ *ewer*; 62¹⁶; *Ewr nom. sg. n.* 62²²; *ewr acc. sg. n.* 62²¹; 63⁵; *ewres gen. sg. n.* 61⁴; *ewern acc. sg. m.* 61²; *by mistake written ewer see app. crit.,* 62¹¹; *ewre acc. sg. f.* 61⁷; *Ewre acc. pl. n.* 62¹². *Ewer (gen. pl.) see sub ihr*.
Ewig eternal, *acc. sg. n., das E. leben* 62⁹; 63⁹; *Ewigs nom. sg. n., Ewr E. leben sein werdt* 62²²; *Ewigen dat. sg. m., vom E. tobt* 62⁸.
Ewigkeit eternity, *sb. f., dat. sg., in E.* 63²⁰.
Ewiglich eternally, *adv.* 60⁷; 62¹¹.
Eßfer zeal, *sb. m., acc. sg., einen E.* 60¹⁵.

F.

fehlen fail 60²⁰.
fest firmly, *adv., sich ... f. Inbildet* 61⁷.
finden find, *inf., heil ist zuf.* 63¹².
[fleisch] flesh, *sb. n., fleisches gen. sg., wol- lüst des f.* 63²².
fragen inquire after, *nach seinem Wort zuf.* 60¹⁶.
freund friend, *sb. m., voc. sg.* 60⁹.
[führen] lead, *führt pres. 3^d sg.* 63².
für for, *prep. w. acc., f. vnser sünd* 61¹; *f. der Welt sünd* 61¹; *f. vnser sünd* 63¹⁰; before, in front of: *den Passion oft f. sich nehmen* 61⁴.
fürsprecher advocate, *sb. m., acc. sg., einen f.* 63¹².

G.

[ganz] entire, whole, *ganzen gen. sg. f., der g. Welt* 61¹; *ganzer gen. sg. f., g. hoff- nung* 60¹²; *dat. sg. f., mit g. hoffnung* 60²¹.
ganz entirely, *adv., g. befohlet* 61¹². *g. tröst- lich* 62¹⁴; *g. befohlen* 63¹⁴.

[geben] grant, give, geben *p.p.* weil eich Gott ... hatt geben 60¹⁶; gebet *pres. ind.* 2^d *pl.*, das Ihr Almüßen gebet 63⁴.
 Gebett prayer, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.*, mit meinem G. 60¹²; *acc. sg.*, ewer G. ... sprechen 61⁴.
 geheilet see sub heilen.
 geist spirit, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.*, im g. 60¹².
 geladen see sub laden.
 [geliebt] beloved, geliebten *gen. sg. m.*, seines g. Sohns 60⁷; geliebter *voc. sg.*, g. Herr 63¹.
 gemeind church, *sb. f.*, *gen. sg.*, seiner g. 63¹⁰.
 [gerecht] righteous, gerechten (article preced.) *acc. sg.*, den g. 63¹⁹; *gen. pl.*, der g. 60²⁴.
 gereinigt see sub reinigen.
 gern gladly, *adv.*, das Ihr g. Almüßen gebet 63².
 genießen enjoy (the fruition), solches lassen g. 60²⁸.
 geschrieben see sub schreiben.
 gesündet see sub sünden.
 getroßt see sub trösten.
 gewest see sub sein.
 gewinnen (lieb) get to love, Christum lieber g. 61^{14/15}.
 gewissen conscience, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.*, in sein g. 60³; 62^{28/29}.
 giziste see sub zisten.
 glaub belief, faith, *sb. m.*, vnser Christlicher g. 63⁷; glauben *dat. sg.*, Im g. 60¹⁰⁻²³; (glauben) 62²⁴; mit g. 60²⁰; in sein g. 60³; glaubens *gen. sg.*, des g. 60³.
 glauben believe, eich beßeissen züglauben 62³; sollet ihr g. 62⁷; glaubt *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 62²⁰; (glaubt) 63⁸; *imper. pl.* 62¹.
 [glaubig] believing, faithful, glaubigen *dat. sg. m.*, dem g. 62^{1/2}.
 gleich alike, at the same time, *adv.*, ettwas Irrig Im glauben, vnd g. zerstreuet 60¹⁰.
 Gott God, *sb. m.* 60⁴⁻¹³⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁷; 62⁸⁻¹⁰; 63¹⁹; Gottes *gen. sg.* 60⁶; 62⁴; 63²⁵.
 gnad grace, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.*, Die g. 60⁶; *acc. sg.*, in sein g. 61¹².
 [gnedig] gracious, gnedige *acc. sg. f.*, seine g. wolthat 60²⁰.
 gnediglich graciously, *adv.*, g. lassen genießen 60^{17/18}; g. heissen 62²⁰.
 gnußgihân satisfaction, *inf.* used as n. noun, sein g. 61⁶.

güt good, das End g. machen 60¹⁷; gütß *gen. sg. n.*, used as noun, sich g. zu ihm versicht 61¹⁵.

gütig kind 61⁸.

[gutherzig] good-hearted, *nom. sg. m.*, güt-herziger ein recht g. Christglaubiger 60¹.

§.

[haben] have, hab *pres. ind.* 1st *sg.*, h. ich nit wollen 60¹¹; haben *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.*, h. wir 63¹⁸; habt *imper. pl.*, h. nicht lieb die Welt 63²¹; hat *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.*, h. erworben 62⁹; h. geladen 62¹⁴; So ie mandt die Welt lieb h. 63²²; the same spelt hatt, geschrieben h. 60⁵; Gott ... h. geben 60¹⁶; h. vergoffen 61²; lieb h. 61¹⁵; h. das Ewig leben 63⁸.

halten (sich) *refl.*, hold to, cleave to, so sollet ihr euch ... an ... Christum h. 60²⁰.

hat, hatt see sub haben.

haupt head, *sb. n.* 63¹⁰.

heil health, *sb. n.*, *nom. sg.* 63¹¹; *acc. sg.* 62¹⁷.

[heilen] heal, geheilet *p.p.*, sol ... g. vnd gereinigt werden 62²⁸.

heimtragen carry home to, *pres. ind.* 2^d *pl.*, das Ihr ... h. 63⁵. See D.

heissen help, vns selbs ... köndten h. 62¹²; er wölle ... h. 62²⁰.

her here (to me), *adv.*, kompt h. 62¹⁴.

Herr lord, sir, *sb. m.* 60⁹⁻¹⁴⁻²³; 61⁸; 62³⁻⁴⁻¹³; 63¹⁻¹³; Herren *gen. sg.* 60¹⁵; 63⁷; Herren *dat. sg.* 62¹⁰; 63²; Herrn *dat. sg.* 63⁵; Herren *acc. sg.* 60¹⁹; 61¹⁴.

herz heart, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 62¹⁸; herzen *gen. sg.*, ewres h. 61⁴.

[herzlich] hearty, herzlich *dat. sg. f.*, mit h. züuerficht 61¹².

hilff help, *sb. f.* 63¹¹.

[himlisch] heavenly, himlischen *gen. sg. m.*, des h. Vatters 60⁶; himlischen *dat. sg. m.*, seinem h. Vatter 62¹⁰.

himmel heaven, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.*, im h. 62¹⁹.

Hirbt shepherd, *sb. m.* 63².

hoch highly, *adv.*, h. zübedenden 63²⁰.

hochmüt pride, *sb. m.* 63²⁴.

[hoffen] hope, hoffet, *imper. pl.* 62²².

hoffnung hope, *sb. f.*, *gen. sg.* 60¹³⁻²¹; *dat. sg.* 60^{3/4}; *acc. sg.* 62¹¹.

J.

ich I, *nom. sg.* 60⁸⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹²; 63¹⁷; Ich 62¹⁵;
mir to me, *dat. sg.* 62¹⁵; mich me, *acc. sg.*
63⁸.

Jemmer ever, *adv.*, den Herren Christum J.
lieber gewinnen 61¹⁴.

ihm see sub er; ihme see sub er; ihn see
sub er.

ih you, *nom. pl.* 60¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁻²³; 61³⁻⁵⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹⁴;
62³⁻⁷ bis 15-16; 63⁶; Ihr 62⁷⁻⁹; 63³⁻¹⁷; Ewer
gen. pl. 60¹²; eich *dat. pl.* 60⁷⁻¹¹⁻¹²⁻¹⁴; 61⁶;
62⁶⁻⁸; 63¹⁷; eich 60²¹; 62²⁰; eich 60⁸; 61⁷;
62⁵; eich *acc. pl.* 60⁷; 61⁴⁻¹¹⁻¹²⁻¹³⁻¹⁴; 62³⁻¹⁵;
63³⁻⁶; eich 60¹⁷⁻¹⁹; 61¹⁰; Eich 63⁴; Eich
63¹⁴.

[Ihr] her, *ihrer dat. sg. f.*, mit i. Iuſt 63²⁸.
im see sub in.

in in, *prep. w. dat.* 60³; 61⁹; 62¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁻²³ bis 25;
63³⁻⁴⁻⁷⁻¹⁰⁻²⁷; (In) 63¹⁶⁻²²⁻²³⁻²⁸; spelt In
61¹³; 63²¹; contracted with article to im
60¹²⁻²³; 62²⁴; (Im) 60¹⁰; 62¹⁻¹⁹; in with
acc. 61¹²; 63³.

[Inbilden (sich)] refl., imagine, form a pict-
ure of something within oneself, inbillet
pres. ind. 2d pl., eich sein gnügthun fest J.
61⁷.

Irr errant, astray, troubled, J. werden 60²³;
machen die leith J. 63⁹.

[Irren] erring, straying, Irrende *acc. sg.*
n., die J. schafflin 63².

Irrig errant, doubtful, etwas J. 60⁴; etwas
J. Im glauben 60¹⁰; Es ist vnser ... glaub
mit ... J. 63⁷.

ist see sub sein (be).

Ja yes, nay, indeed 61¹; 61⁷.

[Jahr] year, *sb. n.*, Jahren *dat. pl.* 60¹⁴.

Je ever, at any event, *adv.*, Vnd nach dem
wir ... vns selbs J. keines wegs vñdten
helffen 62¹²; see above Jemmer and below
ie maubt; cf. English aye.

Jederman everybody, *dat. sg.*, das Ihr ...
J. barmhertzigkeit beweiset 63⁴.

ie maubt any man, 63¹⁸⁻²¹.

Jenigen see die Jenigen.

Jesús *nom. sg.*, 62³; 63¹³; Jesú *gen. sg.*,
60⁷; Jesú 60¹⁵; 62²¹; Jesum *acc. sg.* 63¹⁹.

Johannis *gen. sg.*, In der ersten Epistel J.
63¹⁵.

[Jünger] *sb. m.* disciple, Jüngern *dat. pl.*
62¹².

K.

kahn, kan see sub können.

keines wegs in no way, *adv.*, 62¹².

Kindlin little child, *sb. n., voc. pl.*, meine I.
63¹⁷.

[kommen] come, komet *pres. ind. 3d sg.*, wen
ewer ... stünd I. 62²⁰; kommen *p.p.*, das
der Herr ... I. ist 60²⁴; komet *opt. 3d sg.*,
die gnad ... Gottes ... I. vber eich 60⁶;
kompt *imper. pl.*, I. her zu mir 62¹⁴.

[können] be able, kan *pres. ind. 3d sg.*, sein
Wort, das nit sehlen I. 60²⁰; den I. er nit
lassen 61¹⁵; under dialect influence seems
to be the spelling kahn, weil ich nit beñ
eich sein I. 60¹²; wer I. eich den schaden
62⁵; kñndt *pres. ind. 2d pl.*, so I. ihr im
glauben nit Jrr werden 60²³. Observe
here the retention of the mhd. *ll* of the
plural; note also the epenthetic *b*, con-
cerning which cf. Weinhold, Bair. Gramm.
§ 329 and the next quotation: kñndten
pres. ind. 1st pl. nach dem wir vns selbs
Je keines wegs I. helfen 62¹². At first
blush it would seem that kñndten is sub-
junctive of the past, and indeed, the
t might be considered to point that
way, but such a theory is not compa-
tible with the tone of quiet conviction
in which Schwenckfeld makes his state-
ments throughout this letter. For him,
the utter helplessness of poor sinning
humanity is an established fact. The
etymological value of *bt* in kñndten will,
therefore, most probably be the same
as in seht 62⁸, beschwerbt 62¹⁵, werbt 62²²,
ie maubt 63¹⁸, etc., that is to say,
kñndten represents kñnden, the 1st per-
son plural ind. of the present tense with
the epenthetic *b* mentioned above.

[kurz] short, kürzen *dat. sg. m.*, in dem I.
Sentenz 63⁷.

L.

[laden] invite, geladen *p.p.* 62¹⁴.

lassen let 60¹⁸; 61¹³; 62¹; laß *opt. 3d sg.*,
Vnser Herr ... I. Euch ihm ganz befolhen
sein 63¹⁴; laßet *imper. 2d pl.* solches I. ewern
trost sein 61²; laß, solches I. ewer(n) trost ...
sein 62¹¹.

lethter clearly, *adv.*, wie dan sein Wort I. angeigt 62⁵.

leben life, *sb. n.*, das Ewig I. 62⁹; 63³; Ewr Ewigs I. 62²²; lebens *gen. sg.*, hochmüt des I. 63²⁴.

[legen] lay, *pres. subj. 2^d pl.*, damit ihr ... alle ewre sünd vff sein Creuß I. 61⁷.

lehr doctrine, *sb. f., gen. sg.*, von wegen ... widerwertiger I. 60².

lehren teach, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.*, die ... darin I. vertrauen 63¹¹.

leiden suffering, passion, *sb. n.*, sein bitters I. 60²¹; auff's I. Jesu 62²¹; leiden, das I. Christi 61⁵.

[leihen] last, *leihen dat. sg. m.*, am I. tag Martij 63¹⁴.

leith people, *plur. tant., acc. m.*, machen die I. Irr 63⁹.

lieb beloved, dear, wer ihn I. hatt 61¹⁵; habt nicht I. die Welt 63²¹; so ie manbt die Welt I. hat 63²²; lieber *voc. sg. m.*, besonder I. Herr 60⁹; comparative lieber, Christum Jemmer I. gewinnen 61¹⁴.

liebe love, *sb. f.*, In dem ist nicht die I. des Vatters 63²²; *gen. sg.*, in den werden der I. 63⁴; *acc. sg.*, ein sondere I. zur warheit ... hatt geben 60¹⁴; lieb *dat. sg.*, in sein gewissen, gläuben, i., hoffnung ... 60³.

lieben love, auch die seinen zül. 60¹⁶.

lûst carnal lust, *sb. f., nom. sg.*, I. der Augen 63²²; *dat. sg.*, die Welt mit ihrer I. 63²².

M.

machen make, *inf.*, das End gut m. 60¹⁷; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.*, die Jenigen m. die leith Irr 63⁹.

[Martins] March, *sb. m.*, Martij *gen. sg.*, am leithen tag M. 63¹⁴.

[Matthäus] Matthew, Matth: 11, 62¹⁶.

mehr furthermore, *adv.*, m. sollet ihr gläuben 62⁷.

[mein] my, meinem *dat. sg. n.*, mit m. Gebett 60¹²; meiner *gen. pl. m.*, mit erbietung m. willigen dienst 60⁹; meine *voc. pl.*, m. findlin 63¹⁷.

[Mensch] man, *sb. m.*, Menschen *dat. sg.*, aim bekümmerten M. 60².

miß, mir see sub iß.

miltiglic mildly, compassionately, *adv.*, sein blât ... m. am Creuß hatt vergossen 61¹.

Corpus Schweneckfeldianorum

mit with, *prep. w. dat.* 60⁸⁻¹²⁻²⁰⁻²²; 61⁴⁻⁹⁻¹² 62⁸⁻⁹⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁸⁻¹⁹⁻²⁴; 63¹⁻²⁵⁻²⁷.

möglich possible 62².

mühfelig laboring under trouble 62¹⁵.

N.

nach after, *prep. w. dat.*, eynen Eyffer n. seinem Wort 60¹⁵.

nach dem after, *conj.*, n. ich bericht (so. bin worden) 60⁹. The causal sense of da is apparent in: n. wir arme sündler vns selbst Je keineswegs löndten helfen 62¹².

nahe near, er ist n. allen ... 61⁹.

nehmen take, für eich n. 61⁴.

Nemlich namely, to wit 63²².

New new, *acc. sg. n.*, das N. Testament 61².

nicht not, *negation*, 60¹²; 63¹²⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²⁴; Nicht 62¹⁷.

nichts nothing 62¹².

nimmer never, *adv.*, 61¹².

nirgend (nirgendes?) nowhere, *adv.* 62¹⁶.

nit not, od. and md. for nicht 60¹¹⁻¹²⁻²⁰⁻²²⁻²⁴; 62¹⁻²²; 63⁶⁻⁷⁻²².

nach nor, *conj.*, nit schwach n. Irrig 63⁷; weder trost, hilf, noch heil 63¹¹; Habt nicht lieb die Welt, n. was Inn der Welt ist 63²¹.

[ust] need, *sb. f.*; [üsten] *dat. pl.*, in allen n. 62²².

Notthelfer helper in need, patron saint, *sb. m.*, er ist der einige N. 61⁹.

[nottürfftig] needy, nottürfftigen *dat. sg. m.* einem armen n. sündler 60²².

nur only, *adv.* 60¹⁹; 62¹.

O.

ob if, *conj.*, o. ie manbt gesündet 63¹⁸. Modern usage would call for wenn in this case.

oft often, *adv.* 61³⁻¹⁴; 62¹⁶.

ohne without, *prep. w. acc.*, o. Zweifel 62⁷; shortened to shu, o. ihn 62¹².

P.

Passion passion, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.*, Zu dem sollet ihr ... den P. oft für eich nehmen 61².

The masculine gender of this word is notable; it agrees with the mhd. usage; in modern usage it is feminine; cf. Sentenz.

[Propheet] prophet, *sb. m.*, Propheeten *dat. sg.* 62¹⁸.

R.

recht rightly, very, *adv.*, ein r. gütlicher 60¹.

[Regieren] ruling, Regierenden *dat. sg.*, vom R. Christo 63⁹.

Reich kingdom, *sb. n., dat. sg.*, in seinem R. wohnen 62¹⁰.

[reinigen] cleanse, gereiniget *p.p.* 62²⁸.

S.

[sagen] say, sagt *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 62¹⁻¹².

[schaden] harm 62⁵.

[schaffen] work, [schaff] *opt. 3^d sg.* 63²⁷.

[schäfflin] little sheep, *sb. n., acc. pl.* 63².

[schaffall] sheepfold, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 63².

[schanden] see zûschanden.

[schreiben] separate, geschreiben *p.p.*, er werb eich von ihm nimmer g. lassen werden 61¹².

[schreiben] write, *inf.* 60¹¹; [schreibe] *pres. ind. 1st sg.* 63¹⁷; geschrieben *p.p.*, 60⁵; 63¹⁷.

[schreiben] writing, letter, *sb. n.*; [schreibens], eins Christlichen tröflichen f. 60¹.

[schwach] weak, feeble 63⁷.

[Seele] soul, *sb. f.*; seelen *gen. sg.*, Ewer f. heil 62¹⁶; Seelen *gen. pl.*, Bischof unserer S. 63¹².

seidit see sub sein (be).

sein see sub sein (his).

sein be, *inf.*, weil ich nit ... f. lahn 60¹²; [solches] laßt ewern trost f. 61²; [solches] laßt ewer[n] trost ... sein 62¹¹; das sein bitter tob Ewer Ewigs leben f. werdt 62²²; laß Euch ihm ganz befolhen f. 63¹⁴; bin *pres. ind. 1st sg.*, b. auch ganzer hoffnung 60¹²; ist *pres. ind. 3^d sg.*, zerstreuet gewest i. 60⁵; kommen i. 60²⁴; er i. nahe 61⁸; der Herr i. gütig 61⁸; er i. der einige Nothhelfer 61⁹; wan Christus mit eich i. 62⁶; i. vergossen 62²⁵; Er J. der treu Hirbt 63²; Es i. 63⁶; das haupit i. 63¹⁰; heil. i. zûfinden 63¹¹; derselb i. die versünung 63¹⁹; was Inn der Welt i. 63²¹; In dem i. ... die liebe 63²²; was In der Welt i. 63²²; J. nicht vom Vatter 63²⁴; Das alles i. hoch zûbedenden 63²⁶; seidit *pres. ind. 2^d pl.*, wie ihr ettwas Irrig ... f. 60¹⁰; spelt sehdit, das Ihr ... f. erlebigt 62⁸; the md. form seind is on record in die ihr beschwerdt vnd mühselig f. 62¹⁵; the same form seind serves for the 3^d *pl. pres. ind.*, in dem

gläubigen f. alle ding möglich 62²; seidt *imp. pl.*, f. getrost 63¹; seh *pres. subj. 3¹ sg.*, das eich sein bitters leiden ... zûtheil f. worden 60²²; das der Herr ... Ewer Herr vnd Gott f. 62⁵; gewest *p.p.*, zerstreuet g. ist 60⁴.

sein his, *nom. sg. m.*, f. bitter tob 62²²; *acc. sg. f.*, eich in f. gnab erget 61¹²; *nom. sg. n.*, f. bitters leiden 60²¹; f. Wort angeigt 62⁵; *acc. sg. n.*, an f. Wort 60¹⁹; durch f. Wort 61¹¹; sein blüt ... hatt vergossen 61¹; eich f. genüghen ... seht Inbillet 61⁶; vff f. Creiß leget 61⁷; seine *acc. sg. f.* 60²⁰; seinem *dat. sg. m. n.* 60¹⁵⁻²²; 62¹⁰⁻²⁴; contracted to sein 60³; 62²⁵; seinen *acc. sg. m.* 61⁶; 62¹²; 63²⁻²⁷; w. article preced., used as noun 60¹⁶; seiner *gen. sg. f.* 63¹⁰; seines *gen. sg. m. n.* 60⁷; 61⁵.

selbs self, vns f. 62¹².

[selig] happy, seligen *acc. sg. m.* 62²¹.

seligmacher Saviour, *sb. m.* 62⁴.

seligkeit salvation *sb. f. acc. sg.* 62¹⁷.

Sentenz sentence, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 63⁷; the masculine gender agrees with mhd. usage; modern usage calls for the feminine.

[sehen] put, seht *imp. pl.* 62²¹.

sehschen sighing, aspiration, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 61⁴; 62¹⁹.

seh see sub sein (be).

sich refl., himself, wer f. gûts zû ihm versicht 61¹⁵; Wer sich auch ... besprenget 62²⁴; sich, mistake for sieh, see sub er.

sie see sub er.

so so, then, if, which, *conj.*, introducing the apodosis 60¹¹ (nach dem—So); 62¹⁴ (nach dem = da—so); 63¹⁸ (ob—so); starting the exposition or argument 60¹⁹; 62⁸; indicating expected result of recommended action 60²³; 61⁷; 63⁵; coupled with darumb 61¹⁰; 63¹; introducing a conditional clause 63²¹; serving as relative 60¹.

Sohn son, *sb. m.* 62⁴; Sohns *gen. sg.* 60⁸.

sol shall, *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 62²³⁻²⁵; sollet *pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 60¹⁹; 61²⁻¹⁴; 62²⁻⁷⁻¹⁶.

[solch] such, [solchem] *dat. sg. n.* 61¹⁴; [solches] *acc. sg. n.* 60¹⁷; 61²; 62¹⁶; [solchs] 62¹¹; [solchs] 63¹⁷.

sonder but, *conj.* 60²⁴; 62^{17,18-22}; 63²⁴.

[sonder] special, [sondere] *acc. sg. f.* 60¹⁴.

ſonderlich especially, *adv.* 61³.

ſprechen speak 61⁵; ſpricht *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 62¹⁴.

[ſtamme] stem, tree, *sb. wk. m.*, ſtammen *dat. sg.* 62⁹. Note the weak form of the word. Also in mhd. there is a weak form in use by the side of the strong which alone prevails in the modern language.

ſtarkmütig strong-hearted 63¹;

[ſtehn] stand, ſteht *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 63¹⁶.

ſtünd hour, *sb. f.* 62²⁰.

ſuchen seek 62¹⁷; ſüchet *pres. ind.* 2^d *pl.* 61¹¹.

ſümme sum total, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.*, *J. E.* in brief 63¹⁶.

ſünd sin, *sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 61¹ bis 7; 63²⁰; ſünden *gen. pl.* 61¹¹; 62²⁵.

[ſünden] sin, geſündet *p.p.*, ob ie manbt g. 63¹⁸.

ſünder sinner, *sb. m. dat. sg.* 60²²; ſünder *nom. pl.* 62¹²; *gen. pl.* 60²⁴.

[ſündigen] sin, ſündiget *pres. subj.* 2^d *pl.* 63¹⁸.

ſünſt else, *adv.* 62¹⁶.

T.

tag day, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.* 63¹⁴; *acc. sg.* 61⁴.

Teſtament testament, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 61³.

[thew] dear, thewre *acc. sg. f.* 60²⁰.

[thun] do, thut *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 63²⁵; *pres. ind.* 2^d *pl.* 62⁷.

toð death, *sb. m.* 62²²; todt *acc. sg.* 61⁶; Todt 62⁸.

treu faithful 63².

troſt consolation, comfort, *sb. m.*, *nom. sg.* 63¹¹; *acc. sg.* 61²; 62¹¹.

tröſten console, comfort, *inf.* 60¹¹; getroſt *p.p.*, ſol ... in allen nöten g. werden 62²²; ſeibt g. 63¹.

[tröſtlich] consolatory, tröſtlichen *gen. sg. n.*, eins t. ſchreibens 60¹.

tröſtlich comfortingly, *adv.* 62¹⁴.

trübſal trouble, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 61¹⁰.

U.

üben (ſich) *refl.*, exercise oneself, ſollet eich ü. 61¹⁴; übet *pres. ind.* 2^d *pl.*, das Jhr ... Euch ü. 63⁴.

über over, *prep. w. acc.* 60⁷.

uff upon, *prep. w. acc.* 61⁷.

umb ... willen for the sake of, *prep. w. gen.*, B. Jeſu Chriſti w. 60⁷; nit v. der gerechten, ſonder v. der ſünder w. 60²⁴.

und and 60⁴ bis 6-7-9-10-11-12-15-16-17-21 bis; 61¹-3-4-5 bis 6 bis 8-12-15; 62⁴ bis 8-10-11-15-16-17-18-19 bis 20-22-25-26; 63¹-3-5-7-11-13-18-19-22-24-26; Und 60¹¹; und 60³-8 bis 19-20; 61¹⁰; Und 62¹².

underlaſſen omit, neglect 60¹¹.

unſ see sub wir.

unſer our, *nom. sg. m.* 63⁶⁻¹²; *acc. sg. f.* 63²⁰;

unſers *gen. sg. m.* 60¹⁵; unſerm *dat. sg. m.* 63¹⁻⁵; unſere *acc. sg. f.* 61¹; unſerer *gen. pl. f.* 63¹².

unter among, *prep. w. dat.* 63¹⁶.

V.

Vatter father, *sb. m.* 62¹⁰; 63²⁴; Vatters *gen. sg.* 60⁶; 63²².

verachten despise 63²⁶.

verdienſt merit, *sb. n.* 60²².

vergebung pardon, forgiveness *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 62²⁴; *acc. sg.* 61¹¹; 62²⁴.

[vergehen] pass away, vergehet *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 63²⁵.

vergeſſen forget: Ewer ... nicht wil v. 60¹².

[vergieſſen] shed, *p.p.*, vergieſſen 61²; 62²⁵.

verlaſſen forſake 63⁶.

verleihen grant 62²¹.

vermögen be able, *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* 62¹².

[verſehen (ſich)] *refl.*, expect, verſicht *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 61¹⁵.

verſündung propitiation, *sb. f.*, 63¹⁹.

vertrauen trust in 63¹¹.

vertrauen trust, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 60⁴; 62²¹.

vertrüſten (ſich) *refl.*, trust 60²¹.

verzeihung pardon, *sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 62²⁵.

vil many 60¹⁴.

von of, off, *prep. w. dat.* 61¹²; 63²⁴; with *dat. of m. article contracted to vom* 62⁸; 63⁹⁻²⁴.

von wegen because of, *prep. w. gen.* 60².

vor before, ago, *prep. c. dat.* 60¹²⁻¹⁴.

W.

wan when, *conj.* 62⁶; see also wen.

warheit truth, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 60¹⁴.

was what 63²¹⁻²².

weder (followed by noch) neither 63¹¹.

wegen see von wegen.

wegß see ʔeines wegß.

weil because, *conj.* 60¹⁴.

Welt world, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 63²⁵; *gen. sg.* 61¹; *dat. sg.* 63²¹⁻²³⁻²⁴; *acc. sg.* 63²¹⁻²².

wen when, *conj.* 62²⁰.

wer who 62⁶; he who 61¹⁵; 62²²; Wer 63⁸⁻²⁵;

Wer and whosoever 62²⁴.

[werd] work, *sb. n.*; werden *dat. pl.* 63⁴.

werden become 60²⁸; 61⁸⁻¹²; 62²³⁻²⁶; wirt (shall), *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 63⁶; spelt würdt (written würde by mistake) 61⁷; werdet *pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 61⁶; answers to English you shall 62¹¹; 63⁵; in the same sense occurs werde *pres. subj. 3^d sg.* 60¹⁶; shortened to werd 61¹² which is spelt werdt 62²²; worden *p.p.* 60^{22/23}.

[widerwertig] contrary, contradictory, widerwertiger *gen. sg. f.* 60³.

wie how, that, *conj.* 60¹⁰; as 62¹⁻⁵⁻⁷⁻¹².

wil see sub wollen.

willen will, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 63²⁷; Willen 63²⁵; umb . . . willen see sub umb.

[willig] willing, ready, willigen *gen. pl. m.* 60⁹.

wir we, *nom. pl.* 62¹²⁻¹³; 63¹²; uns *dat. pl.* 62¹²; *acc. pl.* 62¹⁴.

[wissen] know, wisset *pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 60²³.

wohnen dwell, live 62¹¹; wonet *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 62¹⁹.

wol well, *adv.* 61⁵⁻⁶⁻⁷.

[wollen] will, wish, wil *pres. ind. 1st sg.* 60¹³; 62¹⁵; wölle *opt. 3^d sg.* 62²⁰; wölle *p.p.*, hab ich nit w. vnderlassen 60¹¹.

wolthat beneficence, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 60²⁰.

wolhast carnal lust, luxury, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 63²³.

wonet see sub wohnen.

worden see sub werden.

Wort word, *sb. n. nom. sg.* 62⁵; Wortß *gen. sg.* 61⁵; Wort *dat. sg.* 60¹⁵; *acc. sg.* 60¹⁹; 61¹¹.

[wün[s]chen] wish, wün[s]ch *pres. ind. 1st sg.* 60⁸.

würde see sub werden.

3.

zerstrewet distracted 60⁴⁻¹⁰.

zilen stake off, set as goal, gezilte *p.p.*, ewer g. stünb 62²⁰.

zū or zū to, *prep. w. dat.* 60⁴; 61⁸⁻¹⁵; 62¹³⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁸; with *dat.* of fem. article contracted to zūr 60¹⁴; 62²⁴; connected and written as one word with the infinitives bedenden 63²⁶; finden 63¹²; fragen 60¹⁶; glauben 62³; lieben 60¹⁶; schreiben 60¹¹; trösten 60¹¹; ücrachten 63²⁶.

zū dem moreover 61³.

zūr see sub zū.

zū[s]chanden werden be put to shame, confusion 62²².

zūtheil worden fallen to one's share 60²².

zūtersicht confidence, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 61¹².

zūnor previously, *adv.* 60⁹.

Zweiffel doubt, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 62⁷.

Zweyßpalt discord, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 60². The word is now more usually masculine.

[Zweyt] second, Zweyten *dat. sg. n.*, am 3. sc. Kapitel 63¹⁶.

V

**Address to the Sisters of the Convent
at Naumburg am Queis**

May or early June 1523?

A line graph showing a downward trend. The line starts at the top left and slopes down to the bottom right. Handwritten labels are placed along the line: '100' near the top, '50' below it, '25' further down, '10' below that, and '5' near the bottom right. The line is jagged and irregular.

SCHWENCKFELD, as has already been indicated, was a man of oratorical ability. He composed no "Rejected Addresses". When once heard, his audience wanted to hear him again. They were eager to have him return, because the speaker was himself animated with the truth he sought to convey. He was also penetrated with the conviction of his call. He believed thoroughly, but with a gentle humility, in his appointment to a mission in behalf of his fellow-men. He was equally assured that what he said was an immediate gift of God, now greater now less, but never delivered without forethought and devout study. He did not go where he was not wanted. It was always somebody in a city, or community, or church, or institution that desired his instruction, and to whose appeal he responded. In other words, it was part of his conception of a call, to be invited. Then the transparent life and the character of the man spake through his words, fluent, varied, simple, perspicacious, illustrative. One may infer from the testimony of friends and enemies that there were few of his day who excelled him in persuasive and powerful utterance. His enemies dreaded his advent, because of the consequences to their own popularity. There are but few of such public addresses preserved to us; and of those only scanty outlines remain; he himself does not seem to have been inclined to reproduce them; and it has often been a subject of marvel that others did not more frequently report these discourses. This lack was probably due to university and clerical hostility which made it hazardous for students to attend his conferences, or to run the risk of making public his speeches, sermons and talks. Outside of a few sketches and a rather meagre Table-talk, there is but little preserved for us of these capable and eventful addresses. The first one in skeleton form is contained in the *Sendbrieff und Erinnerung*, which immediately follows. Schwenckfeld had been importuned by sundry friends to visit the cloister, which had already received some evangelical stimulus and awakening; the prioress herself was also under the influence of the Gospel and was certainly very favorable to the interview, and not unlikely was a party to the invitation, at least she warmly seconded it. Schwenckfeld responded to this personal request and apparently spoke without any notes.

as God gave him utterance, although in this case too he did not come without prior thought. He himself remarks that his discourse was at greater length than the abbreviation he presents in this missive (Xij^b). The summary constitutes the first part of the *Sendbrieff* X^b—Xij^b. The topic discussed was, what constitutes a genuine Christian life in its very essence?

1. It does not consist in
 - a) external appearance,
 - b) hypocrisy,
 - c) human traditions,
 - d) one's own works (as a means of salvation).

Consequently it is not bound to place, time, vestment, persons, meats, and the like.

2. Its positive elements are found

- a) in its origin. It springs solely from confidence in God, through the knowledge of Jesus Christ. This is attained through the Holy Spirit energizing in our hearts the hearing of the divine Word and promoting diligent reflection thereon.

- b) in certain progressive results:

- (1) contempt of the world,
- (2) quenching of the lusts,
- (3) mortification of the flesh,
- (4) substitution of unfeigned brotherly love. He enlarged on

the qualities of that love as described by St. Paul 1 Cor. 13. Since love is the fulfilling of the law, all human institutions and vows fall into the background; these cannot bend the conscience to anything that makes one go astray, or causes one to walk contrary to the principle of love. Such unrighteously imposed obligations are unnecessary to salvation. The decline and corruption of the monastic idea and system were also dwelt upon. The chief thing everywhere now to be concerned about was the education of the conscience through the study of the Gospel. The question of remaining in or of leaving the cloistral life was left to the liberty of the individual, although the whole system had so far degenerated from its primitive purpose as to make it questionable whether it should not be given up. If however any one were inclined to lay aside the religious profession, the motive thereto should be tested: was she induced by the Spirit of God or by the spirit of the world? The character of the prioress gave hope of a reformation. He made a personal appeal to her, urging her to discharge her duties in the spirit of love, out of unselfish, sacrificial devotion; she should bear in mind the influence of a virtuous and gentle example; and he incited her to be more anxious to promote the exercise of the scriptural commandments than human prescriptions. Truth must displace adverse custom.

This he followed with sundry appeals to mutuality; love, however difficult its exercise might be, ought to reign as the regulating motive and as the new law. Such was the substance of his address. It had its immediate success, and its fruit also remained for years. The further consideration of all the details is taken up in the immediately succeeding discussion of the *Sendbrief*.

The time of this visit can only be surmised. After Easter, April 5, of this year, there may have been a little lull in the home engagements, and yet not very much; for the approaching Pentecost would demand much preparation, especially as to the training of the children for the ceremonies of Whitsunday; a matter in which Schwenckfeld was deeply interested. One may perhaps conjecture that the allusions to the work of the Spirit and the influence of the Gospel may have had an external impulse from the great anniversary of these events. A somewhat more definite limit is given by Part II of the *Sendbrief*, where he exhorts them not to fear Rome. In January, 1523, pope Hadrian VI through his legate Chiericati, had exhorted the Reichstag at Nürnberg to carry into rigorous execution the Edict of Worms; in return, he promised a complete reformation of the Church in its head and members. He had also thrice importuned the Elector of Saxony to put an end to the rebellion against the papal authority. On July 13, 1523, he sent a breve to the captain and consuls of the city of Breslau, urging upon them not to yield to the false evangelical liberty which had sought to seduce them from their faithful and long allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. He presses upon them the need of overthrowing and extinguishing Lutheranism. A similar breve was addressed to the Herzog of Liegnitz. There was then a renewed, concentrated and progressive attempt to put out the recovered light. The threatenings were wide spread, and especially alarming to those who were under bonds in the various monastic institutions. To this accumulating mass of menace Schwenckfeld may be here adverting. On September 13, nearly two months later than the probable date of the missive to Friedrich II, the venerable teacher of the Emperor and the strenuous anathematizer of the new order, passed to his account. It would be likely therefore, that the missive whose first Part we are considering was written while under the full pressure of the persuasive maledictions, but before the tidings of the pontiff's death had reached Liegnitz. Further, the subjoined exhortation not to fear any authority, however high it might stand in the estimation of the world, may relate to the persecuting letters of the Chapter at Breslau, the missives of King Sigismund to the Herzog of Liegnitz, as well as to Breslau, and other similar efforts at repression. There is an evident reference to some phenomenal and converging movement of the opposition. Its fullest volume struck Silesia in the summer and fall of this year.

Now Schwenckfeld had left the exact time of his return an open date. On finding however, that the necessities of the hour made a second journey impossible, he recapitulated his address, lest its substance might fade from their memory, if the interval were stretched too far. To this he added what might have been a sketch of the second proposed address, for he was fully minded to have come. From these facts one may perhaps reasonably conjecture that the date of this letter itself was in August, or more likely in the first part of September. In that case, the date of the address may have been in the Pentecostal season (May 24).

VI

**A Missive and Reminder to the Sisters in the
Cloister at Naumburg am Queis**

Early September 1523?

A.

THERE is no Ms. of this work extant, and there is but one edition. The name of the printer does not appear. It is also s. l. and s. a. The facsimile is reproduced from the copy in the *Ratschulbibliothek*, Zwickau. I. The top of the bordure consists of a central stand decorated with leaves above and below; three strands of conventionalized fruit radiate from the upper foliage. Scrolls issue from this standard, one to the right and the other to the left. An imperial eagle stands upon each one of these, in differing and rather painful positions. At the termination of each branch of the main scroll is a foliated human face. From the main scrolls minor ones branch off. The left enclosure consists of a columnar arrangement with a large fluted base having three plumed animal heads at the bottom; an ornamented capital crowns it. Upon this rests a vase with conventionalized plants and fruit about it and a foliated top surmounted again with a sort of capital. This in turn upholds a slighter vase having a varied arrangement of leaves, plants and fruit. At the top is another more elaborate capital; it supports a piper playing a flageolet; he has sword and axe in his belt; a hunter's hat with band and plume bedecks him; and a bee is hazardingly near his long hair. The right enclosure has the same general columnar arrangement; at the foot of the base are two owl's or falcon's beaks. The figure at the top is that of a monk with a bear's head but shorn; a rosary is in his hand, his hooded cloak reaches only to his knees, so that he is compelled to wear the slouch boots of the period. The piper is piping a new tune for the ursine monk to dance to. In the under part are two standing cherubs or amoretts partially clothed, who support a curvilinear shield from which, however, the signature or the symbol of the printer is absent. cf. Dommer's description of a similar bordure: *Lutherdrucke auf der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek* 1516—1523. No. 73, p. 236 which may be an improvement upon the above surmisings. It is not noticed in Götze, *Die Hochdeutschen Drucker der Reformationszeit*, Straßburg 1905. The bordure is a complete, undivided block; the title-page proper is a block by itself. In all cases the lines and tracery are very delicate. The outer and particularly the inner edges of the bordure are in part broken. Some of the prints are much darker as is our facsimile

than others. Apparently the engraving was made by the Lucas Cranach firm at Wittenberg. The P is not an engraver's monogram.

II. The title has three sizes and two varieties of type, the Gothic and the Schwabacher fractur; at the foot is the pear-ornament which is so frequent in the books of the reformation period. The caption has two varieties, the upper line Gothic and the remainder Schwabacher. Underneath is a larger pear-ornament. Then the text itself is from four fonts; the initial G is both elaborate and rare; after the initial come four large latin capitals; then succeeds the Schwabacher fractur; the type of the second page A^b is from a larger font, while the rest of the book has a smaller cut, excepting the capitals which are the same as those of the first page. Of the four leaves, A to AIV^b, only Aij and Aij have the signatures. On the average apart from A^b, there are thirty-seven lines to the page. Every new paragraph is introduced by ¶. The leading words usual at the foot of the page are omitted. The book is a quarto of just one sheet.

III. The watermarks, so far as decipherable in various copies, are the imperial eagle and the ox-head.

IV. But who is the printer? Almost all who have written about this work have attributed it to the press of Caspar Lybisch in Breslau. The evidence however proves conclusively that it was printed by Johann Grunenberg at Wittenberg.

1. The border for example has been found in the following works:

- 1) Von Beyden gestalt^{en}ten der heylige Messe. ||
 Von Tzehen yn ge^meyn was sie myr^{den}ten vnd dem^{ten}. ||
 Sie seynd nitt Behe^{men}men obder fe^{er} / die beyde gestalt^{en}the^{men} /
 sonder Ewangelische || Christen. ||
 Andres Bodenstein || von Carolstatt. || Gedru^{ct}t ym ijxx Jar.

At end of Introduction: Datum Wittenbergⁱ Martini. 21. At end
 of book: Gedru^{ct}t zu Wittenbergⁱ durch Johann Grunenbergⁱ /
 Nach Christ gepurt tausent funff hundert vnd zway vnd zwen-
 zigsten JAR.

- 2) *Super Coelibatu || Monachatu et vi^{du}itate Axiomata per / pensa Vuit-*
tem^{berg}ae. ||
And. Bo. Carolostadii. || Recognitus & ab Autore opibus || haud poe-
nitendis adauctus. ||
Susqⁱ deqⁱ fero risum cor meum || dominus vnus iudicat.
VVittenbergae || M. D. XXI.

At end: Wittenberge^e ex officina Johannis Grunenb: Anno
 M. D. XXI.

- 3) *Contra Henricum* || *Regem Angliae* || *Martinus Luther.* ||
VVittenbergae. ||
 1522.

At end of Introduction: *VVittenbergae. 15. Iulij. 1522.*

- 4) *De votis Monasticis,* || *Martini Lutheri* || *Judicium a sese* || *Recogni-*
tum || *et avctum.* ||
VVittenbergae ex Aedibus ||
Johannis Grunenb. ||
 1522.

At end of Introduction: *Vicesima prima Nouembris. Anno MDXXI.*

- 5) *Vom*¹ *miß*||*brauch* *der* || *Messen* || *Martinus Luther* || *Wittenberg.*
M. D.||*XXII.*

At end of Introduction: *Auß meynen wußtenn am tag Katharine.*
M. D. XXI.

- 6) *Meditatio Pia Et* || *Erudita Hieronymi* || *Savonarolae. A Papa* ||
Excusi, Super Psal||*mos Miserere* || *Mei. Et In Te* || *Domine Spera*||*vi.* ||
VVittenbergae. ||
 1523.

- 7) *Wie sich eyn diener* || *Gottes wortts hnn all sehnem thun* || *halten*
soß / *vnd sonderlich ge*||*gen denen / wilchen das* || *Euangelion zuuor* ||
nicht geprebigt || *ist / das sie sich* || *nicht er*||*gern.* || *Johan Eberlyn von* ||
Gynzburg. || *Wittenberg.* ||
 1525.

At end of Introduction: *Geben zu Wittenberg / auf den Grünen-*
borsdag / hnn vier vnd zweynzigstem iare. Ewer better vnd mit-
bruder hnn Christo / Johan Eberlyn von Gynzburg.

Of course there are others, but these are sufficient for the proof.

- a. Nos. 1, 2, 4 give Grünenberg as printer.
- b. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 give Wittenberg as the place.
- c. The type and minor capitals are similar to the acknowledged J. G. prints.

2. The extraordinary and rare initial. This G is found but with different bordure in

Außlegung || *der Episteln* || *vñ Euangelien die nach* || *brauch der kirchen*
ge||*lesen werde* / *vom* || *Christag biß* || *auff* || *den Sontag nach* || *Epi-*
phanie. ||

Martinus || *Luther.* ||

¹ Heyer in his list of *Lutherbrude* auf der *Bresl. Stadtbibliothek* attributes the publication of this work to Johann Grünenberg. vid. CbBw. IX. 411 No. 112.

At end of Introduction: *Geben ynn der wusten am tage sanct
Elisabeth. 1521.*

At end: *Gedruckt zu Wittenberg durch Johann Grunenberg / nach
Christ gepurtt Tausent funffhundert vnd zway vñ zwentzigsten
JAH.*

This gives J. G. as printer, and the place as Wittenberg in the year 1522. A similar engraving of the letter I is found in No. 7 of the previous register, where the place is mentioned as Wittenberg. An analogous D has also been found, but printer and place are not stated; the type however is like that of the present letter. Minor details might be dwelt upon, but the above proofs may suffice to demonstrate that this *Sendbrieff* was printed by Johann Grunenberg at Wittenberg.

V. The author's name on the title-page is given as *Caspar von Schwendfeldt*. While this designation is correct for the original title of the family, Schwenckfeld never uses it himself; he places the *von* before the name of the later ancestral seat Ossig, as it is given in the caption, *Caspar Schwendfeldt von Ossig*. The variations in the spelling are to be noted. Of course he had nothing to do with the title-page, and whether the heading is from his pen may be doubted, although the variations in the spelling might argue for it. The *Ratzenburg* of the title-page is also slightly changed in the heading to *Rawnburg*.

VI. The question of the date is still open, and as yet can only be stated conjecturally. Schneider I, p. 7, whether influenced by Buchholz, as Hoffmann alleges, or not, has put it in the year 1523¹. v. d. Hardt, without giving any source, has dated it 1525. Weller, *Rep. Typ.* has adopted 1525 without giving any explanation. Hoffmann has suggested 1524, because he conceives that the exhortation to sing psalms in German and to play with songs of praise to the Lord (Av) refers to Luther's *Kirchenlieder*, which were not printed in book-form until 1524. The year 1523 however seems the more correct because: 1. The work is not cited in either edition of the *Catalogus*. It is true that no date is attached to any of the books there specified, but they do give the treatises as far back as 1524, and omit none of that year; it must however be said that the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs* only receives his approval by its mention in the second letter to the Bishop and its extended use in the treatise *Vom Evangelio Christi* and *Vom Mißbrauch des Evangelij* (1552); the presumption would therefore be that this missive must have been printed before that time. 2. The convent itself was certainly among the first in Silesia, if not the first, to come under the influence of the Gospel revival

¹ Buchholz makes no mention in the *Isagoge*.

Xij, Xij^b. It was also a leader in making modest changes in its inner life, and was in the process of a further reformation. Schwenckfeld comes to them in the midst of these innovations, and points out certain principles and betterments which they could further make without disturbing their sisterhood life. In 1523 the cloisters began to be deserted and the marriage of many inmates followed. This exodus commenced in the neighboring lands, particularly the Electorate, and also in Breslau; the agitation had already stirred up Liegnitz. Buchholz in the Isagoge under 1523 remarks: *Moniales Psalmorum libros Latinos de manibus deponere, habitum religiosum exuere & Monasterijs valedicere coeperunt, contractoque matrimonio factae sunt matresfamilias*. So that this date would better fit in with the actual condition of things than any later one. 3. In the words concerning their musical service, the reference is to Eph. 5¹⁸⁻²¹ which reads in Luther's N. T., Sept., 1522: /sondern werdet vol geistis / vnd rebet vnternan|der von psalmen vñ lobfengen vnd geistlichen lieben / singet vñ spielt| dem herrn ynn ewren herzen / vñ saget band allezeit fur yberman / | Got dem vater ynn dem namen vnserß herrn Ihesu Christ / vnd seyt | vnternander vnterthan ynn der furcht Gottiß, and which Schwenckfeld applies thus: Lernet singen die deutfchen psalmen / vnd spylet mit lobgefengen dem herren ynn ewrem herzen vn munde /. There seems to be no necessary allusion to Luther's hymnbook of 1524, for the emphatic point of this section is to enforce the duty of private and public worship in intelligible speech; the sisters should employ their own vernacular to this end, and substitute the German for the Latin in their psalms and in all their choral service, so that song and accompaniment could be understood and appropriated by the heart; in this way their emotions would have a genuine and intelligent elevation, and a more acceptable service would be rendered to a God of truth. If nuns could have produced the Trebnitzer Psalter, why might not the sisters of Naumburg do a similar work? As a matter of fact, many of the psalms had already been translated by Luther himself since 1517, to say nothing of other versions; these could be readily substituted (K.-K. I. 573). And indeed what was not already done, should now be, in order to abolish the mechanical idea of religion and to substitute vital music for the monotonous mummary in vogue. But even if there were such an allusion to the Kirchenlieder some of Luther's hymns and tunes had already obtained circulation in leaflet form (K.-K. I. 537). Nor need the various hymnbooks of the Unitas be out of the question. From 1501 on these were in use. Although no German edition prior to 1531 has yet been found, it can hardly be doubted that German translations were scattered among the people long before that date. But Schwenckfeld, it would seem, had in mind no such collections; he only insisted that their musical service should be in the vernacular, like all the rest of their worship,

private or public. 4. The contents themselves afford another argument. Some of the thoughts and language come before us also in the near by letter to the bishop; indeed it has a very close affinity of time and subject matter with that document. It would seem that these points of identity are here stated in their inchoate form; the larger expression of them comes in the longer missive.

VII. Evidently Schwenckfeld was not responsible for the publication of this letter; he would scarcely have sent it to Wittenberg, since the presses of Dyon and Lybisch were already so active in Breslau; and the latter was the publisher of the epistle to the bishop in the forepart of the next year. The friends who had invited him to visit the convent and the inmates themselves who were so deeply interested that they urged his return, most probably saw to its bringing out. These friends were evidently such as lived in the immediate neighborhood of Naumburg. This little town was on the great line of travel westward to the Rhine; and Wittenberg was already famous not only for its presses, but it almost served as a sort of clearing house for the book-trade.

VIII. The work in literary history: 1. It is absent from Cat. I and II, probably because the title of the first register seems to limit the inclusion to such treatises or letters as were approved and published by him directly, and such as received his secondary recognition, because they had been drawn into public controversy, and involved the definite tenets he held. The latter were but two in number. A controlling reason for not acknowledging this letter in the Catalogus of 1561 may have been in the construction which could be put upon his emphasis on the Word and the Scripture as media of awakening and sustaining the Christian life without any explanation; thus in the section: *Sunder daß es steheynn dem eynigen vertragen hynn Got / durch daß erkentnis Jesu Christi / welches nu der heylige geist auß dem gehörr vn vlehsfigem nachtrachten des Göttlichen wortis anhebet zugeberenn hynn vnsern herzen / Daß denne weytter bei vns wirckt verachtunge der werlt / dempfunge der lüste / tödtunge vnserß fleysches / vnd die ungefelschte brüderliche liebe gegen vnserm nehsten / die da eyn erfüllung ist des ganzen gesetzes | wie S. Paul saget. (Aij.)* Probably he felt that the distinction between the inner and the outer word was not clearly enough established in this and similar statements, so as to be free from the charge of indefiniteness. His opponents might plead that against him as indicating a change in his views. They might allege that he had really once held with them. Now, while these statements are in perfect harmony with his customary teaching, yet one who maintained the doctrine of an absolutely essential, external means of grace could easily read this whole letter as being in agreement with his own preconception.

2. von der Hardt gives the title in his *Antiqua Literarum Monumenta* 1690 Vol. I. p. 213: Ein Send-Brieff und Erinnerung des Ehrenvesten Caspar von Schwendfeld / von Dffig / an die Kloster-Jungfrauen zu Raumburg / wes sie sich jeziger Zeit halten sollen / und wie sie des Kloster-Lebens / nach Freyheit des Geistes / nützlich gebrauchen möchten. 1525.

3. The Unschuldige Nachrichten of 1715 p. 758, 759 has an analysis and commentation which is here reproduced: Caspar von Schwendfeldt Send-Brieff an die Kloster-Jungfrauen zur Raumburgl. in 4to 1 Bogen.

Der bekannte Schwendfeldt ermahnet die Nonnen in dem Raumburgischen Jungfrauen-Kloster schriftlich / in Fried und Einigkeit zu leben / auch die Schwachheit der jüngern in der Liebe zu ertragen / so / daß sich keine / auch nicht die Priorin, über die andern einige Herrschafft anmaße. Er zeigt / wie weit die Klöster von der ersten Stiftung sind abgewichen / und wie die Menschen-Sagungen und Gelübde ihr Gewissen gar nicht irren noch verbinden können; will ihnen aber doch nicht rathen aus dem Kloster zu gehen / auch nicht heißen darinne zu bleiben. Vielmehr ist seine Meinung / sie solten einen alten / gelehrten und frommen Mann alle Tage in ihrem Convent ein Stück aus der Bibel lesen und erklären lassen / damit sie desto eher vollendt zur Erkenntniß der göttlichen Wahrheit kommen mögen. Er verheißt seine Zukunft / und schließet mit den Worten: Bittet auch für mich armen Sünder. Er bezeugt in diesem Brieff einen Greuel an den Mißbräuchen des Papstthums / und nennet es das widerchristliche Regiment / läffet aber doch etliche fanatische Lebens-Arten lauffen: z. E. Ob nun Gott von Ewigkeit durch seinen Heil Geist solch Wort in euer Herz gesendet hat? ist mir nicht vonnöthen zu wissen. A. 2. St. Betet / so viel dessen euer Geist ertragen kan. A. 3. &c.

This is one of those pitiful specimens of criticism and misquotation, which will often be encountered as scholasticism stiffened its neck and hardened its heart against all spirituality.

4. A curious note occurs in the Kurze Historische Beschreibung von dem ehemahligen Kloster zu St. Moritz, vor der Stadt Raumburg (a/E.) &c. Joh. Martinus Schamelius, Raumburg, 1729, p. 34:

Not.

Ob allhier in Raumburg ein gewisses Nonnen-Kloster gestanden solte zwar so scheinen / besonders aus einem gewissen Brieffe / welchen der bekante Caspar von Schwendfeld A. — — an sie abgelassen hat. Es ist derselbige nachzulesen in denen Unschuld. Nachrichten A. 1715. p. 758. Jedoch weil unbewußt ist von welchen Orden oder um welchen Platz und Gegend dasselbige eigentlich gelegen gewesen sey / so wird dahin gestellet / ob er nicht ein ander Raumburg gemeinet habe / indem sich zwey Städtgen dieses Namens in Schlesien befinden.

5. Salig fails to mention the publication probably because there was no copy of it in the Bibliotheca Augusta at Wolfenbüttel, when he was Conrector of the Gymnasium in that city. Ehrhardt likewise passes it by.

6. In Weller, Rep. Typ., the title is thus given: 3639. Eyn sendbrieff vnd erinnerung des Erentfesten Caspar von Schwendfeldt an die Closter Jungfrauen zur Ravensburg, wes sie sich jetziger Zeit halten sollen, vnd wie sie des Closterlebens nach Freyheit des Geistes, nützlich gebrauchen möchten.

v. D. u. J. (1525). 4 Bl. 4. m. Titelseinf. — In Berlin und Wolfenbüttel. v. d. Harbt. I. p. 213. It is however not in W.

7. Schneider I. p. 7. places it 1) in contrast with Bugenhagen's letter to his countrywoman Anna, Herzogin of Brieg, the widow of Herzog Georg, now living at Lüben, and the intimate friend of Schwenckfeld. 2) He also seems to attribute to the Herzogin some relation to the cloister. While it is possible that she was interested in it, as she was in all of Schwenckfeld's work, there is nothing in the letter to intimate it. Schneider gives brief extracts from both missives.

8. Hoffmann gives a good summary of its framework p. 13.

9. In the CpbVGevKS., III. 58. occurs the following statement: In Zwickau fand ich übrigens jene Schrift an die Klosterjungfrauen in Naumburg, welche so äußerst selten ist. Sie ist wirklich von Schwenckfeld verfaßt, ohne Angabe des Ortes und Jahres in Quart erschienen.

10. Soffner uses it in his Geschichte der Reformation in Schlessien, as authority for the first part of his statements concerning Naumburg a. Q. pp. 291, 292.

It is not however so rare as formerly supposed: Berlin K. B.; Breslau U. B.; Goslar G. B.; Heidelberg U. B.; Zwickau R. B. etc., have copies.

IX. The letter consists of two parts: Part I extends from A^b—Aij^b and contains the summary of the address. Part II begins on Aij^b and continues to the end. It is the new matter, and may be the outline of the proposed second conference. In the preparation of this document Schwenckfeld doubtless employed an amanuensis both on account of facilitating its public reading to so large a number of hearers, and to avoid a break in the impression.

X. This missive exhibits a growing use of Scripture quotation. 1. Many of the citations are a full or a free use of Luther's version. 2. Others are an adaptation of the sense of the passage to the occasion. 3. Some are his own rendering. 4. The spelling Galathern and Thimotheo indicate access to some pre-Lutheran reprints; possibly that of Koburger, 1483.



Den edlen tugentreychen | Jungfrawen¹ versamlet ym Closter zur | Naumburg² Caspar Schwend³ selbst von Dffig.



OTLI⁴che gnab vnd fribe yn | ewren gewissen / wūntsch ich euch von got | dem vater vnd vnserem | herren Ihesu Christo | / Edlen³ tugentreychen | günstigen lieben iungfrawen / Nach dem | ich nehst / ehlichen mey|nen freunden zu gesal|len / bey euch gewest | byn / hab ich da selbst auff beger vnd byt / so viel myr Got | die zeyt gnab verlihen / eyn Christliche ermanung⁴ an euch | allen gethan / als nemlich / wie eyn recht Christlich leben⁵ | vnd wesen nicht stehe ynn eusserlichem scheyn / gleyshneren / | menschlicher sätzung / oder vertrawen eygener werdt / Vnd | also folgende nicht gebunden sey an stelle⁶ / zeyt / kleyder / personen / speyse / vnd der gleychen / Sunder das es stehe ynn | dem eynigen vertrawen ynn Got / durch das erkentnis Iesu Christi / welches nu der heylige geyst aus dem gehö⁷ vnd | vleyssigem nachtrachten des Göttlichen wortis anhebet | zugeberem ynn vnsern herzen / Das denne weytter bey vns | wirdt verachtung der werlt / dempfunge der lüste / tödtunge vnseres fleysches / vnd die ungeselschte brüderliche | liebe gegen vnserm nehsten / die da eyn erfüllung ist des gan|zen ge|ses⁸ / wie (Xij) S. Paul⁷ saget. Ja die selbige⁸ thut nichts | vergebens / vertreget alles / hoffet 25 alles / bußbet / vnd sucht | gar nichts des yhren⁹. Ich hab auch als denne gesagt wie | eyn solch wesen izunder gleich so wol außershalb als yn|nershalb des closters gesehn magt / noch dem die clöster alle | gemeyniglich von der ersten auffätzung / als ichs dofur | halte / sind apgewichen / vnd yn eynen lauttern mißbrauch | geraten. Derhalben sollen euch yn ewern gewissen die menschlichen 30 sätzungen vnd gelubde gar nichts yrrer noch | vorbinden / Darumb das solchs zur

¹ So called from their vow of virginity; it did not however exclude widows. Modern usage calls them sisters. ² Naumburg on the Queis. ³ Many of the daughters of noble families were in this convent. The term does not exclude the thought of virtuous quality.

⁴ παράκλησις rather than νουθεσία = *exhortatio*; becomes a technical term in homiletics. ⁵ cf. Doc. VII, Ed. 1. ⁶ B ij^b ein recht Euangelisch Christlich leben. ⁷ cf. A iij^b; cf. Doc. VII, B ij. ⁸ Five times he is called Saint, once only without the title. No other apostle is so designated. ⁹ cf. Doc. VII, A ij.

a. Gal. 3² ἡ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως. Luth., obber durch die prebiget vom glawben. cf. Hoffmann p. 20. b. Rom. 13¹⁰. c. 1 Cor. 13⁷. Note alles omitted after bußbet, by printer?

seligheit von vnnottin | vnd die gelubbe so one funde nicht mogen gehalten werden
vor gote nichts gelten. Ich künde auch nicht gleuben | das eyn solch weßen
(welches Christus Mat. 15. vnnoge | 'dienst' heyst) der ersten angeber vnd
stifter meynung vnd | wille gewest wer / Sonder yhr sollt darauff trachten /
das | yhr durch erkentnis des gottlichen wortes eyn gut gewisßen yn ewren 5
herzen mochtet auffrichten / vnd des closterlebens selichlich noch dem heyligen
Euangelio lernen gebrauchen. Es ist auch von mir angeheget / wie wol es |
seyn mochte / das yhr gottlicher weyße aus dem closter | ginget / So wolt ich
doch euch allen treulich geroten haben / das yhr zuuor ewern geyst wol prüffet
vnd beweret / | ob er aus gotte wer^b vnd nicht von der welt / auff das noch | 10
mals vbel nicht erger wurde / denn der geyst dißer welt ist | eyn listiger schalck /
vnd kan sich gar behende schwynnen | yn einen engel des lichteß. 2. Corin. 11.^c

¶ Solchs hab ich angeheget / nicht darumb das ich | gerne wolte (mensch-
licher weyße) yr leynner Iundfrawen | ursache geben aus dem kloster zuziehen /
oder auch darynne zu bleyben / Sonder die weil ich ermerck / das yhr eyne | 15
fromme christliche priorinne habt (so wil mir bewußt) die do | ist von gutten
gewisßen / eyne liebhaberinne des gottlichen | wortis vnd Euangelij / hot mich
gedacht / es wer leyn | vergleichen mit euch / den das Euangelium teglich ge-
predigt wirt / vnd allen andern closter iundfrawen yn dißem | lande Schlezien² /
die denn solchs lebendigen wortes noch / | mit grossen schaden yhrer selen / 20
entperen müssen.

¶ Darumb hab ich ewer priorinne yn ewer aller gegen|(Xij)wert ermanet / (Xij^b)
auff das sie euch wolte regieren noch der | liebe / nicht genöttiget / sunder selb-
willig vnd aus genehgißtem gemütte / nicht als eyne hirscherinne vber euch / son-
der | das sie yn allen tugenten vnd senffte wer ewer furbilde^a vnd | mehr an- 25
hülte euch zu vben yn den gottlichen geboten / denne | leren der menschen / Es
ist fur wor leynne gewonheit³ so | stard / sie muß noch dem erkentnis der gott-
lichen warheit | weichen.

l. 14. yr leynner is noteworthy; it is either printers' mistake for yrleynner = yrleynner
(cf. yrgeteyne, Xij^b), he having overlooked the sign of abbreviation, or r in yr is mis-
reading of original e so that Schwenckfeld must be supposed to have written yeleynner
(or ydeynner?); as to ie leyn (allus), represented variously by iedeyn, ieleyn, ideyn, ileyn,
ydeyn, yleyn, see Weinhold mhd. Grammatik § 492. l. 16. gutten for gutter? cf. 123¹².

¹ cf. Doc. VII, 8^b. ² cf. Doc. VII, Cij Schlesen; Ed. 2. C^b Schlesen. ³ Cyp. Ep. ad
Jubaianum p. 326 Basil. 1521 [Frob.]: Proinde frustra quidam, qui ratione vincuntur,
consuetudinem nobis opponunt, quasi consuetudo maior sit veritate, aut non fuerit in
spiritualibus sequendum, si melius fuerit à sancto spiritu revelatum. And ad Pompeium
[Firmilianum] pp. 335, 336: Nam consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est: propter
quod relicto errore sequamur veritatem. cf. Neu Rarsthanß, Bücking (Hutten) IV, 661.
cf. Doc. VII, Cij^b.

a. Matt. 16⁹, cf. Lk. 17¹⁰. b. Jo. 8⁴² etc. c. 2 Cor. 11¹⁴; Luth. verstellen sich. d. 1 Pet. 5².

- ¶ Zu dem hab ich auch euch alle ermanet / die elstisten | erstlich / das sie
der iungen bloßidēyt was wolten nachgeben vnd bedenden / wie sie auch etwan
iungt seyn geweest / | Die iungen / das sie wolben nach dem befehlh Gottis / das |
aller ehren / vnd so yhn Gott mehr gnade ym verstande | des Euangelij gegeben /
5 die selbigen Christlich vnd mit | gute vntherweyssen / eyne der andern bürde helfen
tragen / | Also wurdet yhr das geseze Christi erfüllen / Denn so sich | yrgenteyne
liesse dānden sie wehr etwas / syntemal sie doch | nichts ist / die betrüge sich
selber / wie Paulus schreybet zun | Galathern am sechsten^a. Kurzumb ich hab
euch gebethen / | das yhr vnthernander ynn aller liebe vnd eynigkēyt leben |
10 wolket / Wiewol aber bis ynn klöstern selkām ist / So | wolst ich mich doch
vertrösten / das Götliche wort wurde der massen ewer herz ernuern / auff das
euch das ioch | Christi senffte / vnd seyne bürde treglich seyn^b möchte / Da|mit
yhr (als die bey denen das Götliche wort angefangen | zu predigen) allen an-
dern klöstern / ynn Christlicher liebe | gut exempel^c möchte furtragen. Auff das
15 auch der spruch | Johannis am dreytzehenden vnther euch erstlich erfüllet | wurde/
also lauttent / Lieben kindelein (spricht Christus) | eyn new gebott geb ich euch/
das yhr euch untereynander | liebet / wie ich euch geliebet habe. Dabey wird
yederman erkennen das yhr meyne iunger seht / so yhr liebe untereynander
habet^d.
- 20 ¶ Disz alles lieben iungfrawen hab ich / wie wol mit | mehr worten geredt
(da ich bey euch war) ob nu Gott | von ewigkēyt durch seynen heyligen geyst
(Xij) solch wort | ynn ewer herz gesendet hat / ist myr nicht von nöthen zu wissen /
Dennoch wil ich vleyßig bitten / Gott wolbe seyn | wort nicht vergebens auf-
gehn lassen / Nach dem^e er auch | zusaget durch den Propheten Esaiam^f am
25 55. das es nym|mer wird lebigt zu yhm kommen^g.
- ¶ Ich bitte auch das meyne rede / yn ewer aller versam|lung gethan /
sehner an yhrem gemütte wolbe verlehung | oder beschwerung brengen. Denn
es yhe meyne meynung | geweest / Syntemal ich Christlicher weyse darzu berufft |
ward / euch allen ynn ewren gewissen mit dem Götlichen | worte zu trösten.
30 Auff das yhr euch selber lernet erkennen / | vnd die üppidēyt der werlt auch
wol zu herzen nehmet / | Dise ewer beschwerunge (so es aber beschwerung ist)
alles nach dem eynsprechen Gottis / bis zu seynen zeht gebül|dlich ynn
Christo vnserm heyland zuertragen.
- ¶ Diuēyl ich aber von etlichen auß ewrem mittel ynn | meynem abscheyde

1. 7. betrüge misprint for betrüget. 1. 29. euch allen zu trösten, allen mistake for alle?

¹ cf. Doc. VII, B ij.

² Nach dem = da.

³ cf. Doc. VII, D iij^b.

a. Gal. 6 2, 3. Cod. Tep. Eyn Galathern; Mentel, c. 1466 zu den Galatern; Koburger, 1483 Zu den Galathern; Luth., Zu den Galatern; Zürich like Luth. b. Matt. 11 29, 30. c. Jo. 13 33-35.
d. Is. 55 11, his own version?

hyn angerebt / euch widderumb zu besuchen / vnd ob ich dißmal persönlich bey euch nicht seyn | möchte / Wolde ich doch aus Christlicher liebe euch durch diß schreiben meynen gethanen ermanung freundlich | erynnern / auff das ihr ynn ewern herzen getröst werdet / | vnd ym lebendigen glawben auff den rechten grundt Iesum Christum möcht zuuor wol erbawet^a werden / vnd | wissen das ihr 5 Gottis tempel seyt / vnd das der geyst got|tis ynn euch wone^b / der wurde euch denn wol lernen was | ihr thun oder lassen soltet.

¶ So sehet nu zu lieben iungffrawen / das ihr fursich|tiglich wandelt ynn dieser bösen zeyt / nicht nach den lüsten des fleysches / sonder nach dem geyste / als kinder Got|tis.^c Trachtet mit fleysse nach dem Götlichen wort / welches 10 da ist eyn eyrige speyse¹ der seelen. Auff das dasselbige | nicht alleyne ynn ewren ohren oder munde rawm habe / | sonder auch ym herzen bleybe / Da durch ihr erkennen mü|get / das die Christliche freyheit² / eyne freyheit des geystes / | vnd nicht des fleysches ist / vnd macht den menschen nach | dem leybe yberman dienstlich vnd unterthan. Darumb | seht untereynander auch unterthan ynn der 15 forchte Got|tis^d / Last alles widerbellen (so fern ihr ynn ewern gewissen | (A iij) (A iij^b) vbet den Götlichen befehl vnuerstrickt bleybet) anstehen. | Last seyn satol geschweyß aus ewrem munde gehen vnd | dem furwiß gebt nicht rawm / denn^e es ist nicht alles go|lt | das da schöne gleysset / darumb hättet euch fur vn|nützen / | vnzeytigen gesprechen / Sunder redet untereynander von | dem worte Gottis / 20 das da nützlich zur besserung ist^f. Ver|net singen die deutschen psalmen / vnd spylet mit lobgesen|gen dem herren ynn ewrem herzen^g vnd munde / das ihr wißset was ihr bettet / Vnd wie viel desselben ewer geyst er|tragen kan / habt achtung auff die worte / braucht der selbigen ynn verstendlicher sprachen. Last euch die böse all|be gewonheit des vnuerstandts vnd gödel|spils gar ni|chts 25 yrren / vnd traget doch ynn deme das Creuze Christi / | das ander kloster / die noch vnchristlich seyn / euch wurden | dar durch verlachen / So ihr durch das Götliche wort / | welches alle ding^h vernewert / newerungⁱ / wie sie es nennen / | yhren allden mißbreuchen entgegen / auffrichtet. Habt ihr | achtunge darauff / das euch alle ding^h / nach S. Pauls | ermanung / besserlich seyn^k (Ab⁵ der ge- 30 fenge nicht so viel we|ren / als des vorigen vnuerstendlichen geystlosen gemür|me|ls^o) das solche nur gehen aus eynem gleybigen / auff|richtigen herzen. So⁷

l. 1. ob, if correct, must be concessive; but is it not rather mistake for ob' = ober? See G. l. 11. Period for comma after seelen. cf. 120²⁰. l. 17. vbet, misprint for vber.

¹ cf. Doc. VII, A iij^b. ² Luth. Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen: Ein Christenmensche ist ein dienstbar Knecht aller Dinge, und jedermann unterthan [Ed. Walch]. ³ Wander, sub Gold, 47. *Aurea ne credas, quaecumque nitescere cernis.* ⁴ cf. Doc. VII, B ij. ⁵ Ab = ob, wenn auch. ⁶ cf. Doc. VII, A iij^b. ⁷ As the apodosis begins with So, a comma instead of the full stop (cf. p. 122 l. 8) would be required by modern punctuation.

a. Eph. 2²⁰, 22. b. 1 Cor. 3¹⁶. c. Eph. 5¹⁵, 16; Rom. 8⁴, 14. d. Eph. 5²¹. e. Eph. 4²⁰. f. Eph. 5²⁰. g. 1 Cor. 14²⁰.

wird der geyst Gottis euch zeugnis | geben / daß es das warhafftige lob Gottis
sey / welches also von euch gesehen wurde ynn dem geyste vnd der warheyt^a.

¶ Fürchtet euch fur keynem menschen / er sey gleich zu | Rome oder an-
derswo / wie hoch er ymmer fur der werlet | mag angesehen¹ werden / wenn
5 Gottis reich² ist nicht von | diser werlet. Johan. 18^b. Es kumpt auch nicht
mit eusserlichen geberden. Luce 17^c. Kurzumb / was hoch ist vnter | den
menschen / ist eyn grewel fur Gotte. Luce 16^d. Richtet | yhr all ewer sachen
nach der lere vnd dem exempel vnser^s | erlöser^s Ihesu Christi / so künd³ yhr
nicht felen / der vns | denn zuvor fur solcher verfurung gnugsam gewarnet hat |
10 vnd gesprochen. Matth. 24^e. Wenn yhr sehen werdet den | wüsten grewel /
dauon gefaget ist durch den Propheten | Daniel / daß er steht an der heyligen steht.
(A iiii) Wer das list | der mercke darauff / so denn yemandt zu euch wird sagen. | Sihe hie
ist Christus / oder da / so solt yhrs nicht gleuben. | Denn es werden falsche Christen
vnd falsche propheten | auffstehn / vnd grosse zeychen vnd wunder thun / das ver-
15 füret werden ynn den yrtthumb / wo es möglich were / auch | die auserweltsen.

¶ Aus diesen klaren worten Christi mügen wir leyche nu zu vnsern
zeytten erkennen / wer dise geweest vnd noch | hewtiges tages seyn / als nemlich
die vnsern herrn Christo | eyn seyn welt reich haben auffgerichtet / hoch eynher
faren / | vnd sich fur die heylige Christliche kirche außgeben. Ja | sie wollen
20 stracks dafur gehalten seyn / vnd haben yhrs | gefallens / wider dise klare sprüche /
die seligkheit der menschen an stette⁴ / speyse / kleyder / zeyt / personen gebunden /
Damit sie eygene gebott / das gewissen zu verstricken / gemalcht haben / die selben
höcher erhaben / denn die gebott Got^{tis}⁵. Als die da yhrem wesen leben vnd
lere ganz zu widder vnd entgegen seyn. Von solchen menschen saget S. | Paul
25 Thimo. 4.^f so klar das wirs auch greiffen möchten / | also. Der geyst saget
deutlich / das ynn den leyten zeytten | werden etliche von dem glauben abetre-
then / vnd anhan|gen den yrrigen geystern / vnd leren der teuffel / durch die so |
ynn gleichnerey lügenreder seyn vnd branthmal ynn yhren | gewissen haben /
vnd verbieten ehelich zu werden / vnd zu | meyden die speyse die Gott geschaffen
30 hat zunehmen mit | danckagung den gleubigen / vnd denen die die warheyt |
erkennet haben.

l. 11. One might be inclined to conjecture that steht is misprint for stett; cf. stette l. 22;
but cf. Luth., das er steht an der heyligen stett.

¹ cf. Doc. VII, D iij^b. ² cf. Doc. VII, B iij^b. ³ kündt = lönt; der goes with
denn *quippe qui*; we would expect now-a-days da er or denn er; there is some looseness
of expression, as yhr (and not Iesu) is the next preceding word to refer to the rela-
tive; the proper reading would be die yhr denn . . . gewarnet seht, indem er gesprochen.
⁴ cf. A^b. ⁵ As to period for comma cf. 121¹¹ and 123^e.

a. Jo. 4 23, 24. b. Jo. 18 26. c. Lk. 17 20. d. Lk. 16 15. e. Matt. 24 15, 23, 24,
cf. Dan. 9 26, 27; 12 11. Luth.: Christenn 1520; Christi 1522. f. 1 Tim. 4 1-3. Cod. Tep.:
Thymotheo; Mental, c. 1466: Thymotheo; Koburger, 1483: Thimothéo; Luth.: Timotheon.

¶ Nu ist von nöten geweest von wegen der außermel|ten / das solch wider-
christlich¹ regiment vnd völd fur dem | iüngsten tage / durch das götliche wort
offenbart wurde / | wie auch S. Paul 2. Thessa. 2.^a saget / das der iüngste | tag
nicht kumpt / es sey denn / das zuuor der abfall queme / | vnd offenbart werde
der mensch der funde / vnd das kindt | der verterbunge / der da ist eyn wider- 5
wertiger / vnd sich erhe|bet vber alles das Gott oder Gottis dienst heyßt. Also |
das er sich sehet ynn den tempel Gottis als eyn Gott / vnd | gibt sich fur / er
sey Gott / Damit ist gewislich eynem von | Gott erleuchten menschen gnugt ge- (Xiii)
saget / es darff seyn nicht mehr.

¶ Auff das yhr aber solches alles Klerer sehen vnd erkennen möcht / lieben 10
iungfrawen / ist entlich meyn trewer | raht / wolt euch nichts beschweren lassen /
vnd eynen from|men tapffern man² / der da gelert / des allters vnd gutter ge-
wissen wer / yhe besser bestellen / welcher euch teglich ynn | ewrem Conuent eyne
lection³ aus S. Paul vnd den Pro|pheten lese / vnd mit heyliger schrift aus-
lege⁴ / damit yhr | auffß schlewnigste vorn mehrer teyl zum gründlichen er- 15
kentnis der Götlichen warheyt möcht kommen / vnd als | denn ewer leben nach
dem willen Gottis / den wyh allehne | auß der schrift erlernen / mit guttem
grunde vnd gewissen | anstellen vnd verbrennen. Sonst leget von euch alle
bit|terkeyt / grym / vnd zorn / geschrey vnd lesterung sey ferne von | euch / sampt
aller boßheyt / Seyt aber untereynander freund|lich / herzlich / Vnd vergebet eyner 20
der andern / auch sonst | yberman / gleych wie Gott euch vergeben hat yn
Christo.^b

¶ Wollet diß meyn schreyben / der massen wie es geschicht / das ist ynn
Christlicher liebe vnd gutter aufrichtiger meynung / von myr annehmen / Denn
Gott weys / das | ich eyn herzlich mittelhung / wie denn billich / vnd erbar|men 25
mit euch allen getragen habe / Wil auch mich so viel | müßigen / wo yhr es
aber begert / das ich ynn Christo Jesu vnserem eynigen tröster / künfftig zu euch
selbest kommen möchte. Gottis gnade sey mit euch allen. Bittet auch | fur
mich armen sunder. Amen.

l. 13. yhe besser for yhe chr yhe besser.
for eyne.

l. 15. mehrer misprint for mehrer?

l. 20. eyner

¹ This entire passage describes the Antichrist.

² cf. Doc. VII, Dij^b.

³ The lections here proposed are not the prescribed *selecta* or *continuata* of the Church's lectionary, but are free and informal. St. Paul and the Prophets are however suggested, because among the New Testament writers the apostle gave the readiest key to the system of truth, especially for such doctrines as were most cogent for the Reformation; the prophets of the O. T. contain the best Messianic and ethical illustrations; of course many of the psalms were included as prophetic of Christ.

⁴ His exegetical principle, cf. Doc. VII, Aiiij^b; Biiij^b.

a. 2 Thess. 2^a, 4.

b. Eph. 4^a, 31, 32.

C.

A general letter and reminder addressed to the Sisters of the Convent at Naumburg by the honorable Caspar von Schwenckfeld.

How they shall conduct themselves in the present changeful time, and how they may profitably use the cloistral life according to the freedom of the Spirit.

Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig to the noble, highly virtuous Sisters, gathered in the Cloister at Naumburg.

I desire that divine grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ may abide in your consciences.

Noble, highly virtuous, gracious and dear Sisters: I was with you recently at the invitation of several friends, whose wish I was glad to gratify. On that occasion, at your own very earnest solicitation, I addressed you all with a Christian exhortation, according to the measure of grace vouchsafed me at the time. My theme was that a true Christian life in its essential requirements does not consist in external appearance, nor in any sort of sham, nor in human enactments, nor in trust upon one's own works. Further, that, as a logical sequence, such a life is not bound to place, time, vestment, person, meats, and similar purely formal matter. But quite the contrary, that it does consist in the individual trust in God, through the experiential knowledge of Jesus Christ, which the Holy Ghost now begins to bring forth in our hearts from the hearing of the divine Word and the sedulous pursuit thereof. This starting point produces the further result in us of creating a contempt of the world, a quenching of our hurtful desires, a mortification of our flesh and an unfeigned brotherly love toward our neighbors which as St. Paul says is the fulfilment of the law; and surely it is this very love which doth nothing in vain, which beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, and by no means

seeketh its own. I remarked also at that time that such a worthy course might, under existing conditions, be followed as well outside of the cloister as within; especially since these institutions have universally departed from their original statutes, unless my estimate errs; and they have degenerated into a pure mass of abuses. Hence human enactments and vows must not in the least make you err, nor create in your consciences any feeling of vital obligation, for the reason that such secular provisos are not necessary to salvation. And surely vows of a kind that cannot be kept without sin can have no value in the sight of God. Nor could I believe that such a surface course of action stigmatized by Christ in Matt. 15 as an unprofitable service was the idea and purpose of the originators and founders of these institutions. But you ought to strive for that goal which rears a good conscience in your hearts, through an experiential knowledge of the divine Word. In this way you might learn to use the cloister-life in a very blessed fashion, according to the holy Gospel. I also indicated that although it might be good to withdraw from the convent, if it were done in a manner consistent with the divine order; nevertheless I wanted to give you all the faithful advice to first genuinely prove and try this inciting spirit: whether it was of God or of the world, lest an already existing evil might be aggravated; for the spirit of this world is a crafty rogue; Satan can with wonderful alacrity vanish and fashion himself into an angel of light¹, 2 Cor. 11.

In my full portrayal of this part of my subject I did not want ordinary and worldly considerations to lead you or me astray. I desired to avoid giving occasion for the withdrawal of any inmate from the cloister, nor on the other hand, did I insist on your remaining within it; all the more did I abstain from giving advice on either side, because I had made a careful observation of an important factor in the solution of this question; you have a devotedly Christian prioress, at least as far as my knowledge goes. Out of a good conscience she has shown herself a lover of the divine Word and the gospel. Hence it occurred to me that there was actually no comparison between you, who have the gospel daily preached to you, and the rest of the cloisters in the land of Silesia; for they have still to forego any participation in this living Word, with great detriment to their souls.

Consequently, in your presence, I charged her to rule among you according to the law of love, not of constraint but willingly, and of a ready mind; neither as lording it over you², but making herself an

¹ Observe the unique rendering of this passage by Schwenckfeld. ² Here Schwenckfeld selects terms appropriate for his charge, from 1 Pet. 5^{2,3} which he takes from the early L. version. They were expressive, but *selbwillig und aus gemüthtem gemüthe* do not quite exactly represent *ἐκουσίως* and *προθύμως*. Cf. Bindseil, and revised German version.

ensample to you in all virtues and in gentleness. Further, I urged her to hold you close to the practice of the divine commandments, rather than the doctrines of men. It is an assured fact, that there is no custom so powerful, but that it must yield after the experiential knowledge of divine truth has been acquired.

In addition, I gave you some more general exhortations. In the first place, I urged the older members of the sisterhood to be somewhat tolerant of the buoyant temperament of youth, and to consider how they too were once young. The junior associates I advised to honor age agreeably to the command of God. I desired those to whom God had designedly given a larger proportion of grace in the understanding of the Gospel, to instruct the rest in a Christian and kindly spirit, and to bear one another's burdens as well; for in that way you would fulfill the law of Christ. For if any one of you thinketh herself to be something when she is really nothing, she deceiveth herself, as Paul writes to the Galatians, in the sixth Chapter. In brief, I besought you to live with one another in all love and unity. Now, although such harmony seldom exists in the cloisters, yet I fed myself with the hope that the divine Word would renew your hearts to such a degree, that you would find the yoke of Christ easy and his burden light; and thus I felt, that as you were the first to have the divine Word preached in your fellowship, you might also set an example in Christian love to the remaining cloisters. I desired that the saying in Joh. 13. might be antecedently fulfilled among you; that passage reads: Little children (saith Christ) a new commandment I give you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another.

Such, my dear sisters, was the substance of my address to you, although I spoke at much greater length on the occasion of my visit. Whether God from eternity has caused these words to sink into your hearts through his Holy Spirit, it is not needful for me to know. And yet I will pray diligently that he may not send forth his Word in vain; all the more since he has promised such a blessing through his Prophet Isaiah in Chapter 55: His message shall never return unto him void.

I beg too that the address I made in your full meeting may not bring any injury or difficulty to the feelings of any of you. For it was unfailingly my intention, since I was called to that duty wholly in a Christian way, to solace you all in your conscience by the authoritative influence of the divine Word. By pursuing this method I had in mind that you should learn to know yourselves, and should become profoundly convinced that the insolent luxuriousness of the world is a repulsive thing which is to be shunned within the cloister, as well as without it. This too was in my thought, that should there be any grievances or

restrictions that seemed burdensome to you, if indeed you can ever consider anything to be burdensome from a Christian standpoint, you would be the more ready to endure them patiently in Christ our Saviour, in deference to the promise of God, until his own good time for deliverance should come.

At my departure several of your own number besought me to visit you again. Since I find it impossible to meet your wishes in person just now, I desired to remind you at least of the exhortation which I delivered when with you. Prompted by Christian love, I do this now through my present letter which reveals, I hope, my good intention. My object is to solace your hearts; indeed, what could be more encouraging, than to find you anticipating my hope, by being already well built upon the true foundation Jesus Christ, through a living faith? May you feel convinced that you are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells within you. He will teach you most surely, what you ought to do or to forbear.

Now then see to it, my dear sisters, that you conduct yourselves prudently in these evil times, not according to the evil desires of the flesh, but according to the Spirit, as the children of God. Strive diligently to acquire the divine Word, which is the only food for your souls. Take heed that it obtain lodgment, not only in your ear and in your mouth, but that it abide as well in your heart. For if it once have this permanent indwelling, you will be convinced through its instrumentality that Christian liberty is a liberty of the Spirit and not of the flesh; and that it is this very liberty which makes every one of us, even in our bodies, the servant and subject of every one. Therefore be you also subject to each other in the fear of the Lord. Intermit all carping opposition to the authorities, so long as the interior regulations of the convent leave your conscience unentangled in free obedience to the divine commandments. Let no corrupt speech proceed out of your mouth. Give prying curiosity no room, for it is not all gold that glitters so attractively; hence guard against useless and unseasonable conversation; rather speak about the Word of God with one another; it is that which avails for our improvement. Learn to sing the German Psalms, and to play with songs of praise to the Lord in your heart, and in your mouth, so that you really comprehend what you pray about. And as far as your spirit is able to carry it through, give heed to the words themselves; and to this end you must use the Scriptures in an intelligible language. Do not let the evil old habit of ignorance and jugglery make you err in any direction. Yet I pray that you may carry the Cross of Christ bravely in this at least, because other cloisters, which are still unchristian, will laugh at you. Such ridicule is inevitable, if you rear a new structure through the divine Word in opposition to their ancient abuses. For the Scriptures renew all things.

These opponents mockingly deride this reformation as an innovation; but let not the sarcasm disturb or hinder you from a determined advance. Only take heed that everything you thus attempt serve as an actual improvement according to St. Paul's exhortation; and that such changes issue only from a believing, upright heart. We may take as an instance, the diminution of the services of song, and the making of these intelligible. The quality of such an abbreviated form would be a wholesome substitute for the previous incomprehensible mummary, so utterly destitute of any spiritual apprehension as it was. If you fulfill these conditions, then the Spirit of God will really bear you witness that such an alteration in the service is the genuine way to praise God, and this on your part will have been made in spirit, and in truth.

Be afraid of no man, whether he be at Rome or anywhere else, no matter how high the world may exalt him, since the Kingdom of God is not of this world Joh. 18 nor does it come with observation Lu. 17; in short what is exalted among men is an abomination before God Lu. 16. Conform all your affairs to the teaching and the example of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, then you cannot go wrong, because he has beforehand sufficiently warned against and spoken of such an impending seduction. It is recorded in Matt. 24: When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of through Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (let him that readeth understand), then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ, or, Here; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect.

From these clear words of Christ we can readily recognize in our times who these false prophets were and still to-day are; to wit, they are the very persons who have reared a fine world-kingdom for our Lord Christ, and conduct themselves so arrogantly, and proclaim themselves to be the holy Christian Church. Yes indeed, they want to be regarded as such, outright; and according to their own pleasure, and against such perfectly clear declarations, they have bound the salvation of mankind to place, meats, vestments, time, persons. Thereby they have framed their own commandments to entangle the conscience, and have elevated such human enactments above the commandments of God; for truly these divine ordinances are wholly contrary and oppugnant to their system, life, and teaching. Of such insolent creatures St. Paul speaks in Tim. 4 in terms so explicit that we may actually grasp what he avers: The Spirit saith expressly, that in later times some shall fall away from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of demons, through the hypocrisy of men that speak lies, branded in their own conscience as with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which

God created to be received with thanksgiving by them that believe and know the truth.

For the sake of the elect it was necessary that such an antichristian system and people should be revealed before the day of judgment, by the divine Word, as St. Paul says, 2 Thes. 2: For the last day will not be, except the falling away come first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, he that opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God. Surely with this enough is said; for anyone enlightened by God no more is required.

This entire matter you ought to perceive and know more clearly. To this end, my dear sisters, it is my final and loyal advice that you let nothing hinder you from employing as your spiritual teacher, a pious, courageous man, who is learned, of suitable age and of a good conscience. Indeed the sooner you do this, the better it will be. His duty should be to read to you daily a lection from St. Paul and the Prophets; this he should explain by means of the Scriptures themselves. By such a process the most of you could attain quite speedily to a thorough knowledge of the divine truth. With this as a basis, you could order and spend your personal life according to the will of God. For this will of God we learn exclusively from the Scriptures; and then both your commencement and progress would be well grounded, and be dominated by an educated conscience. As to the rest, put away from you all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, let clamor, and railing, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving each other, even as God also in Christ forgave you.

Let me beg you to receive my letter in the same spirit in which it is written; I mean in Christian love and with good honest intention. For God knows what a sincere sympathy I have for you, as is indeed fitting; nor have I been less moved with compassion for you all. I am also ready to do my best to come and visit you again at some future date, in the name of Christ Jesus, our only Comforter, providing you really desire me to do so. The grace of God be with you all; and do you also pray for me, a poor sinner, Amen.

D.

THE study of such documents as are printed in this period particularly, involves a variety of difficulties, as is exemplified in this letter. a) The authorized original is lost. b) Did the printer receive this original or a copy? If the latter, had any changes been made in it before it came into his hands? c) In any case, did the printer follow his copy exactly? The inner history is apparently not to be recovered. However much Grünenberg may have modified the Mss. of Luther, it is evident from comparisons of the orthography of our text with the autographs of Schwenckfeld that the alterations were inconsiderable and for the greater part consistent and uniform. We can certainly rely upon the ideas and the language as untouched.

I. From a general survey of the writings of our author, it is within bounds to conclude that he was persistently struggling towards a style, which should be linguistically pure and general. This effort may be perceived in the present epistle on which we offer the following observations.

1. Certain peculiar features.

The language of this document is, like that of No. IV, the Gemeindeutsch of the period, but tinged a good deal more, it would seem, with phonetic and other peculiarities, some of which may be unique with the author, some he, undoubtedly, shares with others.

Witness 1) a for o in ab 121³⁰.

2) e for i in brengen 120²⁷; ver brengen 123¹⁸; cf. Trebnitzer Ps. 28^{1. 2}; 40⁴; 71¹⁰.

3) i for e in wortis 118²⁰; 119¹⁷ and the constant form Gottis. Here, too, belongs vnnottin 119¹ and hirscherinne 119²⁴ (cf. Trebnitzer Ps. 93³; 96⁷) = Herrscherin.

4) o for u in vnnotte 119³. Observe also the contraction vorn 123¹⁵.

o for a in a) ober for which possibly, by mistake, there is printed ob for ob' 121¹.

- b) noch = nach, mhd. nâch; noch dem 118²⁷; noch dem heiligen Euangelio 119⁶; noch der liebe 119²³; noch dem erkentnis 119²⁷; nochmalß 119¹⁰⁻¹¹.
 do 119¹⁶; dofur 118²⁸; fur wor 119²⁷; hot 119¹⁷; geroten 119⁹.
- 5) ð for au, mhd. ou, in gödelfpiß 121²⁵.
 ð for ü in künfftig 123²⁷.
- 6) p for b in apgewichen 118²⁸.
 t for b in verterbunge 123⁵.
- 7) the substitution of weak p.p. forms for the strong forms in gewest 120²⁸; 122¹⁷ and berufft 120²⁸.
 seyn for sind 121²⁷; 122²⁸ (geseyn for sein 118²⁷ which the alem. shares with the md.).
 the retention of the old subjunctive form queme for kume 123⁴.
- 8) the shortening vntthernander 120⁹.

2. Points of contact with the mhd. period.

What we have already observed in document IV, viz., that there is no absolute break with the traditions of the mhd. period, holds good to a still larger extent of document VI, the traces of the former standard of phonetics and spelling being pretty evident. The mhd. status appears largely preserved in the retention of the terminal endings of declension as well as conjugation, the suffixal endings and spelling, to some extent. Notable in this regard are such forms as befehl 121¹⁷; neht 118⁷; nehten 118²³; sehen 122¹⁰; verlihen 118¹¹; geschicht 123²³; sâunge 118¹⁵; verachtunge 118²¹; bempfungē ibid.; außsâunge 118²⁸; beschwerunge 120³¹; achtunge 121²⁹; verterbunge 123⁵; priorinne 119¹⁶⁻²²; liebhaberinne 119¹⁷; hirscherinne 119²⁴; werlt 120³⁰; werlet 118²¹; 122⁵; baß gefeße 120⁶; furbilde 119²⁵; benne 118²⁵; 119²⁶. Note especially folgende (*consequenter*) 118¹⁷ (for which Luther has folgend), formed like behende 119¹²; nicht alleynē 121¹¹; lechste 122¹⁶.

As to the vowel system, we note this: Although the standpoint of the document is undoubtedly modern, observable especially in the lengthening of mhd. short vowels on the one hand, and in the shortening of mhd. long vowels on the other, yet the influence of the mhd. standard is still largely felt and very much in evidence on the territory of e. Compare forms like lere 122³⁻²⁴; leren 119²⁶; felen 122⁹; beschweren 123¹¹; entperen 119²¹; beger 118¹⁰; begert 123²⁷; geberben 122⁶; außerwelten 123¹ with the hardly differing corresponding mhd. forms. Perfectly in accord with the mhd. usage is e as umlaut of a in bempfungē 118²¹⁻²²; vngeselschte 118²²; nemlich 118¹³; vertreget 118²⁴; erger 119¹¹; teglich 123¹³; treglich; senffte 120¹²; geschweß

121¹⁷; gegenwert 119²² (cf. mhd. gegenwerte on which see Grimm Wtb. IV, 2181); widerwertiger 123⁵⁻⁶. On a par with that are spellings like mißbreuchen 121²⁰; glewbigen 121²²; cufferlichen 122⁶. This e even appears as umlaut of mhd. â, and so takes the place of mhd. æ in betweret 119¹⁰ (= mhd. bewæret); queme 123⁴ (= mhd. quæme); eß wer 119¹⁸ (= mhd. wære) etc. As a consequence, â is not represented at all in the spellings of our document.

As to i, we find the following conforming to the mhd. standard: (iç) Wîl 123²⁶; wer . . list 122¹²; wîl 119¹⁶; gôdêlspîl 121²⁵; wîder 122²⁰; widerbellen 121¹⁶; widerchrîstlîch 123¹⁻²; widerwertiger 123⁵⁻⁶; gîbt 123⁷.

ie appears regularly as the representative of mhd. ie (ahd. io) in the root lîeb- occurring 118⁶; 119¹⁷; 120¹⁴ etc.; lîeffe 120⁷; hîe 122¹²; wîe 118²⁶; verbîeten 122²⁰; dienst 123⁶. The shortening to i, met with in anhlîte 119²⁵⁻²⁶, is already on record in the md. of the mhd. period.

Of o the following examples attest to the preservation of the mhd. standard: gewonheyt 119²⁷; 121²⁵; wol 121⁵; wîe wol 120²⁶; forchte 121¹⁶.

Mhd. u is preserved in funder 118¹⁸; 119²³; 121¹² (by the side of modern sonder 119⁴); mhd. û we have still in mûglîch 122¹⁵; kûndt 122⁸.

As to mhd. û, a direct descendant of mhd. gedûht we have in gebaucht 119¹⁸ against the modern umlaut-form gebûcht. Some doubt might attach to the genuineness of the au from the fact, which we shall presently note, that the umlaut is very sparingly indicated in this document. But, had umlaut been intended, it would have been indicated by eu; see above.

3. Umlaut-designation.

The umlaut of o is expressed by ô: Gôtflîchen 120²⁰; Gôtflîchen 121¹⁷; môcht 123¹⁶; môchte 123²⁸ etc. The umlaut of u is designated either by û or ü: kûmpt 122⁵; mûglîch 122¹⁵; kûndt 122⁸; wûntsch 118⁴; bûrbe 120^{5, 12}; grûndtflîchen 123¹⁵.

But in a large number of instances there is entire lack of any umlaut-designation where we should expect it. Witness Gotsflîche 118³; gottsflîcher 119⁸; gottsflîchen 119^{17, 26}; blôbidicht 120²; vnnottin 119¹; mogen 119¹; vbel 119¹¹; vber 119²⁴; 121¹⁷ (printed vbet by mistake); 123⁶; furbilbe 119²⁵; wurdet hîr (subj.) 120⁶; wurde (subj.) 120¹¹; 120¹⁵; 121⁶; furtragen 120¹⁴; dafur 122²⁰; furfichtiglîch 121⁸; furwiß 121¹⁸; fur 122^{3, 7, 9, 19}; 123⁷; erfüllen 120⁶; erfüllet 120¹⁵; funde 123⁵; funder 123²⁰; gelubbe 119¹; verfurung 122⁹. It is doubtful whether these spellings represent the actual state of pronunciation or are due only to carelessness of the printer.

4. Other peculiarities of spelling.

The diphthong ei appears almost invariably represented by ey in this document. So we find tugentreychen, meynen, bey, zeyt, eyn, scheyn, gleis-

nerey, eygener, sey, flehber, speyse, gleychen, eynigen, heylige, gehst, vleyffigem, weytter, flehsches etc.

Also for i there is largely put y in byt, myr, yrrthumb etc.

Mhd. b after m in vmbe is still preserved in furqumb 120⁸; 122⁶; wibderumb 121¹ etc., though the b probably no longer was sounded as seems to be indicated by such spellings as yrrthumb where b has no etymological value (cf. mhd. irretuom).

h appears already after vowels to indicate their length

a) in words that have the vowel long already in mhd.: mehrer 123¹⁵; mehr 120^{4.20}; 123⁹; raht 123¹¹; ohren 121¹²; gehen 121^{18.32}; aufgehn 120²³⁻²⁴; anstehen 121¹⁷; auffstehn 122¹⁴; ehren 120⁴; wehr 120⁷.

b) in words that have the vowel short in mhd., but lengthened in the modern period: nehmēt 120³¹; zunehmen 122³⁰; annehmen 123²⁴.

Constant is the spelling hñ, hñr in this document.

h stands for mhd. intervocalic w in ehelich 122²⁹. What the h after t in branthmal 122²⁸ stands for it would be hard to say; it certainly cannot have the same function it has in abetrethen 122²⁶⁻²⁷; gebethen 120⁹; unterthan 121¹⁵ and steht 122¹¹, if that be right.

e as length-indicator of originally short vowel seems to stand in viel 118¹⁰; 121³¹. cf. the solitary instance of vil 119¹⁶.

A solitary instance of doubling of e to indicate the vowel already long in mhd. is seelen 121¹¹.

Quite peculiar is the doubling of the consonant after a diphthong in auff 118¹⁰; 119²³; 120^{14.30}; 121^{3.4.11.24}; 123¹⁰; auffrichttet 121²⁹; barauff 119⁴; 121²⁹; lauttern 118²⁸; greiffen 122²⁵; weytter 118²¹; teuffel 122²⁷; zeytten 122²⁶. As a general rule the doubling of the consonant is resorted to to indicate the shortness of the preceding vowel which is either short already in mhd. or has become shortened from a long mhd. vowel. The former is the case in Gott 120^{4.21.23}; 123⁷; göttlichen 119⁵; kommen 120²⁸; göllt 121¹⁹; bettet 121²³; stette 122²¹; zu wibder 122²⁴; gebott 122²²; abfall 123⁴; allter 120⁴; allters 123¹²; ynn 120^{9.34}; 121^{6.15.16.24}; 122¹⁵; 123⁷. The latter we have in vnnottin 119¹; genöttiget 119²³; von nöttten 120²²; hüttet 121¹⁹; gutter 123¹²; guttem 123¹⁷.

Quite curious is the doubling of the second consonant following after a short vowel in tapffern 123¹²; senffte 120¹²; darff 123⁹; schald 119¹¹; bandfagung 122³⁰; werd 118¹⁶; völd 123². Here belongs, too, the spelling bt in yemandt 122¹²; kindt 123⁵; gründtlichen 123¹⁸.

II. In this letter we have the first use of the title *Sendbrief*, which becomes almost a uniform term in the captions of his subsequent correspond-

ence. The word is a simple imitation of the *missiva literalis*, as describing a document sent. It is sometimes distinguished from the ordinary communications between individuals, as being (1) addressed to more than one person or a body of people or even an organized community; (2) of greater length and containing a more formal discussion. In the Schwenckfeld literature, which consists so largely of this sort of document, the second point alone holds true; the far greater part of his epistles are addressed to individuals; this however, did not preclude a wider circulation of them. Certain varieties of form we shall meet with very soon. The term *Erynnerung* was added by his friends as a genial reminder of the speech and the impressions which the visitors, the prioress and the sisters had experienced under his expositions of the Christian life.

III. As a letter, it has the usual formal divisions, which need not be repeated. We may notice the frequent use of groups of two words; apart from the title *Sendbrieff und Erynnerung* which was not his own, there occur: *begeer vnd byt* 118¹⁰; *leben vnd wesen* 118¹³⁻¹⁴; *meynung vnd wille* 119⁴; *prüffet vnd beweret* 119⁹⁻¹⁰; *liebe vnd eynigfeyt* 120⁹; *lere vnd exempel* 122⁸; *anstellen vnd verbrengen* 123¹⁸. The use of groups of three words is too restricted to be regarded as a feature. The vocabulary is ample; the thought is vigorous and straightforward. The utterance again has in it a consciousness of certainty. It is filled with apostolic precision and fervor. Feeling is combined with wisdom. We hear the preludial notes that serve as a preparation for the extraordinary letter to the Bishop of Breslau. As a hortatory document the missive we are now considering does not fall behind any of the literature concerning the monastic life which appeared coterminously.

2) The use of the proverb as an almost essential part of a forcible style is recognized by our author. The German language was already exceedingly rich in these resources; the *Adages* of Erasmus had given a spur to the collection of these kernels of native speech and generalizations of common sense; that book had also furnished the material for the translation of classic apothegms and *sententiae* into the vernacular. In our missive we meet not only the semi-proverb, which is a choice element of German conversation and literature, but the full-sized maxim appears at least once: All is not gold that glitters; with his customary habit of paraphrasing a truth, he adds: However brilliant its shining.

3) It would be wrong to pass by the sense of humor, with which Schwenckfeld was endowed. His wit was always modified by good feeling. He could not be coarse, brutal, ill-mannered, ill-tempered and unrefined. He often lightens up his style with playful allusions or a smile of truth. It was a wreathed face which portrayed satan as a rogue, and

dwelt on the detail of his evanishment in order to lay aside his wonted repulsiveness, and in the shade of some unseen retreat with lightning rapidity, transform himself into an angel of light. More indicative still is the caution given to the older sisters to remember the playfulness of their own youth in their treatment of the younger members of the sisterhood. That certainly was not only provocative of glee, but was the wise counsel of a mirthful heart. A man who knew literature and the world of men, as he did, could not divest himself of acquired wit, even if he had not possessed the natural talent. How Capito could ever speak of him as melancholy in any but a remote and obscure sense, is beyond our simple understanding. His very maxim of life was against such an interpretation of his disposition; at any rate, we shall meet signs that there was much latent as well as expressed fun in his nature.

4) As to umlaut and diacritical points it may be observed that *a* is never modified, *e* is used to represent the sound; *o* is uniformly modified by *ô*; *u* has the following signs *û*, *ü* and once *ũ*. Between these there seems to have been little distinction in the modified sound. Sometimes *ü* appears to be purely diacritical.

5) The syllabation at the end of lines is indicated by the hyphen -. There are seventy-eight instances the most of which keep to the customary four rules of division. A word repeated is uniformly separated in the same way which also shows that the system was not so wilful as is usually taken for granted. Even where the separation seems arbitrary as in the monosyllables *wûn tŕ*, *bur ç*, *ni çtš*, *ni çt*, it really falls under the laws. The only violation is in *wi ſſet* where the exigency of the line compelled it. There are altogether eight omissions of the hyphen, due always to the pressure of the rules of division.

E.

TH**ERE** are two towns in Silesia bearing the name of Naumburg¹; the one is situated on the Bober, the other, and the one with which this letter has to do, at the confluence of the Ivenitsch and the Queis. I. The name has undergone a very considerable number of transmutations. The place is mentioned as far back as 1223, but is reputed to have been founded in 1202. Its history has been marked with scourges of fire and pestilence. It came early under the privileges of the Deutsches Recht. It also became an important station in the flow of commerce westward, although its population always remained small and unenterprising; its inhabitants as late as 1547, at first resisted the introduction of the manufacture of pottery which afterwards became its chief industry. The cloister was founded in 1217 by Heinrich the bearded and was possibly originally occupied by nuns of the Benedictine order. Over a century and a half later it was given to the penitent Magdalenes, *Ordo sanctae Mariae de poenitentia*. Gregory IX and Innocent IV were the first to charter the existence of the body, whose original object was to provide for the multitude of females who had fallen under the vices of the Crusades; in the next place, its ministry was for the rescue of those ever to be pitied women who have adopted their own degradation as a profession. Whether the Naumburg convent was ever such a refuge is not certain but likely, from its position and yet seclusion, on the route of travel. Most of the cloisters of this order of the White women, so called from the color of their first habit, had long departed from their primitive purpose by the Reformation day; at any rate, this convent was used for far different objects. 1) It would seem to have become the home for such daughters of the noble families, especially of the neighborhood, as chose a life of

¹ The statements here made are built upon the various publications of the Verein f. G. u. A. Schlesiens and of the Verein f. G. d. ev. R. Schlesiens; Schneider I; Soffner, Geschichte der Reformation in Schlessen. Especially: Sutorius, Die Geschichte von Löwenberg; Mücke, Urkundliche Geschichte d. Stadt u. des früheren Klosters Naumburg am Queis; Fragmente aus der Geschichte der Klöster und Stiftungen Schlesiens von ihrer Entstehung bis zur Zeit ihrer Aufhebung im November 1810. Breslau 1811; WWKL. Mss: Hillers Postillen in the Schweneckfeld Library (A copy in Warmbrunn). And Ordnung bei Aufnahme der Jungfrauen des Klosters N. a/Q. in the UB. Breslau.

retirement and seclusion or as lacked sufficient means of support. Many of the prioresses, before and after, are of that station, yet it was by no means exclusively a residence for persons of this social rank. 2) There is plain proof that the inmates were engaged in teaching the young, for in 1507 the office and the rank of an instructress is expressly mentioned; but for what length of time that duty continued is not known; it could hardly have been given up however. 3) The maintenance of religious services in all places of their jurisdiction. 4) Whether they cared for the sick outside of their own city limits and their villages is not sure but probable; subsequently the little town had a hospital as a thankoffering for the passing of a sweeping pestilence. Such an institution exists still to-day. The convent was fairly well endowed; the church of St. Peter and St. Paul and the city itself were under its patronage; they appointed all the officials, religious and secular; a number of villages were also among their properties. Whomsoever they chose for the church served also as provost and pastor of the cloister. The administration was vested in the hands of a prioress; a sort of advisory board or committee, generally of nobles of the vicinage helped in the administration of the secular affairs. The institution was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Breslau. Another settlement of the order was at Beuthen; upon the reformation of that town, they removed to Sprottau; in the forepart of the eighteenth century an offshoot went from Sprottau to Neisse. All of these remained under the rule of St. Augustine, even after the order outside of Silesia passed under another system.

II. The very fact of the situation of our convent upon a great central route would bring to them tidings of the revival in the west. No less could their political connection with Breslau, Jauer and Liegnitz keep them informed of what was going on in the religious world. Löwenberg too was near by; a monk and a nun were married in that city, just a little after the assumed date of the visit, but a few months before the letter was written. Nobles of the vicinity were more or less active in promoting the innovations. As yet we are ignorant of the exact facts which took place in the cloister, outside of what Schwenckfeld tells us. Even Soffner, if with somewhat of a slur, takes his information from him.¹ When Schwenckfeld accepted the invitation, the state of affairs appears to have been somewhat as follows: 1) the daily preaching of the Gospel had been introduced; of course this step was taken with the full consent, and more likely from what is said of her, at the instigation of the prioress. 2) The nuns were in the midst of discussion as to the validity and obligation of their vows. The older ones were, it may be, more conserva-

¹ Geschichte der Reformation in Schlefien p. 291.

tive, the younger more inclined to adopt liberal opinions. This division of sentiment seems to have led to some appreciable insubordination. 3) Some had gone so far as to be ready to give up the sisterhood life; others were still in debate about taking that final step. 4) A third group seemingly was inclined to keep up the organization, but to reform it on the basis of evangelical principles. The questions of property were necessarily vital and prominent here as elsewhere; and so too were the rights of patronage and the other economic interests, individual and general. 5) Liturgical questions, mainly affecting music and the language, were also agitated, but apparently at a somewhat later date than that of the visit. 6) In the interval between Schwenckfeld's arrival and the letter, matters would seem to have quieted themselves in a measure. The second part sounds as if the majority had decided upon a preservation of the cloister and a reformation according to evangelical principles. The sovereign matters then to be adjudicated would be the relationship to Rome, the specific forms which the innovations should take and their connection with the other monastic institutions. It was therefore an audience agog with very mixed opinions, whom Schwenckfeld addressed; the adjustment and correlation of these parties in a face to face interview required prudence and wisdom. To speak the truth and do it wisely is not an easy task. To bring peace and good will out of such a variety of discussion and such differing beliefs is the work of only a level-headed man.

III. And who was the prioress? Most probably her name was Gertrud Plawir[in]. She had begun her administration in 1507, and would now be approaching her fiftieth year, if not already quite that. She appears in connection with certain documents, but they throw no light on her personal history. From Schwenckfeld's estimate of her, we may conclude that she was a genuine Christian, and that would involve consecration to the spiritual side of her duties; a devotion therefore to the highest interests of her convent. She was also very conscientious, and that sense of duty in all her relations had made her a lover of the divine Word, who is Christ, and of the Gospel. She had promptly accepted the fresh standard of thought and activity suggested by the Scriptures and by her experience of the sufficiency of Christ. She had therefore been instrumental in introducing the Gospel into the convent, and had resolved to reform the institution according to the essential principles of conduct and faith contained therein. On that account she had caused the Evangel to be preached daily. In consequence of her alert and decisive action her cloister was the first in Silesia to come under the regenerative influence. Not even the convents of Breslau or Liegnitz had preceded. Schwenckfeld certainly regarded her as a woman of fine acumen and good conscience. He could not have distinguished her more highly than he did

by quoting from St. Peter the words which the apostle as a fellow presbyter addresses to other presbyters. A willing helper she found in the provost, who seems to have been Stanislaus Lausmann; and there were those in the circle of her advisory committee which then apparently consisted of nobles, who espoused the cause of the Gospel.

IV. The subsequent interesting history of town and convent must be omitted. It may be well, however, to state that the evangelical influence continued under Margaretha von Falkenhain 1528—1543, another very efficient woman, with her practical and liturgical reforms and her ability to satisfy the inquiries of the Bishop. As long as Michael Hiller, the pastor at Zobten, lived, Schwenckfeldianism retained its ascendancy, and it survived in the convent in spite of the other Protestant currents and the efforts of the counter reformation certainly until 1570 and apparently much later. Probably the time of decay came with the general persecution of the Schwenckfelders about 1580. The continuous evangelical influence was largely due to the energy of Michael Hiller and the tolerant policy of the bishops. The liturgical document pertaining to the novitiates about to take the veil and to the installation of the prioress belongs to the late date of Prince Bishop Philipp Godhard, Graf Schaffgotsch 1748—1795. It is a beautifully written thin folio, and is in the possession of the University Library of Breslau. It shows the absolute restoration of all that Schwenckfeld had persuaded the convent to reject as antichristian.

V. We would like to know a little more closely who the friends were that invited Schwenckfeld to the convent. We shall not be far astray if we seek for some of them first among the advisory committee who assisted the Prioress in the administration of the properties and finances. Among these occur the family names of von Metzrode; von Nostitz; von Zedlitz; von Jauernitz; von Mauer auf Thiemendorf; von Quor. The von Gersdorf, von Czirn, von Uechtritz, von Haugwitz, von Falkenhain, were families long concerned in the affairs of the convent, and all of them furnished prioresses in the course of its history. Erhard von Queiss and Hans von Langenwaldau, Magnus genannt, both lived hard by, and the von Rechenbergs whose family had been and continued to be friends of the institution. Some of these were undoubtedly concerned in the movement for promoting the local reformation. It is not unlikely however that Michael Hiller was the most active in furthering the whole matter. He held his church under the patronage of the convent. He was now in middle life; the works of Luther had aroused in him a different view of religion; he became very soon a devoted, although an independent follower of Schwenckfeld, and held all that region to the Middle Way, as long as he lived. His postillen have been a sacred heritage for three centuries, and his liturgical work shall have its due recognition. Hiller's later

marriage into the von Lest and von Redern families, strengthened the hold of Schwenckfeld upon his fellow nobles. A brother, Johann Hiller, was for a long time vicar and altarist in the chapel at Lauterseifen. About these matters there is much unwritten history which we hope to unfold in due time.

VI. Who were the enemies alluded to? Michael had many bitter antagonisms growing out of conflicting rights of patronage and tithes. Very likely too these embittered nobles of the neighborhood would oppose any innovation in a convent that favored the strong preacher at Zobten. Such were Christoph von Ryme auf Zobten, Petersdorf and the one part of Langneundorf; Franz Zedlitz von Siebeneichen, Rathmannsdorf and Lauterseifen; Bernhard and Melchior von Lest von Hohendorf and the other part of Langneundorf. The most of these places subsequently became strongholds of the Middle Way. Then too the monastic institutions in Löwenberg were at the outset also the severe critics of the new faith. All the convents in Silesia were probably of the captious and ridiculing party whose strenuousness resisted the innovations, as they called them. Notably among these were the sisters at Liebenthal whose praise for fidelity to the Church is spoken of so ardently in 1538.

VII. It is not a little significant that precisely Schwenckfeld should have been pitched upon to forward this awakening in the cloister. Why was he selected of all the fellow countrymen of his day, to give wise guidance and cautious advice in this juncture of the institution at Naumburg? He was not in any clerical position; he certainly had no official connection with the monastic body; he moreover had withdrawn from his political and legal career. There evidently was something in the man himself and his present history which induced this invitation. His choice could scarcely be due to the simple partiality of his friends: any of them might have been just as competent for such an undertaking. A university man like Erhard von Queiss, so soon to become a bishop, but who was still in Silesia, or the judicious and serious-minded Hans Magnus von Langenwaldau, why were these passed by? This fact must not be ignored. There was certainly some good reason, and such a cause is not likely to have lain on the mere surface of things. Moreover Schwenckfeld was as yet but a young man to be called and sent on a mission that involved so much as to the policy of handling the monasteries in this crisis. Nothing presented such grave problems of property, finance, and future support, as well as the uses to which these institutions should be put in case of their vacancy.

It was not an idle talk, or a conventionally pious address that he was to make. Nor did he care to sputter about freedom, or to let down the bars like a demagogue; nor did he have in view the future spoliation

of the goods, real and personal. It would seem to be quite fair to infer that there was something in the man that fitted him for the emergency. He undoubtedly represented the evangelical ideas, a fact that was already widely known in his own land and elsewhere; and he adhered to them so emphatically that his position was not only well understood, but estimated at no inconsiderable figure. His general policy was seen and known to be conservative and careful in making changes; it was sure that he favored nothing wild, ill-considered or tumultuous. It appears to have been a matter of general belief that he was no stormer or iconoclast, and that questions affecting estates and future uses were perfectly safe in his hands. His religious character and economic experiences were of such a quality, that the men and women concerned had confidence in his judgment and fairness. Moreover he had also attained a practical knowledge of the nature of the Reformation; he had some considerable and personal acquaintance with its leaders, and what was of greater value, such a wide understanding of the Scriptures themselves, and such a poise and proportion of Christian character; he had also demonstrated his unquenchable zeal for the dissemination of the new light by word and deed and gift, that he was appealed to as the best practical leader to guide these aroused elements into peace. It is well to put this mission then in its true light and meaning, and to set forth the importance of the man who was called upon to undertake it. It is safe to infer that he was not only already a conspicuous leader, but that this conspicuity was due to the strength of his character and the sagacity of his judgment.

VIII. This letter throws light on Schwenckfeld's method of effecting innovations.

1) He approaches a given case by obtaining a thorough understanding of the problems involved. Whatever principles he had well-established in his mind he did not apply ruthlessly; what was practicable in the given instance he would carry out, leaving the rest to time or to a more suitable occasion.

2) He was not concerned about his own reputation; there was no room in his nature for that cowardice into which a man readily falls who weighs difficulties in the light of his own popular standing. Schwenckfeld beats no retreat, save from Hess' unpardonable misconception of motive. He faces the situation in every instance with calm deliberation. What he conceives to be God's claim, we shall always find him maintaining with unconcern about himself. So here there were not only the friends who invited him, but the bitter enemies who were aflame against the monastery for its reformations. Schwenckfeld in his sympathy for the innovators had also to encounter the criticisms of these antagonists, some of whom also had private grounds of controversy with Michael Hiller. One sees no quailing

or hesitation about the main duty or any concern for his own standing among some of these very influential families. He is ready to ride thither into the storm, not only once, but twice.

3) He justifies and sets down the essential point, to wit, the reconstruction of the life of the individual according to the first principles of the Christian religion; that is a radical and complete thing, and he insists on its recognition. There are no compromises or adjustments here. The essence of the Christian life has inflexible terms only, before which everything must give way.

4) Anything which interfered with or was contrary to the Saviour's or the New Testament's commandments had also to be abolished; any rite, ceremony, custom, vow, that was in direct opposition to the substance or genius of the Christian faith must be extirpated and without regret.

5) What was not in such conflict was a matter of indifference, and could be treated as one pleased, or as a community agreed, provided it was not arbitrarily imposed from without by an incompetent, arrogating authority. Hence ceremonies that did not contravene truth might remain, indeed they had better be treated with moderation. Other letters illustrate this point wherein he asserts that pictures, unless abused for magical or worshiping purposes, could stay; crucifixes and symbols, so long as they were treated as symbols, were no objects of scorn or criticism to him. The reconstruction of the Sacraments is not here alluded to; but it may be remarked, that important as they are, their significance to him is secondary and not fundamental; to give them a weight and dignity above the Christian life itself is a subversion of first principles.

6) Now in approaching the monastic institution we see the same wisdom. There were several things involved. a) Was Christian liberty interfered with by the present status of monasticism? That its present organization had so endangered the inner life of the individual and society, was too obvious for discussion. Therefore the liberty of the Spirit must be recognized and restored. b) The primary idea of ascetic communal life had been lost, that should be restored if the principle was to bear any good fruit. c) The free choice of the individual however, should not be interfered with; one should go or stay according to his own election; any vow that made the remaining a perpetual obligation, was inherently wrong. But even were one to decide to leave, self-examination should precede the step so as to be sure of one's reason in going; if one were prompted by mere self-indulgence and the desire to gratify vanity and worldliness, the wrong motive made the act wrong. But even then, the individual alone could decide for himself or herself.

7) No vows, although already assumed, that are inherently against the laws of well-being are binding, they ought to be cast off as a wicked yoke.

8) The community life has nothing inherently wrong in it, nor has celibate life anything inherently wrong in it; but all such choices must be free and subject to changes of opinion and of circumstances. It would be equally right at any time to decide upon withdrawal and marriage.

9) But, nevertheless, it may be well to maintain the coenobitic order, subject however, to these laws of freedom. The objects in view must be evangelical; the education of youth, the care of the sick, the provision of refuge for the lost and the perplexed and the homeless; the maintenance of joint worship; the use of the properties and patronage rights for such noble ends; such aims were perfectly legitimate according to Schwenckfeld's view.

10) In any event, during a period of transition, it would be better to move with slowness in all things secondary and in such matters as have no essential moral import. Let freedom adjust itself in the method of carrying forward Christian service, or in arranging the manner of helping one another most successfully. Certainly it would not do to abandon what was good, before proper and more efficient substitutes could be provided. Nothing could invite a more crushing economic disaster.

Now in all this letter one finds no word of abuse. When he speaks of the inner social life of such an institution, he does not draw any lurid or even comic picture of chattering and gossiping groups and of scandal-mongers and knavish inventors of private or social falsehoods and vices. He simply quotes the apostle in a few words of kindly, but positive admonition. Surely this is an admirable scheme of practical reformation. It is characteristic of the whole effort of the Middle Way to make the life right with God and man; the rest must quietly arrange itself in the free action of the Spirit. Schwenckfeld did not tear down a great legal structure and then immediately begin to remantle a second colossal scheme of legality. A few chief general principles are sufficient, then give men and communities their liberty to work out the rest. A superimposed and imperious regimen has been the curse of the Church and of the State, or of a State-Church. Over-legislation is the disease of a civilization by law; over-government is the dangerous tendency, not only of autocracy and constitutional monarchy, but of republics as well. A little community of believers may devitalize itself by the poison of continuous regulations. It may require as many digests as the largest modern State, and yet be miserably administered. Schwenckfeld's idea is to make men, then you will need less law. If the law was given for transgressors, the modern State and a deal of the modern Church must be composed of a precious lot of rascals.

IX. It is a significant as well as an agreeable fact to find that Schwenckfeld was not only invited the first time, but was earnestly requested

to repeat his visit. He was hindered from keeping his second appointment in person at a suitable season. The reasons for this he does not even intimate, but we can picture them with some degree of accuracy: it was not because he was unwilling to have the studies interrupted in whose peaceful, delightful pursuit he was immersed, else he would not have ridden to Naumburg at all, or have occupied his hours in writing so helpful a memorial. May we not indeed trace his own feeling of satisfaction in recalling the interview? For him a refusal would have meant selfishness in view of his own definition of Christian liberty. The impediment lay in some present duties which had combined their demands and made their claim to discharge superior to the other. One may well infer that the Herzog needed his presence while the threatening letters of injunction were coming to him from every quarter. The answer to the King of Poland was probably sketched, if not wholly composed by Schwenckfeld. The heightening danger of the hour in the determined and united movement of the opposition to regain the lost ground, especially in Silesia, was very likely the most urgent cause for the postponement. Minor ones lay in the actual settlement of Valentin Crautwald and the beginning of his popular lectures on St. Paul at the Dom. Others again arose from the reconstructions going on in Liegnitz and the neighboring communities. Nor was he unconcerned in the coming settlement of Hess in Breslau, now so near at hand, and the interesting questions of jurisdiction involved therein. We need not leave to imagination what Schwenckfeld as patron of the Church at Ossig had already done. Those reforms probably served as an example for other localities and especially for the patrons of the parishes near by or more remote. In spite of the present block to his cherished plan of accepting the second invitation, he not only wrote this missive, but he encouraged the hope of coming once more, if the sisters should desire it. Whether he ever realized his plan is unrecorded, but not unlikely from the fact that Michael Hiller would need and desire his presence. It would be natural for him to urge the advent of the master in a region that was filled with the ardent and immovable disciples of the Middle Way. The results warrant the belief.

X. The document also gives us a glance at the growing range and thoroughness of Schwenckfeld's biblical studies. The man who prepared a curriculum of his daily pursuits, who made it a point to read reflectively four chapters of his Bible each twenty four hours, begins to show the fruits of his own discipline. The letter is saturated with biblical quotation not only, but with the thought of the Word and its very turn of expression; it betrays a skilful adaptation of the sacred language to the various points he wanted to make. The quantity of citations indicates the scope of his reading, in the good old English university sense of that word, where a man's reading

meant the scope of his severest study. The weight of reference is to the New Testament: the gospels and St. Paul and St. Peter are the most cited. Of the Old Testament there is only a slight allusion to Isaiah, and a secondary one to Daniel through our Lord's or St. Matthew's glance at the vision of the abomination. The prophets, however, were probably just now the section of the Old Testament on which he was most engaged; this may be inferred from his enjoinder upon the sisters to hear parts of these read and expounded in the daily lections, and it is confirmed by the large use of them in the first part of the letter to Bishop Jacob von Salza. Further, he was interested in the circulation of the Word in the national tongue. One sometimes feels in the study of Schwenckfeld's works that he was himself engaged off and on in making a translation, at least for his own use, such are the originality of his renderings and such the nature of his annotations in a Bible that he used later on. He sometimes expresses his dissent from current renderings directly and indirectly. In our letter he evidently takes exception to Luther's version of Gal. 3². However these things may be, he was certainly enlarging not only the range and the depth, but the apparatus of his scriptural study; a quantity of material to which we are coming will show this. As yet he seems confined to the Vulgate with its customary appliances, to Erasmus, to Oecolampadius, to the version by Luther and to a pre-Lutheran translation, which he calls the *Älte Translatz*. How far he was acquainted with the Trebnitzer Psalter or any of the many other German renderings of the Psalms, or with the Bohemian and Waldensian Bibles cannot be decided at this point; one thing however is sure, there would be little that would escape him, when once he was informed of its existence, such was his enthusiasm and solidity. He was just beginning to cross the threshold of the Greek, in which he afterwards found his fullest satisfaction, as later also in the Hebrew.

XI. A little evidence creeps in to show his advance in the perusal of the fathers. No mention indeed is made of Cyprian in the text, but he is cited nevertheless. We have already seen that Schwenckfeld had been as he remained all his life, a student of St. Augustine, and now we find him using another of the North African Church fathers. The range of his reading is of course still limited to the Latin writers or to some of the translations of Greek patrology and of the Greek Church historians. In his study of Cyprian he would be likely to have used the Erasmian edition to which reference has been made. The maxim here quoted is indeed expressive and remained a favorite citation with Schwenckfeld for some time. The father was not quite so generous in its application of it to himself; he tried to narrow its breadth into a very illiberal external churchism. The precept he urges should have controlled his own actions

in matters of fraternity and baptism. It is a most truthful one, and well fitted to apply to the conditions in North Africa and those existing in a time when freedom of thought again asserted itself in such various forms. The adage warrants the precedence of the Scriptures in all matters affecting the conscience and the guidance of the religious life. Nothing therefore could have been more apt to quote on this occasion.

XII. We find Schwenckfeld to be an ardent student of Luther, whose great unshackling, restorative works¹ of 1520, had aroused the entire German people of all stations to a struggle for liberation; and it is a redeeming feature of humanity to note how literature, especially a Spirit-born literature, prepares the way and inspires the movements for liberty. Schwenckfeld, ardent, serious, was possessed of the kernels and vitals of Christian life and privilege therein portrayed. Not the least did the concept of the freedom of a Christian hold him and give an upward swing to his entire nature. That thought added fuel to the fire blazing on his hearth. It gave him lines for further independent reflection which he immediately put into the concrete. Ideas that bore the stamp of essentiality were only forerunners of direct practical application. The liberty of service took hold of him. It is that which he here alludes to and enlarges upon. But it was ample and world-containing; it was imperial and yet minute. It meant the elevation of humanity, the education of the race. It was no little, narrow horizon that disclosed itself to his searchful eyes. It signified no distinctions of age, of clime, of race, of sects in the professions, and sects in the State, and sects in the Church. He was willing to expend all that was in him, if he could do another man good. There had come the time when the author of those light-bearing tractates went back on his own radical and tonic principles. But there was never a day when his early disciple did not continue to develop and magnify them. There had been an hour not so far preceding this date, when the consummate and courageous leader forgot the breadth of the humanity he had taught, and belittled his broad idea into a constantly narrowing definition of that term as signifying only those who accepted his teaching; this was exactly the error and Babylonian captivity out of which he had led the way for the Germans, and his retreat was to the damage of the Protestant map of Europe. We must not be unmindful of the great-hearted men who during the ages had sought to break the sacerdotal chains and had contributed to the escape from the thrall; but none had achieved so widespread a deliverance as Luther, and Schwenckfeld accepted with heart-

¹ These are the well-known 1) *An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*; 2) *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*; 3) *Von der freyheit eines Christen menschen*.

felt gratitude the generous release thus brought. He maintained uniformly the emancipated and universal view. He habitually acted in the humane spirit of the Samaritan, and not with the divisive, sodden selfishness of the Levite and the Priest. He protested against the prison-house of the new Egypt and the new Babylon, whether established at Rome or at Zürich or at Strassburg or at Wittenberg or at Geneva or at Stuttgart or at Riesenburg or at Canterbury or at York. With the small egoisms of the egoists he had no sympathy, although he would do good to the egoists as, after all, men. For him Christianity remained help for humanity, regardless of race or nationality or religious faith. With this conception of individuality as ministrant to others, and as pledged to universal service, you have the true basis for building up a genuine and progressive collectivism. No bar of exclusion must be put up. The real freeman wastes no time in erecting a pale, nor does he after that contemptible and infatuated labor trumpet to the world his shrivelled illiberality with the dictum: this is the true and only Church, this is my and God's particular Jerusalem; you can be no citizen of the City of God unless you believe what I, the prophet, tell you. The sincere lover of liberty and mankind does not say: we cannot be friends, unless you think exactly about the sacraments as I do, and whistle down the wind of every doctrine and ceremony with me. He cannot say: liberty is an abstract principle, but it cannot be applied; to be free, you must serve me only. He who will not trust his fellows with the prerogatives of humanity has but small trust in the God who implanted them. Freedom is the right of personality, and every individual has that personality and that right. Hence the cherishing and uplifting of humanity must precede every duty after our service of God. Indeed a scientific and loving ethics must blend the two as parts of one strand. Do not invite me to adopt the shallow and deceptive devices of compromise, in order that I may be allowed to live in some kind of harmony with you who think yourself so exclusively representative of God. Let me hold my sentiments, and do you maintain yours, but divested of Pharisaism; and in the broad interests of the race, let us be friends and helpers of one another. Such were the clarion notes of the three great tractates. The author of them had failed to practice the precepts in the severe tests of 1522. Schwenckfeld never forsook the thought or act of the service of humanity. He was the friend and servant of the Lutheran, of the Zwinglian, of the Anabaptist, of the Papist. He believed in practical unity as we see in this missive, but it was one of equality, mutual toleration and federation. He felt that these matters are the real bone and sinew of history. Herein lay the progress toward the realization of individual and race liberty. The locking hindrance to such a realization lies in the restrictions imposed upon the conception of

and feeling for humanity as the chief thing. Who are responsible for retarding this? Preëminently those who essay to educate the souls of men in the primal truths of the Kingdom of God by precept only. The theorists and talkers may be good, but the doers are immensurably better. The bulldog way, and the might makes right assertion are two of the most fatal sources by which the enslavement of general humanity is wrought; whether the principles are carried out by an arrogant, misnomered clergy or by brutal and self-assumptive statesmen. Let it be said that in the Reformation, when others were reorganizing a congeries of Babylonian captivities for their fellows, Schwenckfeld was one of a number of generous natures who enunciated, carried out and suffered for the broader truth and the nobler service. He not only asserted but fostered by deeds the support and advance of the freedom attained in the Gospel and by the Holy Spirit. Others were busy reforging chains. They devoted themselves to shutting up the new light in lanterns for their exclusive use, while they allowed the little alleys and the great streets to lie in darkness. And they were highly self-satisfied withal! Has modern civilization recovered from the Pharisaic process? And yet the men with the lanterns go on calling Schwenckfeld a visionary and an enthusiast and a mystic, though he used his Christian liberty to serve every man.

A sign of divergence between the two men is to be found in Schwenckfeld's translation of Gal. 3² as the note indicates. That proves that he is already unfolding for himself the doctrine of the Inner Word, and especially the independence of the soul from the preaching and the churchly theory which lies hidden under Luther's rendering of the passage.

XIII. In his remarks upon worship, whether of private devotion or social and public service, we may justly infer that he was reflecting his own methods. 1) In his repeated advice to the sisters to use their mother tongue, we may be sure that he pictured his own practice. There can be little question of the fact that the German had been substituted, as far as possible, for the Latin wherever he had a voice or an influence. And this meant a deal of labor in effecting the changes. That these were already accomplished and in operation at Ossig, we may safely argue. Wohlau, Lüben, Steinau, Raudten, Liegnitz and other places where his friends were preaching would scarcely have continued the unintelligible mummary, which he condemns so radically at Naumburg, and that for more reasons than one. The *opus operatum* theory was as alien to his sense of individuality and Christian priesthood, as was the manner and language of the ancient service. Without a doubt much study and industry had been given to this renovation.

2) The abridgment of the general service is another step Schwenckfeld would have the sisters take. He here speaks of the curtailment of

the choral service in use. If spirit and intelligence were put into the suitable rendering of these diminished selections, there would certainly be no inconsiderable gain to the heart of the worshiper. And such a retrenchment would probably establish the rule of brevity in all parts of the service. It would be found desirable to make the whole shorter as well as more comprehensible, and to retain no more than was really digestible. It would be a result naturally involved in the substitution of thought for an overweight and elongation of ceremony.

3) Schwenckfeld believed in perpetuating the service of song. He does not sympathize with Karlstadt's¹ more radical tendencies, nor is he hostile to instrumental music, as were the Zürichers. Had he been so, he would have had the opportunity to express it; for at the higher festivals at least, Naumburg not only had organ accompaniment, but brass wind instruments certainly were used. Schwenckfeld apparently here puts the stress upon intelligent singing; hence if more than the voice were used, that addition would have to be a subordinate and not the prominent element in this branch of the service, because the worshiper ought to know what the celebrants are about, that he may know what he himself is sensibly engaged in.

4) It is also a legitimate inference to observe that Schwenckfeld did not believe ordinarily in continued and multiplied public services. A man who set so much store by quiet and reflective private devotion would not want the soul to be oppressed and deprived of its individual privileges by an incessant round of wearisome and exhausting worship. His whole view of the spiritual life would be disturbed by such an excess, especially when so much of it is mere show or dramatic display in which others act and you are a spectator only.

5) From hints in the missive it would appear that he favored the apostolic and democratic concept of worship. He does not suggest that a priest or a deacon or any particular official should discharge the duty of reader and expositor; any qualified, competent person, clerical or lay, whose character, experience, age and training warranted it, was from his point of view, eligible. There were to be qualifications, but those were not sacerdotal or ordinal. As a layman who was leading in religious functions, and now giving advice about features of the Christian life and service, we would expect him to disregard conventual and ecclesiastical restrictions. He contemned the entire priestly idea as a usurpation.

¹ *De Cantu Gregoriano Disputatio* in the Appendix to Barge, Andreas Hohenstein von Karlstadt Vol. I. Exkurs VI, 20 pp. 491—493. The analysis of the same is in I. 368—371. Particularly striking is the Thesis 36: *Graecus Graece, Apher aphrice, germanus germanice psallet et oret.*

Further, he seems to have felt that every man should have the privilege of taking part in the worship in some active capacity, but he must qualify himself therefor. For the same reason he encouraged all adherents of the Middle Way to study, and to write out their thoughts. Hours did he spend in directing and correcting such work. One sees how anxious he was that the sisters of the convent should immediately make provision for a suitable education in the Word as the true way to render a reasonable and acceptable service. Through his entire life, to make each individual reflective and competent was one of his cherished aims. The fraternal and free conference was not allowed to interfere with a befitting order and a cultivated leadership.

6) It would appear also that he favored an entire revision of the lectionary system. He certainly already made a larger place for the reading of the Scriptures than had been wont. Similarly exposition on the text of the Word was to have more prominence. Altogether the teaching element obtains a more adequate share of time; and system in the continuous imparting of instruction is obviously suggested by his recommendation. Let us be persuaded that he wanted every member of that cloister to have a comprehensive knowledge of the truth and therefore he points out the speediest way to attain it. It is necessary to add, in view of the abuses under which he has so long suffered, that he never changed his desire to see an intellectual Church, but one that was taught of God, and that in a large sense. The brotherhoods organized by his contemporaries and preserved by his later followers had a determined intellectual quality which is not lost to this day. It is within bounds to say that the Scriptural training of these households and communities was superior to the average of their neighbors. You never find a trace of heat, fanaticism or hysteria in all their long history in spite of the charges of Sebastian Schubart and the opprobrious list of defamers who stupidly repeated him and have added their mite of shameless epithets. It may be truthfully said that the families and the communities thus strictly reared were models of the Christian virtues.

If then the date assigned to our letter be correct, Schwenckfeld was at that time zealously engaged in betterments of the Church service, with a view to freedom of the Spirit, simplicity, intelligibility and brevity.

XIV. Schwenckfeld had come to a very decided conclusion on one point: Rome for him as a world-system and a state claiming to be a Christian Church and the only one, was entirely out of harmony with the essential nature of the Kingdom as Christ had introduced and formulated it. The assumptions and developments of the Curia were inadmissible presumptions in themselves considered. They were not only contradictions of the idea of a community of believers, but they were the veritable notes

of Antichrist, as our Lord in St. Matthew, and St. Paul in Timothy and the Thessalonians had stated them. This was so evident to Schwenckfeld that he deemed the simple citation of the passages must carry an inevitable conviction with them. Moreover, he had urged the sisters to have no fear of the tyrannous city. He had lost all regard for its prodigious claims. In other words his break from Rome was final. He had become an antagonist of the entire curial ambition. Whatever his hope might be of a reconstructed episcopal polity he would not, under any circumstances, have it dependent on the dictation of the ancient see. And so for the cloister, although it might continue its communal life, it should no longer receive its instructions or charters or form of organization from such an antichristian claimant, whose usurpations the Scriptures had anticipated so clearly. He therefore firmly resisted the encroachment of any secular arm upon the area of the spiritual life, or any combination of the two to regulate or hamper the things that are God's. He conceived of the Kingdom and the Church as purely spiritual and to be supervised by purely corresponding means. The hierarchical development; the immense financial and political machinery; the centralization of authority over states, universities, over the omnipresent monastic institutions, over the minutest affairs of domestic and individual life was irrevocably foreign henceforth to his understanding of the reign of Christ and the economy of the Spirit. He had come to this weighty conclusion not without an inward struggle; but he laid it down now as a first principle that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world. But it was the system and not the people under it that he reprobated. The evangelical literature of the day abounded in tractates supporting this tenet.

XIV. Valentin Crautwald had been called to the Dom in Liegnitz as Lector; both the revival of the office and the choice of the man were most likely under the influence of Schwenckfeld. If the date given for the missive be correct, the success of that appointment may have suggested to him the recommendation he makes here of establishing a permanent Lector in the Convent. Crautwald began his services by the exposition of St. Paul's epistles. That may have been the ground both of Schwenckfeld's frequent citation of that apostle in this letter and of his suggestion that the Lector should give daily comments on readings from St. Paul and the Prophets, as the speediest way for acquiring a competent knowledge of the substance of Christian thought. There can be little doubt that the method adopted in Liegnitz was the product of a conference on what would be the most effective plan for reaching the clergy, monks and the general public. In this way it came about that St. Paul, as in Wittenberg, so in Silesia, became the leader for the understanding of the Person and Work of Christ.

XV. The sympathy which Schwenckfeld so warmly expresses at the close of the letter can refer to no special calamity, for the records give no account of any such disasters during this year. If that be so, the grounds of his kindly feeling must appertain to the sorrows which their consciences caused them in the conflict between old usage and new light, as well as the serious difficulties into which they were brought by their external relations to the adverse authorities, and no little too by the satires and persecutions of the adherents of the ancient order, such as were the inmates of the cloister at Liebenthal.

F.

IN this letter another evidence is afforded us of how Schwenckfeld sought to meet the necessities of the hour. What should be done with the monastic institutions? Should they be allowed to exist as they were, unchanged and subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of Rome? Should they be abolished by edict? Should they be preserved, but only after a thorough evangelical reformation? Should they be let alone to work out their own destiny? In the latter case, what would be the natural effect, if simple apostolic principles were introduced into the conceptions and economy of the occupants? Here was a convent into which gospel thoughts had made their way. Would the result be disintegration, or could the institution preserve its coenobitic character under the impulses of the freedom which had deeply penetrated the hearts of its inmates? What too would be the effect of the exodus from neighboring institutions upon them? The attitude toward monasticism must be as positively taken as that toward the ancient Church. It was a condition right before one's eyes, and a man had to have some sensible view concerning so public and weighty a matter. Again, here were a number of hearts undergoing a vital internal change in their apprehension of the Christian life. The inherited ideas bound them to one interpretation. It required of them to contrast two standards of religion, the one pertaining to the cloistral discipline of vows, the taking of which pretended to clothe the professed with a certain measure of superiority; and the other that of the everyday life which could not attain the ascetic stamp or grade of character. The evangelical precepts were elevated above the gospel virtues. The vows of obedience, chastity and poverty demanded at least an inflexible externality of conduct. The absolute legalism of such a view and practice of the Christian life, of course, paralyzes all wholesome spontaneity and independence. One can only invent and devise new things in the further extension of asceticism, if you once adopt the autocratic system; you can only continue to develop the area and degree of hierarchism and make it more intense, rigid and hopeless. One must keep on accentuating and fostering that which crushes individuality and drives legalized self-denial to a practical suicide. In such an atmosphere these sisters had been trained; these were the beliefs that had regulated their lives heretofore, at least ostensibly. Now came the

revival of genuine gospel thoughts that demanded individuality in order to a proper sense of responsibility; that asserted the supremacy of the individual over all forms of corporate life which he himself had not consented to establish and perpetuate; which bound itself to render unquestioning obedience only to God; which enunciated the right of private judgment and the freedom of the Spirit in meeting every possible incident or experience of life; which antagonized legality and the formulation of life into hard and fast rules; which respected and encouraged the spontaneity and volition of a regenerated nature.

With the rediscovery of the true fountainhead came a multitude of interrogations which darted hither and thither with uncertain wing toward some point of rest. Under the new sun the responsive surfaces quivered with a dancing light. The beaten ways trembled and radiated under the heat of the zenith. The waters were gathered, whither should their volume be directed? It was indispensable to answer the trooping, myriad inquiries of the souls that were thus stirred; it was quite essential morally and economically to prevent a headlong precipitance into liberty or a deadening relapse into the stolid uniformity and degenerate machinery of the past. Could these solemn vows so imposingly taken be ever laid aside? Was it not rebellion against not only the lesser authorities, but against the majesty of God? Would it not be perjury to cast them off since they were taken in full recognition of their bindingness? One explanation opened the door to the desirable freedom; the other, barred against all escape from what was once uttered and pledged to God, however sweet the dream of the unvalled fields and the fresh, wide breeze from yonder mountains and the gliding waters of the Queis. In such a hazardous hour, in which the issues of so many souls were at stake, it was a serious undertaking to teach righteousness. Wisdom herself could not be too wise when she passed into that assembly-room and gazed into those expectant eyes. Empty heads and rattle pates there were of a plenty who shouted and tore around and got married and often made a sad shipwreck, because their sense of liberty was wholly of the flesh. One can only marvel that where the changes were voluntary, so little of mendicancy and economic disaster and moral rot took place. But there remained also more individual matters to discuss; how should the newly awakened soul be led to embrace the definite life-principles which the revived apostolic faith taught; and how cultivate these with a wholesome and yet systematic progress in the then existing relations? The point was to convey such instruction as would fit these disciples, these sisters of various ages to be reasonable, and then loyal to what was essentially right in any coming juncture of life as well as in their present conventual relations. There were points so radically divergent between the new and the old that it

was not easy in every case to put the yes in place of the no, or the no in place of the yes. The new starting point must be settled safely and surely and from that a constant series of readjustments were necessary. How could those who were bred in dependencies be made meet for the independencies which the Gospel overtured them? Such premises must have wrestled for a conclusion in the mind of Schwenckfeld as he rode from Ossig to the house of a friend and thence to the ancient cloister. The whole country round about was feeling responsively the new life currents from the restored sacred records. It was no light errand. He was unshorn; he was not even in orders; he was a simple layman; but the voice of the Spirit had sent him on a holy embassy and what he said was glowingly wise, simple and true. And the scythe of that Spirit cut a wide swath. No less did he feel himself impelled by the Paraclete when he recapitulated the spoken words and added thereto certain reflections as to the nature of Christian liberty and of that ecclesiastical throne to which they had previously been such willing subjects. It is in the light of these questions that a closer survey of the missive has its best background.

I. In the salutation the signs of the pervasive unrest are evident; for he greets them with the invocation of grace and peace in the conscience from the only abiding source and centre of life, the divine persons. As with so many of the New Testament epistles, he omits allusion to the coöperant Spirit, probably because his office is so largely unfolded in the discussion. Schwenckfeld would have them meditate at the outset upon those personalities who really are the immediate dispensers of what alone is solid, permanent and restful good. Under no consideration must they allow themselves to be isolated or separated from the primal fountain of all being and experience. To be divorced from the favor of heaven in this exigency would be to dry up at once every substantial stream of comfort and every hope of an effective and durable solution of the present complex conditions and their issues. The centre of the entire combat was in the sphere of the conscience, which here again is viewed as the endangered battle-ground. With Schwenckfeld conscience was not a separate faculty, but the personality of the individual thinking, feeling and acting upon religious and moral subjects. The whole man was capable of reaching determinative judgments, and was susceptible of accordant emotions, and was compelled to actions with a sense of responsibility and accountability. The consciences of the sisters had been educated under a mistaken system, the rigors and restraints of which had long been broken through; oftentimes even the forms had been violated; and now these moral powers were feeling the pressure of liberal and fundamental ideas and ideals. The balancing of the unwonted against the wonted was

upon them. To attain peace it was not right simply to repress or to be indifferent, but to fight the conflict through; not to keep on a quivering level but to let the scale fall heavily to the right. To secure peace through the living means, he had indicated, was the first principle to be established and the first experience to be attained. The peace which passeth understanding is Christ's own, he alone can bestow it, and not the world. The necessity of this restoration to the eternal concord Schwenckfeld would have them feel at the outset. Nothing can be righteously solved unless that be first attained and confirmed. One who is to go into great ethical struggles can not afford to have an unreconciled God behind him. Whatever one's theory about that *καταλλαγή* be, every contestant must certainly know that for him the Lord has spoken the healing blessings of amity to his soul through the only peacemaker, Jesus Christ. Thither therefore Schwenckfeld directs the sisters as the sole way to gain any permanency of decision. With the deep sense that God is greater than all troubles and crises and that he has spoken the quieting benediction and made it a conscious element of life, the infinite premises are incontrovertibly laid down. The approach to the study and resolution of all the intricacies of conduct must begin with that as the acknowledged base; all these logical processes are vital and not mere syllogistic phrases. One who is at peace with God and has the sense of his immediacy and presence can quiet all the turbulence and agitation of his personal and relative life. It was with perfect meaning that the salutation with which Schwenckfeld greets them was one of peace from God in the conscience. Further, he acceded to no morality as merely the arbitrary imposition of external authority, divine or human. He declined equally a system of ethics based on ends. He believed that a nature created in the image of God and restored thereto after its lapse, was capable of responding to the truth or to the personality of Jesus Christ as being the right and the true and the good; in him these were not different and irreconcilable things, but coordinate. This restoration took place through vital faith. Hence the believer with a nature now in sympathy with the divine character could be educated, not only in progressive apprehension of the living standard which Jesus Christ set up because he was substantively the very things represented by what is called a standard, but also in personal behavior, so that the disciple too could become true, good and right. This is the conscience, or the moral judgment, sentiment and activity of the whole man in relation to God and to one's self and to one's fellows; into this realm he invokes peace. The unquiet comes in the struggle 1) between old darkness and new light; 2) between the less and the more progress in the apprehension of Christ; 3) between the little and the greater advance in the imitation and following of the Lord. There need be no conflict between ultimate

ends; and there can be no knowledge of an ultimate ground or end without a revelation. A standard of ends is very well if Christ be accepted as the exclusive end; but a Kantian or a Hegelian or a hedonistic scheme of self-constituted or self-indulgent ethics would not have been rational in Schwenckfeld's estimate, and cannot be, so long as one believes in a vital relationship between God and man. And still less would Schwenckfeld allow his sense of personal responsibility to be imposed upon by a merely traditional externalism of law. There must be reason for the observance of law, and a rationality in the law itself, and a supreme character in the authority of him who imposes it. For the setting forth of a sufficient standard no one is competent save God himself as being perfection and as the giver of a nature capable of judgments and feeling and activity in harmony with himself. To these thoughtful sisters with now open windows to their hearts, and a new light streaming into them, with their judgments and emotions and volitions set upon new and higher lines, he wished that helpful peace. He himself had gone through with all the aspects of such a change; he knew what that inner conflict signified; he had attained an experience broader and deeper than many of his contemporaries because for him it had been a call to surrender acquired position in the State; he had tasted of the secular life of pleasure; he was in the line of high influence and promotion; his fame was growing; all the goodly sides as well as the vanities and allurements of society were attractive as well as open to him; moreover he had been reared in the old Church, and his attachments to it were strong. How often he adverts to that struggle in simple and unpretending words, it is true, but one feels how powerful and revolutionizing it had been; what wrestlings and hesitations, what yearnings and tears, what throes preceded the relinquishment and submission, before he could lay hold of the inexplicable peace, before he could enter into its serene light. We are led to believe that it was a wonderful conversion by its very result. The young man lays aside his brilliant career and devotes himself to this hallowed end of serving Christ without intermission or interference. His was as radical a repentance as that of St. Paul. We cannot insist sufficiently upon Schwenckfeld's tremendous experience, since no man has suffered more than he for four centuries at the hands of those who ought to have behaved to him as brethren. There is something appalling in the barbarity and shameless nagging which followed him in life and still pursues him, if not in the same forms of abuse, yet with that sort of self-sufficient and complacent mention that an airy injustice knows so well how to assume; the sampling and cataloging of him as an enthusiast and one of those insufferable mystics is almost as arrogant and presumptuous as the violent objurgations of the earlier days. Those who bear the name of Christ have put a cross upon this

great man and his memory which is scandalous in the most repulsive sense of that word; they have suspended him among thieves as if he were a religious reprobate and social offender; sometimes after exposing him to an open shame, they come with a tardy confession as to his unblame-worthy character, which is a pitiful contradiction of their blue vehemence. It is the old and far cry of Pharisaism: We only have the true light and this man is a false prophet, let us away with him. It is the same insolent assumption which has characterized spiritual pride, exclusiveness and caste from the days of Adam until now. But is it not a very mockery of the Spirit of peace and unity and love? It will do well for every man to look at the character of Schwenckfeld, yes, and on all its prismatic sides at that. He will find it lustrous in every relation of life, true, sincere, honorable, just, loving to the core. He was just such a courteous, polished, refined gentleman as one would expect a Christian to be. Character is the fundamental thing to estimate a man by, at any period of the world's history; what a man is and does counts for as much at least, as what he says. And if he does right, it is very likely that his utterances will be nearer the mark than the affirmations of those who think they alone speak the truth, while their conduct may be offensive and contemptible. Judged by the fundamental and dominating standard of character one may be justified in saying that few among the men of that wonderful epoch are, to say the least, his equals. To justify equivocal demeanor by alleging the imperfect nature of the age is a shiftless apology. If a number of men behaved well, the rest might have done the same. The imitation of Christ is not an abstraction nor a matter to be modified by this or that century. It is time that the word be spoken and spoken with decision and protest that the obloquies may cease being a transmitted inheritance and that those who uttered them be no longer justified for their evil dealing. The time of vindication Schwenckfeld gave over to his Lord with the same assured tranquillity with which he left his native land. In a day when the ethical side of religion controls the thought and movement of our faith let the truth prevail about this nobly qualified man of God and lover of Christ.

For the above reasons it is well to keep before us the foundations on which he built and on which he would have others rear their edifice. In every sense his conversion was remarkable and it was complete. He was conscious of having come into the possession of that peace and in it he remained with growing serenity and calm. Nor could there be a more golden sunset or a more rational sense of quiet within and without, as he neared his God, than was his when the hour of departure came.

The young man scarred with spiritual battles came to the sisters with a perfectly clear, self-attesting message. Christ had given him the divine

peace and he would have the same tranquillity imparted to others, together with the all-stimulating truth whereby it alone could be obtained; for the alleviation, guidance and growth of those eagerly waiting, undecided consciences. It must be remembered that it was a conscience toward God as well as toward self and toward men, that he was concerned about. He came in no casuistical panoply; that had been cast off as an impossible weaponry. He did not divide up the right into so many compartments, any more than he separated God from man. He did not put human rationality into the foreground to invent a way in which God should live in order to be righteous. He could not isolate a relative and dependent rationality from the independent, self-existent Reason. His missive was not a speculative ethics which did not concern itself about God.

II. Further, the counsel he gave was esteemed by him as inwrought by God; he displayed no personal blaze of a man realizing himself, nor did he talk professionally for the sake of lecturing about the laws of duty. But he wanted to convey what Christ had taught him practically. He believed that the Spirit used a regenerate man's talents to speak, so that he suffered from no self-consciousness or stage-fright or fear of authorities. He was really an ambassador for his Lord. He trusted in the saying of the Master that his disciple should be equal to the hour and the demand, through the gift of the Spirit. He believed in the example of the prophets and the apostles. This involved no irrational and insolent abuse of such a promise, as some characters affecting prophetism and inspiration have practiced. But the perversion of a good ought not to make us shun the good itself. At any rate, the sanity and poise of Schwenckfeld's entire nature would preclude so daring a blasphemy. Who knew his Bible better? Who studied it daily with more care and devotion? Few at his age turned to the intricacies of new languages with more enthusiasm and thoroughness and with such obviously excellent result. Thoughtful and reasonable, he invariably approached his tasks with honest devotion and preparation. He regarded these attainments and their fruit as a product of the Holy Spirit at work in him; not only from the motive of honoring God, but from the conviction that the Lord had use for him and did engage him as a ministering servant. We shall come across certain pitiful persons who looked upon him as an instrument of the devil because his example and his service alike disturbed them in their literalistic exegesis and in their magical sacramentarianism and in their mechanical views of the ministry. But even those occasions of gross and offensive assault did not destroy his confidence in the Holy Spirit's personal operation in himself. We shall always meet him using this devout expression of dependence on the divine gifts. Their abuse did not abash him into any denial of what to him was so obvious and imperative.

When, then, he calls his address an exhortation, he considers himself within the scope of a Christian's duty and privilege. He is fulfilling an apostolic injunction; he is asserting the universal priesthood of believers; he is breaking down the circumscribing wall of caste in the Church; he is helping to overthrow the sacerdotal segregation and separatistic hauteur. He is carrying, good soldier that he is, the banner of a free Christianity into the camp of a servile and knee-bending adulation; he is henceforth against the spirit of curialism wherever it erects its oppressive court. And it is an exhortation which goes at the root of an ancient, sometimes unconscious, tyranny which has become an autocratic system by its often silent accretions and by its designed and undesigned developments through so many centuries, often challenged and disrupted indeed, but never broken. Schwenckfeld helped to organize in Silesia the combat with the slavish externalism of religion. In God's fields he ploughed deep to prepare a worthy soil for the chief sower of the Word. He championed the liberty of the Spirit with consecrated weapons. His work as student, statesman and soldier must not be forgotten as underlying much of his after life and thought, especially when that earlier career was not so far behind him. We must insist upon it as an underlying fact that he knew thoroughly what he was about. He was not a groping visionary searching after the impossible. He had counted up all the charges before he went on any campaign for the deliverance of his native land. There is something overwhelmingly superior and attractive in the thoroughgoing sturdiness of his devotion and in the seasonableness with which he smote right and left, when it was the time to smite. He, like Johann von Schwarzenberg, was a fine figure of a layman in the front of the fray. And the two were not an inch apart in spirit: ready to attack any old or new tyranny or any old or new Judaism that sought to buckle new burdens of outwardness on the budding faith.

III. The subject matter of the address has already been given in its formal outline. In helping to decide between the ecclesiastical and the evangelical roads, the direction which would be most conclusive in satisfying the halting inquirers would be to define what the Christian life is in its essence and reality. To give a proper statement of that would cut the knot of doubt and hesitation because that was the ever flowing spring. If you tell me what it is to be a Christian you decide all the rest; you thereby show me what Christ is and what is the communion of saints; you settle the whole category of essential doctrines; you point out the history of the future as between simplicity and duplicity, as between spirituality and formality, as between the predominance of internalism or of externalism, as between faith and credulity, as between democracy and autocracy. Capable man that he was he went for the answer to that deep

and far reaching inquiry. He made no equivocal or uncertain reply, nor did he dally with wayside flowers of abstraction. He was incapable of double-mindedness; sincere as that may be at times, it never is efficient or sufficient in any commanding situation. We have the same inquiry propounded in the current recanvassing of Christianity and now answered mainly according to one's philosophical or theological school and not according to the statements of Christ and his disciples. Schwenckfeld answered it from the Scriptures and the conscious experience he had of the results of that spiritual storehouse upon his own heart and conduct, but put in language suited to the occasion and the circumstances in which the sisters found themselves. He believed in such a possible relationship with the Father that the operation of the Spirit could be directly and fruitfully felt in the whole nature; and no Aristotelian negation could shake the evidence he had in himself, and no Neoplatonic explanations of it could confuse the simplicity of that common sense faith. Schwenckfeld in his explanation of the substance of the Christian life showed 1) what it could not be. Its essence was not something merely external; religion could not consist in mere ceremonialism, in processions, in formal worship, in liturgical and ritual observances, in continuous recitation, in frequent communion, in all that concerned the machinery of worship, private or public. Now when he began with that assertion he aimed a square and annihilating blow at the ruling idea of the majority with whom the life toward God was compounded of nothing else. It was not less overthrowing to the dominant theory of the liturgists who were perpetually increasing feasts and fasts and masses and calendars. Much of the monastic life had degenerated into a perpetual round of ceremony; day and night were so much occupied with prescribed ritual and outward observance and so regulated by bells and signals that there was no room and energy for the deep things of the Spirit. Schwenckfeld thus met one of the chief hindrances and gave the wholesome corrective to the sick conscience enslaved by the shackles of continuous form which sought expression by uninterrupted impression.

2) Nor did a true life consist in superficial imitation, in that sort of unreality which effects the religious custom and is, after all, only a sham. How easily one falls into hypocrisy when one is not really manifesting the truth from within, or is in no condition to receive an inward impulse toward the right. Where one daily reiterates those mimic acts, and the heart is absent, one is at once in danger of seeming to be what he is not. A more serpentine, a more slimy deceit cannot be found, where all spontaneity is crushed out and one must move in the chains of prescript usage; the soul has no freedom because it cannot create its own form. The subtlety and insidiousness of an assumed piety is the more dangerous because in-

sinuating foe we have to be watchful against. Schwenckfeld is not attacking the old church or the new as such, but the sham wherever it is found. He therefore cautioned them to look deeper than they may have done before into the intricate evils of a superficial imitation where the heart is not really prompted to follow Christ. Let them not be the ministrants to or the encouragers of shams and semblances. Let them not be attitudinizers and posturers. Let them not play at the deep things of God and the soul as if these were a drama or a comedy.

3) Nor does the Christian life consist in human laws whether those of tradition, custom or prescription. Schwenckfeld thinks of what the Lord says to the Pharisees: Why do you transgress the commandment of God by your tradition? Thus ye have made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition. No man is competent in himself nor empowered by Christ to frame statutes which can constitute sources of life and be finally authoritative for the conscience. No man nor body of men has the prerogative either to frame such a system of spiritual government nor are any such inventions in the slightest degree obligatory when autocratically imposed or when, however enacted, they contravene the freedom which Christ has given every individual and the Holy Spirit has manifestly intended. Nor can any theory of representation or of development justify the abuse of the democratic ideas which are the very foundations of the Gospel and have their demonstration in apostolic usage. We have already sufficiently adverted to the curse of legality as putting the essence of life in an unthinking observance. Schwenckfeld then had in view the entire scheme of autocracy in government, in doctrine, in worship and in life as fundamentally subversive of the exclusive sovereignty of Christ over the conscience. Surely, the essence of the Christian life could not be found in any such sacerdotal scheme, whether in Judaism or in the hierarchic and Erastian Churches of Christendom. If therefore the substance of the faith cannot be discovered in such formalities, their prominence ceases; they are not necessary to its existence or perpetuation; and no preconceptions of this kind should claim everlasting fixity and demand uniformity or sameness or be a standard of judgment in weighing the religion of those who decline to be ruled by them. It is the insistence on the bindingness of such traditions and ceremonies that generates tyranny and leads the foolish slaves of the human regimen to imagine that when they have obeyed these unspiritual substitutions for the genuine principles of the faith, they have fulfilled the real law and prophets. All religions, unless they adhere to the freedom of the Spirit, make their Talmuds and then venerate these above the actual text.

4) An equal nonessential is one's own works. In these brief words Schwenckfeld shows his attitude toward all autosoteriological schemes

whether of the old Church or of some of the antitrinitarian reformers or of any modern expedient based on philosophy or on that sort of science which insists on limiting the range of the knowable to the last thing discovered in its day. Already the little ants are busy solving the universe by radium. Our will, however free, cannot invent the way or the possibility of salvation. So long as that is true, the initiative must belong to God, and the only thing the soul can do is to accept what divine mercy has graciously bestowed; one ought to believe and act upon that belief. Hence the essence of Christianity cannot be in our works as such. We are distinctly unable to earn salvation or it would cease to be of grace. No amount of penitential deeds or vigorous reformatory acts can be an initial essence of religion. They are in any event fruits. The new life by which such fruits can be produced must first be established and that is a matter directly between God and the soul; it is exclusively an inner process, and the works must then be motivated in the new relation. Good fruit is the necessary product of a good root and stock, and is the required proof of the tree's goodness; if the tree do not yield good fruit it must yield evil, there is no indifferent result. The whole life is ethical. This is all so, but the main point with Schwenckfeld at this stage is only this: can you effect your salvation? Can you substitute your deeds for Christ's and make his life and death of none effect? Can you separate yourself from him, even in the production of good works? Is he only an example and not your real Saviour and the world's real Saviour from sin? Hence again we see that the atonement of Christ and our relation to that by faith is of the essence of religion as the writer goes on to show. To the sisters it was saying: your repetition of services, your mechanical fulfilment of vows, your wearing of veils and crowns, your penances and genuflections and multiplied ceremonials are not the fountains and centres of true religion. Your works are only good, if they proceed from the good heart, and no heart can be fundamentally good unless it be made right with God through a vital faith in Christ and by a vital union with him. The true ground of confidence cannot be in the things we do because they are imperfect, they are of the self which at its best has so much of evil in it that its finest endeavor cannot furnish a ground of certainty. Nor is it possible for one to buy what is a free gift: the basic life you did not form, nor are you able to fashion a new life and yet that new life is the very thing which must first be constituted.

5) A necessary sequence is that the essence of religion stands in no vital, moral relation with place, time, vestment, persons, meats and similar purely external things. Much of worship is the glorification of vanity at bottom; we practice the same deceit, whether we put ourselves into a system of regulated externals, or whether we follow our own will with regard to

these things. It is all the same, whether we are proud of our habit as a sister or a brother, or whether we go to the house of God to display our new clothes; whether we put great store by a priores, or whether we are spooney on a new curate; whether we count up as a merit the number of services we go to in the convent, or tell a friend proudly how often we have been to the popular revival tent. These are all alike the displays of self-admiration; we all alike are guilty of such nominal follies; and it is very pitiful that so few of us get beyond our shallow self-conceits and our peacock pride in feathers. And what a shrill, cracked squawk it would be, did we all truly confess our satisfaction in externals and our complacent sense of sufficiency by the doing of them. Schwenckfeld is talking to all men and women in the world when he tells us that vital religion has nothing to do in its essence with the pomps and vanities of life in church or out of it. The legitimate effect of faith will be, if not to cut up these vanities by the roots, at least to lead us to a continuous repression of them. The uniform does not make the soldier or the nurse. Wherein lies the difference between a wood violet and a garden violet? If anything, the wood violet is even more exquisite in its coloring. Nor do fine feathers make fine birds: a blackbird is sweeter than an ostrich. Nor is the Jerusalem of the Spirit any other than a universal city. Clocks and bells and seasons and feast days and fast days do not constitute the calendar for the soul; nor is holiness bound up with the daintiest clergyman or the most beruffled or befurbelowed pope; nor does piety depend on the fulness or the emptiness of the stomach. It has no inherent connection with roast beef or eggs or bread or even salt. Thus far Schwenckfeld has shown his thorough rejection of any *ex opere operato* theory of the Christian life, and his conclusion is far reaching; it shows the futility of any *opus operatum* solvent but that of Christ; it declares that the sacerdotal and legalistic interpretation is irreconcilable with the apostolic ideas of the mission of Jesus or with a faithful conception of the divinity of Christ's person and work.

6) Let us now turn from these negative considerations to Schwenckfeld's positive definition of the essential points of the Christian life. a) Its individuality is in the foreground. Christ deals with each soul in its own consciousness, thought, sensibility, volition and sense of accountability. He is concerned with the restoration of a normal relationship between every man by himself and God as the way to any vital community with the rest of men. This tenet is of the very heart of Protestantism. Society does not come first; the Church does not come first; in the order of nature you must first have the one before you can have the two and then the three. Of the two you can already constitute the Church. If the unity begins with the one then the unity in any form of combination cannot

extinguish the one but by injustice. There were plenty of tendencies outside of Rome in Schwenckfeld's day that prepared to do a work of regeneration by the mass, before the individuals or any number of them had put their separate hearths in order in the sight of God. A mass is a silly sheep or it is a hot-headed bull, if its members be not permeated with moral restraints. It is all the difference between a Cromwellian or American Revolution and a French or Russian Revolution. Schwenckfeld cautioned the sisters against any mere trust in a majority's sense of freedom or a majority's new regulations or a new style or color of dress which the whole sisterhood should wear with this or that new button or stripe of differentiation; every true reformation in religion must begin with the solitary soul in its isolation from others indeed, but in its very active association with God. The large issues of individuality must be seen and met and realized before you are meet for united effort. A majority should be made up of morally educated units before it is fit in reality to decide on ethical issues; and when a confraternity of Church or State is formed, the individual must continue to be respected and his variations and freedom and personal prerogatives be evermore recognized or else the solitary man and even the minority could never obtain justice. Schwenckfeld indirectly also protests against the effort to compel the sisters to be alike, to become as uniform and identical as possible; similarity of garments or of clothes or of officials or of the one house and the one church or of prescript days of fasting or of vows does not make the unity of the Spirit. To reduce a corporation to a machine only lays the foundation for either slavery or rebellion. That army is best in the field which has individual initiative and can rely upon the invention and alertness of the single soldier. That Church will be the most efficient where each member's qualifications are not only respected but evoked and put into active service. b) The next point in Schwenckfeld's definition concerns the individual's relation with God. α) Faith is the true bond by which personalities can be harmonized. Most of all is this the principle necessary to intercourse with the eternal and the infinite God. You must know and feel and trust God. That is the foundation of the Christian life. β) How is this act of interpolated personality to be acquired? Through an experiential knowledge of Jesus Christ; God drives the soul away from the self-sufficient theory and from the abstract conception of independence, also from the mere logical and necessary thought of dependence to the substantial verification thereof. We are practically all the time dependent upon God. Let us be conscious of the fact and get into that state of appreciation and thankfulness which such a union exacts. If there is any blurring by obliviousness or loss of consciousness on that point, something is wrong in us. The sense of dependence must not be asleep or surveyed as an abstract proposition, but as an active and con-

creted thing demanding a harmonious, concordant exercise of credence and conduct therein; else there is some alienating stuff in us. There is the practical unbelief which is sin; there is a disregard of the primordial law of moral being and moral well-being. To restore this fealty to our souls is the mission of Christ; to atone for the awful breach is his work. The perfect sacrifice must precede the awakening and repentance of love. We must really be conscious of Christ as a Mediator for each of us; his offices such as the prophetship, priesthood and kingship are not so many names or the poetic descriptions and classifications of facts, but they express accomplished deeds. One must participate in these acts consciously; the feeling of the vicariousness of Christ in his person and work must not be lost through analysis, which is indeed all right and necessary because it is a way of enriching our conception of the Lord's fulness, and yet it is no more than a mental process, if one does not frame his action thereby. It is the experience which one has of Christ as a personal Saviour by a personal act of brotherhood that one must come to and conduct his life by. Let us bear in mind that the experiential knowledge of Christ is the high road to the heart of the Middle Way. The thought of it of course, springs from the New Testament and as an expression it is by no means peculiar to Schwenckfeld; there be few evangelical writers from whom the Scriptural phrase is absent. But he, as no other, insisted on it perpetually as an atmosphere in whose fresh stimulus we must live and move and have our being.

γ) The agent who begins and carries forward this intimate knowledge is the Holy Ghost; again it is a personality at work with our inner being to give us insight to move our affections and to persuade us to the active steps of the new creaturehood. And we may note here that this is the usual form in which Schwenckfeld presents to us the economic relationship of the Trinity. The Holy Spirit stimulates the very beginnings within our hearts, the heart standing for the self as a whole. δ) He too has a certain instrumentality that is itself vital, the hearing of the divine Word. Everything here depends on what Schwenckfeld means by the divine Word: is it purely the Scriptures or is it Christ in the Scriptures? Of course it is susceptible of being interpreted as the Scriptures pure and simple; but since Schwenckfeld claims in general that he never had any other view than that the Inner Word must grant the capacity to hear, and that, when we are conscious of the internal voice, it is because of this precedent divine gift, we should accept his explanation. Because the Scriptures are a revelation by this revealing Word, he does not always, especially at the outset of his career, distinguish between the living Word and his collected revelations as embodied in the Bible. It must be remembered too that for Schwenckfeld the sacred records were christological; the whole of them either foreshadowed or manifested the actual Word of God. So also our

Lord's declaration, that his words are spirit and life, clad these Scriptures and particularly his direct utterances with a divine force which at once spoke to the prepared soul. The letter only had no power, it was the living Word or Spirit in the letter. The Scriptures in order to a profitable hearing must have a prepared heart; that preparation is due to the inner and immediate work of the divine Word through the Spirit upon the heart; the heart then has the power of inner hearing which involves obedience in it; it listens to Christ and the Spirit and yields to them. Hence Schwenckfeld was very careful in this passage to give the primary meaning to the *ex auditu*. As we have already observed a chief point of differentiation from Luther lay in the verse of Gal. 3². The German version has uniformly maintained the exegesis: by the preaching of faith. As a consequence, a theory became current that there was no salvation outside of the sermon by the ministry. The most extravagant notion of the means of grace not only, but of the efficiency of the ministry grew therefrom. It almost equalled the creative claims of the priesthood. Schwenckfeld then had taken the position that the term here used stood for the hearing which faith gives to Christ, the Word. It is this very translation historically and apart from any exegetical consideration which seems to require this view. And it by no means destroys the word of the letter by which spirit and life are set forth nor the service of the Church nor the ministry. This we say here by way of parenthesis; there are other connected points which he discusses repeatedly later. ε) But it is not only the inner hearing of the Word, but the diligent pursuit and aspiration for the same which is enjoined. Wherever therefore the Word is manifested whether in the inner nature or through the Scriptures and through the world or through Providence, indeed wherever the divine voice sounds, the capacitated soul must endeavor to master the hidden or the obvious meaning; it must struggle to attain the larger conception of God's presence, to discover how manifold these accents of God are. Such noumena appear to be the invisible material for this assiduous inquiry. It is a growth in all the ways of Christ, in his varied revelations of himself in nature and grace, and we may say in glory. This positive development of Christ in us, for that is what takes place, Schwenckfeld brings out in some forms of its displacing efficiency. The roots of the tree of life crave ample soil and nourishment for growth. As these expand, the old walls and restraints are burst asunder and fall into ruin. These then are the beginnings of the essential life.

7) A further product now issues from the joint operation of the elements of faith and research. These offshoots constitute an ascetic group. It is however a scriptural asceticism and lies in the very nature of a reformed life and a new and divine attitude toward the evil in us and in our social

environment. The Christian has attained a supernatural standpoint from which to survey himself and his surroundings. He must let his new concepts and these deeply grounded regenerative forces have their full, energetic play and scope. He must push them through with unflagging perseverance for the culture of himself and his fellows. He must regulate his conduct and his fellowship and his relative duties by the high principle of faith and in accord with the revelation of the creative Word. This discipline is the genuine asceticism; it is an exercise, *ἀσκησις*, which it behooves every one to advance in, if he wants to escape from the shadows of selfishness. It is a culture and a pursuit. The scriptural conception as Schwenckfeld represents it is far from that mechanical movement and regimen which we are wont to attach to that term. Its restraints and its longings are first of all spiritual before they can be physical. And the exponents of such a training are not marked by any degrees of fastings and tortures and bodily inflictions; they are simply the checkings and regulations of self-indulgence and secular perversions. These are not bodily exercises, *σωματικὴ γυμνασία*, which have no value for eternal things; but the exercise toward godliness, *γυμναζέσθαι δὲ σεαυτὸν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν*, 1 Tim. 4⁷. The self-control, *ἐγκράτεια*, is that of the moderation of desire, not its abolition. Tauler says: We are to kill our passions, not our flesh and blood. These are not the struggles toward Christian perfection according to the Roman definitions, for the only perfection we can approximate to is the consciousness of the absolute sufficiency of Christ's merits as available for every deficiency in us. The contrasts between Schwenckfeld's view of asceticism and the formal meaning maintained by the old Church will appear in the different grades by which he suggests its discharge. a) He exhorts us to despise the world. This term does not describe the world as matter and matter as evil. That Manichaean reasoning still lingers, if not as a practice, at least as a tenet in many earnest minds. Matter is good even if it be a limitation; whatever the form given to its pliability, it is not inherently evil nor has it an inward tendency to wickedness. Finitude is not sin in itself nor has it an inclination to sin. Evil is of the desire and the will as perverting the uses and functions of matter. It is this artificial and perverted world with its various effects on life and culture to which the contempt is primarily to be directed. Among these effects are the following: the circumscription of our thoughts and horizons and aims to the secular age. The race is absorbed in a cultivation which terminates upon time and self and sense of a higher or lower cast. Philosophy may be just as guilty of destroying the supreme good of life by the shrinking of ideals as the thief who spoils his entire career by petty larceny. There is no proper understanding of the morality of the universe outside of the God who constituted it. To destroy the spiritual nexus with the

Author of all being is a sort of fatuous insanity. Therefore the world as a whole, even in its best mould as a divine good cannot be an end in itself. So again one should assume the right attitude toward the senses which we have to bring to the highest possible efficiency in our relations to a visible world. They are in themselves excellent organs of communication with the nature that lies about us; and yet our five methods of contact do not afford us the highest outlook nor yield us the supreme enjoyment of which we are capable. If we make sensuousness an end, then we easily degenerate into sensuality and by slow descent into mere animality. The community of sin is baleful; the atmosphere of such society is noxious and poisonous. The world that evil men make is the one to be condemned, and a person in relationship with Christ must despise it for himself while he is trying to save its victims. But this does not mean that we are to flee the world by forsaking the companionship of kindred and fellows. You can carry the world into a hermitage or into a cloister. The battles with evil must always be fought within us. Christ did not hide himself from the actual world of evil when he came to save it; to follow him is to help redeem men from the spirit of false ends. We are sent to seek and save the lost. No reserve from contact or impact can make us any better; but we ought first to overcome the evil that is in us as the best preparation for overcoming the evil that is in the world, always remembering that Christ has overcome that dark potency and has dragged it into the light. The contempt is not measured by the quantity of our invective or satire or scorn. Mephisto can do that better than we. Let our hearts rather be filled with an immeasurable pity and relief. It is then this purely animal world that we are to despise as leading a nature that is designed to pursue the highest good into moral grossness and into an ever widening estrangement from God and goodness. b) The repression of our desires is the second step of asceticism. The Scriptures put the root of sin in the waywardness of our appetent nature in all its grades from the lowest to the highest. Whether these are inheritances or indulgences of our own, whether their gratification spring out of an overmastering longing in ourselves or the suggestion of evil indulgence come from without, all alike they must be put under the law of a continuous suppression. Whether this effort at extinguishment hurt us or hurt others the passions certainly require the check, because their growing and wasting indulgence deprives God of his due reverence and property in us. Therefore the ascetic way is the only one toward a restoration of the right in us; it is the continuous battle with these proclivities that makes the man pure, strong and master of himself. These subversive desires can be just as rampant within the walls of seclusion as without in the world's fullest glare. There is no refuge from their assault by retirement from the world:

that may divert the objects, but not the inward contention and groaning for indulgence to satiety. The only substitute is to give the inclinations of every kind a right direction and to subject them to moderation and an even tone in their gratification; especially to cultivate those of a higher range to the gradual displacement of the ferocity of the carnal appetites. c) The mortification of the flesh is the third ascetic step. The flesh comprehends the entire corrupt nature, whether the offensive issues thereof be involuntary or voluntary and deliberate. What is called concupiscence is not lightly treated by Schwenckfeld; he will not subtract from its burden of guilt simply because wilful disobedience is more aggravating, or because such tendencies are congenital. There are no good sides to this body of sin as there are to the world and to the desires. It is just this fallen nature which is the root of the evils in the world and which promotes the excesses of desire. Mortification is the process of putting to death, a term borrowed from Col. 3⁵. The extinction can only be gradual and demands a lifelong watchfulness. The new nature in Christ has a difficult struggle with this old man or this old Adam. It must be noted that it is the self which is thus alienated from the life of God; the evil lies in the very kernel of our inner being and the only redemption is through the appropriation of Christ's work, the substitution of the gifts of grace for the radical ill. It is a fierce inward contention in which how many of us fail when we allow the same temper and dispositions and tendencies not only to survive but grow. The young leaves are often unable to detach the old ones from their clinging hold. It stands to reason that in Schwenckfeld's mind this act of crucifixion does not consist in physical processes. Extravagant fasting does not accomplish it, for that substitutes a worse occasion of sin in a ruined digestion; filthy bodily habits only augment the uncleanness of the soul; wearisome processions and pilgrimages are not helpful as such, for fatigue is not the mother of holiness; flagellation does not deliver us from the consequences of our sin or lighten the load on the conscience. Such external methods are far from Schwenckfeld's suggestion. Mortification for him, indicates the Spirit's struggle to maintain its mastery and to establish its authority positively and confirmedly over the entire lower nature. The psychic and the bodily do run into one another it is true, but the debasement is of the soul chiefly and it has corrupted the bodily organs and has given them their abnormal greed. It is this combination in whatever form it exists that is to be vanquished and kept in its due subjection to the higher capacity and the true ideals of life which Christ has restored. d) Hence the chief endeavor must be to put a right principle, a holy motive and a consecrated activity in its place, capable of changing the whole man: this consummate virtue is found in fraternal love. It is without dissimulation Rom. 12⁹; unfeigned 2 Cor. 6⁶; out of a pure heart

1 Tim. 1⁵. It is well summed up in 1 Pet. 1²²: seeing ye have purified your souls in your obedience to the truth unto unfeigned love of the brethren, love one another from the heart fervently. Evidently these passages had animated Schwenckfeld as he suggested this ennobling and purifying and supplanting motive. This will give us the proper view of the world and help us to regenerate it. This will moderate our desires and bestow suitable objects for their gratification. This is at once the crucifixion of selfishness which is the root of the corrupt nature. There are two elements to be noted, the emotion which is to be real and not feigned; there is to be no hypocrisy in this most sacred and inclusive of the feelings. And that this is most difficult every one of us will acknowledge; such are our self-love and self-esteem that even in the household it is often hard to manifest a genuine affection; even there it does not well up as often as it should spontaneously; in the circle of the Church it is still more hesitant and restricted; and in the brotherhood of the race it is next to impossible; it is the achievement of the very few and yet ought to be so universal that the spectacle of war and the spectre of national honor should vanish before it. The ministrant quality of love impels us to helpful deeds as the product of our worthiest feeling; a momentary impulse or the shock of an awful calamity may incite us to a genuine act, but usually is not our service of others perfunctory or for show? Do we not delegate it to some society and so lose its supreme flavor? Genuine kindness and thoughtful help and anticipatory acts, for humanity as such, how rare, how comparatively unexampled and how far between. And yet this is the sovereign remedy by which we alone can rise and by which we can become robust and assured Christians. It is through the white blossoms of a budding tree that we see the deepest blue of the sky above. The qualities and forms of this love are manifold as Schwenckfeld groups them from St. Paul: it covers the area and clusters the fruit of all virtues; it is equal to any occasion; it is well-nigh ubiquitous; it fulfils all law; it is guilty of no inopportuneness; its slightest act tells; its power of endurance is measureless; it gives hope an unclouded brow and an outlook and cheering visions of success; its perseverance rises above every calamity and burden; its searching and progressive vigor is unwearied and it is not concerned about any advantage to itself; the profit of its object is its sole desire and motive and intention. This is the superlative substitute for the forms of self-indulgence as to the world, the desires and the flesh; it is also the effective instrument for the subjugation of their excesses and the extirpation of the vices they have engendered; and it is the climax of the ascetic process, for it obliterates the thought of self-interest.

Of this description is the genuine exercise of the Christian life; everything outside of this discipline and of this ideal is a false standard and a

misleading presentation of what such a life should consist in. The compulsory and automatic forms of immolation are simply parts of the sham and the hypocrisy which we are definitely to avoid; the shackling of voluntary and ever playing emotions into irreversible rules and regulations is the old legend of the pinioned Andromeda and the chained Prometheus. Beauty and Love cannot be manacled forever. The way to create the dry soul which Heraclitus affirms to be the weakest in the analysis of being is to bind one up to so many steps and to so many turns and to so many genuflections and to so much bread and cheese. One can gather the meaning of this contempt of the world from Schwenckfeld's own action. He did not flee it; he did not hide himself in any retreat; he did not separate himself from men; very much the contrary, he went to the reformation leaders; he exchanged thoughts with hundreds of men and women; he resided in the great cities and lived in the houses of celebrities who helped frame the civilization of his time; he frequented the homes of poverty; he necessarily came in daily contact with the evil that is in the world. It is the association with that evil for the love and pursuit of it that he would have us overcome. The resistance of it to its face is what he invites us to; he went into society with vigorous attacks upon public and private sin; he challenged the corrupt practices of the men and women of that world; the prowling animals and the night birds of his time fled his approach. He carried his torch into the darkness that there might be light for condemnation or for salvation. The same is true of the repression of the desires and the mortification of the flesh. You find no resort to external schemes for promoting the health of the soul. The inward sources of being were the agencies to be reached and regulated; they alone could determine the quality of the outward acts; if the sap is sound the lower branches will begin to put forth buds and then the higher will follow, until the bloom and the foliage wave in mass. Hence you find Schwenckfeld putting himself under no public bonds to eat and drink so much or so little; he made no pilgrimages; he wore no sackcloth; he never crawled upon his knees as a sign of humility and repentance; his thoughts of sanctity and sainthood were far different; he did not make visible and outward what should be exclusively unseen and within. So that in his presentation of Christian discipline there is an entire departure from the system of asceticism which his old church enjoined. To attain the consummate virtue of love with its ever productive deeds was the ambition of his earthly course. He tried to love all men and he learned to manifest that esteem toward those who scorned and insulted him and with unseemly derisions plaited his crown of thorns.

IV. Having laid down the substance and essence of the Christian life, Schwenckfeld proceeds to the application of his definition. It should be

observed that his conception of essence is not something which exists for a moment and then passes into something else related or unrelated; nor is it limited to the foundation or the root. To him the essence is that which is constant and all-pervasive; it is the thing without which Christianity cannot continue to be, with whose loss the whole falls into decay and perishes; it is the Spirit in the wheels; it is the sap in the tree; it is the blood of the body; it is the life of the world. In his application he considers the condition of things as they are before him. The sisters are in the cloister. Can such an evangelical interpretation of the essence and the resulting discipline be maintained in the little community? Is his definition inherently and necessarily exclusive of such a joint sisterhood? No, it is just as possible to realize and maintain such a view of the Christian life inside the convent as outside of it; and with this Schwenckfeld gives us his criticism of the coenobitic forms of organization. It is true that the primary idea of the monastic system had been lost and that in general the whole present constitution of the orders had become a perversion of fundamental Christian ideas. 1) The consequence was the multiplication of all manner of abuses. Among these abuses are a) the massing of human enactments to the quenching of all voluntariness. b) The compulsory system of vows which destroys the freedom of the Spirit. c) The accumulation of formal services of all kinds which also fetter the free movement of devotion. To Schwenckfeld's mind whatever is not of the Gospel and whatsoever is hostile to the Gospel idea under the dispensation of the Spirit is not binding. The limitation is wrong in itself, and one sins against God and the soul by keeping such undermining restrictions any longer. 2) Hence he infers that in order to lead a true Christian life within a convent and therefore to test the value of the organizations there must take place a) the building up of a good conscience in the heart through the experiential knowledge of the divine Word. The moral sense consequently should be educated; it must attain a competent spiritual intelligence by which it can reach correct sentiments and judgments for itself and stand ethically independent and be able to decide and act freely and be far removed from accepting any tyrannical restraints or from putting itself under any absolutistic authority. This education into the essence of the Christian religion is acquired through the divine Word which of course may reveal itself within or without in the Scriptures but always spiritually. Remember that this wisdom is practical; it is a veritable experience of the principles exemplified by Christ and set forth in the Bible. The study and execution and application of these fundamental articles are to be a continuous pursuit. b) The second point is to regulate the conventual life by these free tenets of the Gospel. The whole system therefore must be reformed; these false ideas of superiority in moral conduct by the votive

system must be done away with as wrong in themselves, as contravening the Spirit and as reflecting on the common demeanor of humanity, as though it were distinctly incapable of reaching the invented and fictitious so called higher levels of religion and morality. The Reformation must be according to the Gospel principles under the government of the Spirit. Observe that Schwenckfeld leaves the whole application of this to their own wisdom as gained from the new apprehension of Christ. The freedom of exodus should be allowed, with the precaution that in each case the motive ought to be well tested and guarded by the individual sister purposing the step. Because after all, if the motive be not right, the evil which already exists may be aggravated. For him the chief moral quality of an action lay in its motive or the spirit and animus of a given intention or election. What was leading some of these sisters to the choice of the open life? It should be observed however that his estimate did not exclude the quality of the purpose itself and of the deed also. You cannot weigh all the ethicality of a transaction except from its whole compass; the reason for a certain course of behavior is not everything that is involved in judging its value; the consequences must be reckoned in, whether they are the designed ones or the unexpected. And before the motive lies the education or ignorance of the moral subject. But it was at least safe for these sisters to probe their own reasons and to justify or condemn themselves in the light of the Gospel. No one else could do it for them authoritatively and responsibly. Hence it is well to note that Schwenckfeld makes them the arbiters of their own hearts, especially of the secrets of those hearts of which they alone could be cognizant. It is a direct appeal to private judgment on a specific line of conduct. Their own conscience should be the whole court. To state this was indeed the death-blow of casuistry and of the penitential system and of the confessional; it was subversive of the ancient discipline and of the very rule of the prioress. It was a strong position to take and she very likely was already of that mind herself.

V. It is to be acknowledged that the Reformation naturally brought in its train many evils because men will interpret freedom as the equivalent and warrant of license; they will regard individuality as authorizing unblushing selfishness and rapacity. Schwenckfeld was bent upon modifying the occasions for the increase of these social disorders and excesses. The ghouls are ready to raven in every change. Every improvement in human conditions lets loose the unrestrainable elements and leads them to invent counteracting schemes of disorder and disorganization. The spirit of the world has just that malicious cunning and he will use the very vehicles and vestments of the good in order to vitiate the principles themselves and neutralize their uplifting energy. Every community has these angels of light who assume righteousness in order to betray it; Archimago can hood-

wink both the lady Una and the Red Cross Knight. Schwenckfeld believed in a primordial personal spirit of evil. Evil cannot exist apart from personality. Sin and misery had to have a beginning and they must have begun in a person; transgression is not eternal or it would be God. A dependent personality is the father of the terrible lie. Since the Scriptures assert that the origin thereof preceded the creation of man, some other intelligent will began the fatal course. He is identified with the spirit that animates the sin of the world. Schwenckfeld describes Satan with his malignant guile and his hypocritical power and his immense activity and method in devices for deception. He regards him as a sort of Mephistophiles on the stage who can simulate the spiritual and clothe the sensuous with a refined appearance. One must almost be amused at the clever tricks and metamorphoses of the rogue. Not only Faust but Margarete is ready to succumb while Marthe is precipitately his willing slave, so cleverly does the unmitigated scamp appeal to the wondering nature athirst for the untasted cup.

VI. Of course Schwenckfeld with his view of individual responsibility would not influence any one to go or to stay, that must be a matter for each one to decide for herself. Let us again mark this respect for individuality and for its divinely given power to determine upon its own course. There is a necessity for it to exercise its own will in accordance with conscience. Since it alone can give account to God, it must act for itself with steadiness of view and assurance. The responsibility is first and last with and upon it. It cannot escape its own judgment and the judgment of God. Yet Schwenckfeld puts before them a certain plan which is eminently characteristic of the Middle Way. Let the Sisterhood confederate freely under the sole discipline of the Gospel. Work out the problem from that basis and let each institution thus be led to an untrammelled result, being carefully uninfluenced by anything but the living Word in the Gospel.

VII. The character of the prioress and his charge to her gives us a view of what Schwenckfeld esteems as elements of fitness for the government and administration of religious communities. 1) Piety based on Christian principles is the first requisite; it is an honest sense and feeling of duty to God as developed by the Word. 2) A good conscience. The frequent scriptural phrase¹ is much used by Schwenckfeld, in whose religious and ethical ideas, as we have seen, the moral sense forms a most weighty constituent, essential to any idea of individuality; the descriptive "good" has reference to its power of self-approbation, if it be progressively trained in what God

¹ Acts 23¹; 1 Tim. 1⁵, 19; Heb. 13¹⁸; 1 Pet. 3¹⁶, 21.

approves. The witness of the Spirit is the chief thing, and the communion with the living Word and study of the Gospel bestow that. 3) A lover of the divine Word and the Gospel. We must notice the distinction between the two, the one is the living Christ and the other is the message of the Spirit about Christ as contained in the New Testament. The prioress was consistently devoted to him who originates and maintains the spiritual life. Schwenckfeld's thought of the deprivation of the other monasteries in their lack of the living Word has in it a tone of sad aspiration; he desired it for them all. The use of the term "living Word" in this connection is striking; it is not simply the Word that sustains life like the living bread or the living water, but it refers to him who is able to impart the new elements of being because he himself has life. Schwenckfeld is evidently thinking of the Christ whose words are spirit and life. 4) In his personal appeal to the prioress as head of the institution he uses that fine passage of 1 Pet. 5²³ to depict her conduct as an administratrix. The rule should be according to love. It should not be of constraint but spontaneous. He borrows *selbwillig* from Luther. Her whole nature should be so well disposed that it would require no urgency and no external regulations to validate and solidify her own authority; it would be her character to do everything from her very soul as animated with love and self-sacrifice; thought, heart and will would all be self-impelled to acts of kindness and a government of mercy. He also uses the expression from Luther's version descriptive of feelings disposed to do these things with a prone heart; there is the flavor of generous and unbidden and uncompelled movement in it. She would not need a prodding system of rules nor would her action be constrained. She would be instant to discharge all duties as a pleasure and a delight. The conceit of acting the mistress and of magnifying her little authority and of self-gratulation in making her hand felt; the display of an overbearing, imperious temper and the swelling, exaggerated sense of her own importance; the small but pompous spirit of an official; — these blemishes would be far from her. We all are familiar with the effect upon oneself of having a place in which one is master; in some of us it breeds a disposition that destroys the very notion of effective, polite and helpful service which is surely the true purpose and animus of authority. How difficult it is to remember and to act upon the fact of place and station as emphasizing humble obligation. Schwenckfeld was familiar with the little pomposities and snarlings of officialdom; he had seen it fussing at court and in the chancery; it had often doubled itself and cringed before him with its servile spirit. "I am a wise fellow; and which is more, an officer." She was also to be a type of all the virtues and of gentleness. They who spontaneously and not self-consciously go about fulfilling the duties of station or office, not with posing but with quiet devotion make

the fitting impression. It is not well to be too conscious of being examples, but sometimes when we are inclined to ignore the effects of our own evils and to take delight only in our self-indulgences and ambitions, it is advisable to recall the subtle effects upon others of all conduct. 5) Fidelity in enforcing the thought of the supremacy of the divine commandments over all human enactments. That is the spot where exactness of obedience should come in, but again with the same voluntariness and delight. Here is the area in which to remind ourselves of the obligation of love and mercy and gentleness in deportment and in relative duties. Here too system must reign; the home of love is not a place for remissness and laxness and moods, one day this and the other day that, and for chameleon wilfulness and caprice. Order and growth are the essentials of true love or else all connection between the impulse of ministration and the deeds is lost. We must emphasize again the fact that the thought of culture in the religious life is prominent with Schwenckfeld: it is not possible to foster character without study, system and sequence. We must break ourselves in willingly and train ourselves to a symmetrical building up of our personality toward God and men.

VIII. He gives the saying of Cyprian a far larger and better application than did that priggish bishop. Truth is the chief pursuit of man, not the mere theoretical and intellectual propositions, but the being it. All truth must be reduced to practice; even the laws and concretes in the physical world have a moral purpose in them: they are equipped with benefits that should be reaped, applied and enjoyed. Every new discovery gives a larger moral area and a sharper impulse to doing good. Custom must yield no matter how gray in years; inheritance, traditions, usages, pigheadedly as men maintain them, stand in the way of progress. Happy the men and women that break through the barred doors when they are in possession of a living truth that is blocked by the old habit. Schwenckfeld then stood for progress both in the acquisition of new truth and in its application. The past must not retard the future and mar the unfolding of the secrets hidden in itself. The winter must not frustrate the spring nor spring deprive the summer of its grain. This ought to be a primary seed-corn to be planted in every village, the usual home of exhausted forms. Even China and Thibet are now beginning to spell its meaning. This maxim was a fructifying theory for the Reformation. You may call that epoch a revolution, if you will, from the stand-point of old customs; you may ascribe it to the ambitions or lusts or the restless temperament of this and that man, monk or king; you may attribute its overthrows to the greed of this and that prince; you may call it Antichrist because of your mistaken interpretation of Christ; but it had to come for the uplift of the race toward the realization of freedom; and even the great conserver of traditions had to feel the

warm, inspiring breath. This law of Cyprian will always verify itself; every venerable and shaggy custom that is not founded on pure truth will be forced to disappear, and such as have a justifying spark in them will have to put on more appropriate garments before every fresh, youthful and imperious reality. In the long run the man of tradition has to give way to the inserted, self-verifying leaven because, although the inheritance may have a modicum of verity in it, the form it has assumed is not large enough for the due evolution; the fruit of any righteous root is never sufficient, so little are we capable of reaching perfection; though the seed itself obtain new largeness, its expansion remains incomplete. No material vehicle can ever attain the fulness of the Spirit. But there is always a fresh dawn for every day; the rising sun may light up the old ruin in romantic colors, but he will also help to dismantle and disintegrate it. Experiences too spring out of every hedge, and these again enlarge our conceptions of the abstract truth itself and give it brighter hues and proportions. Change for the better in the long run is the irresistible law of human progress. The Catholic Church of to-day is by no means the same as the Reformation found it. Jesuitism has not been able to destroy the impress of a different law of development. The cult of neo-Aquinism does not restore the angelic doctor to his old significance. Its theory of development will not account for all the fruit the historic Church is made the mother of. It was like Schwenckfeld to seize this patristic statement and give it a Heraclitic interpretation; the river flows on and sweeps obstacles away and carries beneficence with it; there is no resting place for progress itself; reformation in morals and religion must be continuous and enlarging. Protestantism and scientific irreligion and self-sufficient naturalistic ethics need to observe the law as well as Romanism and the Greek Church and all the present surviving but dead historic communities who claim the right of mutual anathema in the struggle for the formal succession. Truth is concerned with making inward history first and that fashions the outward; where there is no unfolding from within, the outward is shrunken or stationary or stagnant. Schwenckfeld uses this maxim as an insistent law of the religious and ethical life and hence of all civilization. For in spite of the dictates of so many moderns who want to ascribe culture to this or that inferior parentage, as has been the vogue especially with that sort of science which immerses itself in matter, human progress still remains the product of the supreme personality, and therefore the whole development has to be moral.

IX. Schwenckfeld then groups some further relative duties about the persons addressed. 1) With respect to the older members, he advises the forbearing treatment of the younger sisters for acts of foolishness, of stupidity and of bashfulness as owing to the natural temperament and enterprize.

and impetuosity of youth. The elderly maiden ladies are not to forget the silly things of their own earlier days. One can see a broad smile upon some of the sisters' faces; the younger would be amused or a little cut may be, in self-complacency at so humorous a characterization of their period of life, so full of eagerness for the untried and so budding with hope, which however serious, must have in it the freshness of early dew. The older ones, if sharp and harsh, would antagonize the recall of early follies; others more mellow and genial would cast a wistful eye back into the experiences of that treasured past. It was a fitful moment of humor and revealed the generous nature that shone in his handsome young face; he expected no more of human nature than should be expected from its immemorial stages, mayhap seven with him too. His own earlier years were not full of the wisdom and restraint of age, if we may trust his momentary pictures of it. One learns then that he was not a censorious and bitter carper. The genial lines never faded from his heart nor from his countenance. He had even some jokes in store over the trying and irascible Luther. Did you ever know a real man of God without a smile in his soul and an appreciation of the comical? 2) He then turns to the young and enjoins upon them to honor their aging sisters according to the commandment of God, even though they too had been very fallible in their youth and had known a trick or two of coquetry it may be, or the sweet surprises of the garden or the lane or the dance. 3) He then speaks to an exceptional group. To those whom God had by grace granted a deeper understanding of the Gospel; they should be teachers of the less endowed, but all their instruction should be imparted in the Christian way of gentleness and persuasion and permeated with the desire of benefiting their less favored pupils. The harshness and severity and self-display, the evils of pedagogic mannerisms should be far from them. When Schwenckfeld spoke of the Christian way of teaching he had a vision of the ireful and heedless systems in vogue, especially in the primary stages of education in his day. Here as elsewhere it is the character of the instructor that is the most telling element, and better than all his method is his graciousness and what he is at heart; for the good man individualizes and discriminates; he desires to reach the pupil as he is endowed or as he is disqualified and to make something whole and sound out of each child. We might better say, the life of the teacher ought to be recognized as the most essential part of method. 4) His charge now becomes general. The bearing of one another's burdens and so fulfilling the law of Christ is his text. Self-esteem may stand in the way of obeying this duty. It must not be excessive or inflated or conceited; perforce the due estimate of ourselves must be humble lest we deceive ourselves. The overestimate will make us too proud to share in the sorrows and difficulties and trials of the meek and the lowly and the less favored. One must keep himself

in that spirit which is ready, even eager, to share in the heavier and palled experiences of others. The lesson of equalization and self-reduction must be learned. We must study not to affect or to feel superiority lest that unfit us to enter into the narrower spheres of those who come into life freighted. Nor should we regard it as intrusive and presumptive, if those less favorably circumstanced are alert to give us a lift. The saving thought is that what may be excelling in us is from God and what is lacking in others is very likely the issue of social tyrannies and the selfish life of ease and endowment on the part of generations now long gone to their account. 5) Love and unity are the combined virtues capable of maintaining a true fellowship. The exercise of the characteristics of love is the difficult but sole way to the support of a real unity. Under the mere semblance of oneness there may be endless strife and attrition kept in check *vi et armis*; but the actual coördination of all the personalities to produce a type of real community is the goal of such a sisterhood. Now Schwenckfeld very well knew and says so that there were few cloisters that could boast of such social virtues and results; and he was not youthful enough to imagine that such a blissful result was hanging on every tree; but at least the way to acquire even an approximate fruitage would be through the inworking and expansion of the Gospel leaven in each heart. Every constituent must learn to act on the principle resolutely and purposefully that, unless she contribute to the well-being, she can gain nothing of joy or peace for herself. You must put your quota into the store of happiness by being happy and making others so, if you want to get any happiness out of your relationship with others. Schwenckfeld trusted in the renewal of those several hearts by the Gospel and that would in some degree at least make the yoke of Christ appear in its essence as easy and his burden as light. The change if true would soften and sweeten life, it could not make it heavier or darker. The darkness and the heaviness are in the unyielding resistant nature. There were great things to be done for Christ and the Gospel, and he called upon them to charge their intercourse with affection and to promote the unity of the Spirit. His ambition for them was that, as they were the first to introduce the Gospel and so become an example of more liberal sentiments and freedom of thought and action, so they ought also be examples of true Christian discipleship to the other convents. They should love one another as Christ had loved them, that would be the highest attainable exemplification of the imitation of him. How glibly we utter these words and think nothing of their vivid and comprehensive import! Here is the very heart of religion and the goal of ethics, and how little we try to regulate our conduct by the mighty, yet simple canon! And how meagre and scrawny the illustration of it in our human intercourse! Can we ever recover simplicity and sincerity under the exacting hollowness of our social life? Our cultivated and undaunted

nobleman had a great battle before him in trying to get even six feet of earth wherein Christians would strive to keep the peace and not throttle one another. It was no easy task to get some quiet place whether to live or to die in. Almost the whole of Europe was turned into a battle-ground. Who have the right to speak of love and unity except those who struggle to cherish the spirit of these virtues and to pour oil upon the vexed waters? They are neither true citizens of the Kingdom nor witness-bearing disciples of the Lord who do not obey this one law to the utmost of their ability in God. Are they children of one family who disrupt every strand that constitutes this tie? That is the grave criticism of the spirit and result of much of the Reformation history. It is not only this or that man's character taken by itself which enters into a judgment upon the inter-relations of the reformers, overshadowingly important as that is. Nor is it chiefly whether a little more freedom of inquiry and of action were attained, but whether the men of that time, of whatever shade of confession they might be, really loved one another as Christ loved them, we will whisperingly ask, even in any approximate degree of actuality and coöperation? Yet this is the criticism of any age and of every confession that aspires to be Christian: did the leaders of that given period or the apostles of any improvement in human conditions in any epoch love one another? The divine judgment comes to our doors to-day with the same interrogative as it did to the people of the sixteenth century: do you love one another? Were papists and reformers of every school the slaves or the masters of their systems? Did they make idols of their colossal fabrics and ignore the simplest elements of the humanity which their divine teacher inculcated? We will do no more than put the question; we had rather not answer it even for the Reformation, because the historic conscience is best able to hang its own head and go out and be ashamed. But we may ask: why continue to cast stones at the founder of the Middle Way who plead with the men of his generation for love and unity as the proof as well as the goal of a life in Christ? When will believers take Christ at his word and cease perpetuating the sorry methods of Zwingli and Bucer and Eck and Leo X and Hadrian VI and Luther and Melancthon and Flacius and Münzer and Brenz and King Matthias? In the long list of those protagonists were there many who suffered martyrdom for at least trying to live by this great law? The inquiry is not, did you love my little exclusive company of Romanists, or my condensed but haughty club of ceremonialist Greeks, or my atomic galaxy of concordist Lutherans, or my minimum assembly of oligarchic Zwinglians, or my diminutive band of compromising Strassburgers, or my atomized coterie of insistent re-baptizers, and my dwarfed flock of strenuous Calvinists, and my wee-tiny group of the house of Lovists: O no!

We are safe in saying that Schwenckfeld had not many companion confessors in the actual effort to observe this commandment in spirit and in truth. There were many who wrote and preached about it, but with the reserve of exclusiveness, while they actually spread discord and hate. You will say again, it was impossible for an age like that of the Reformation to carry such a precept into any sort of practice. It is not a question of chronology but of morals. If St. John and St. Paul lived by it the reformers could much more readily have done so. If it could be done in the days of Trajan before the scholastics and mechanics had got to work, why not in the Reformation when those hard and fast theologians were well broken up? And if there were some men who struggled to carry it through in the face of their persecutions, why could not the rest have been just as faithful and eager? Let us affirm it: Christ meant his commandments to be kept and not to be broken; age nor dress nor century nor people should have made such an abysmal difference. It was the very object of such a commandment to make men cosmopolitan and to recognize the brotherhood of the race as a fact involving mutual obligation. If those who claim to be disciples of Christ do not yet love one another, how can they love the Mohammedan or the Buddhist or the Totemite in any but a *noli me tangere* sense: yet here is a crumb, my dear fellow. What we then desire to emphasize is that the proper way to judge Schwenckfeld is to take these broad principles of the Christian faith and find out whether he followed them with any degree of fidelity; and how he compares with his cotemporaries in the practical effort to apply and carry them out. Whether he agreed with Luther or not; whether there were any points of identity between Zwingli and himself; whether he can be huddled into the undefined company of the Anabaptists or whether he is to be put into a compartment or cage by himself as a unique and untamable enthusiast or visionary, these are minor and very subordinate matters. Did he behave like a Christian, or was he a man with a two-faced character as Ehrhardt would condemn him out of hand? Did he embrace and maintain the broad, liberal, comprehensive laws of love and unity? If you answer these scientifically, then you have the just conception of the man, and you have determined his proper place and you have also instituted a comparison between him and his critics, not to say adversaries, who must be subjected to the same analysis. If you decide him to be a worthy and obedient follower of these Christian precepts, then you have a wiser survey of his Christology which term best describes his entire theology. In inquiries of this character lies the exactest and clearest estimate of the Reformation and the reformers. And by them you are at once debarred from putting a special claim to any one movement as the sole one, or to any one person as the only leader. All those who endeavored to convert men to better living

were deserving of that name, and we may claim that Schwenckfeld is the peer of any of those who sought to preëempt that title in his day. The most searching judgment of the Reformation lies in the scientific response to this theme: how far did this stupendous movement of the sixteenth century take up the expansive, assimilating leaven of the Gospel and of Apostolicity, faith in Christ and the life of tonic freedom in him? In just what way did Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer, Hubmaier, Denck, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, Schwenckfeld make love luminous and dominant? How much and in what way did they assert and demonstrate the unity of the Spirit?

X. And now we come to an incidental statement concerning that point of theology which has reference to the relation of the eternal and the divine to the human will. Whether God from eternity, that is by virtue of his eternal decision, had caused the words of his address to sink into the hearts of his hearers through the Holy Spirit, was a question of which the speaker need not know the answer. This hints at his conception of the eternity of God's action in time with regard to human souls. He does not add any explanatory statement either as to the nature of that relation or as to the reasoned ground of such an impact as is made or withheld. He simply affirms the fact of such an interplay without enlarging upon it further. The agent however for carrying out that actual will in time is again the Holy Spirit; this is one of his chief functions to complete the eternal councils in the order of development. In all this brief allusion there is no discussion and probably intentionally, for some one may have raised this favorite because insoluble question. He wanted to avoid an extended explanation just because the subject made a considerable part of the people's theological thought and suffered at the hands of its debaters; we see this in his enlargement upon it in the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs* written several months later. It is enough then to say that he believed in an eternal action of God and that the Spirit accomplished it in the life of the individual or the community. The theme is so limited and general in its statement here that it is better to reserve any further exposition of the two stages of his views until they arise. It must also be remarked that Schwenckfeld here admits God's employment of the spoken word by the Holy Ghost in fastening its impression upon the soul. This is not at all out of harmony with his belief in the necessity of the previous divine preparation of the heart in order that it may be able to receive such a fruitful impact. From the fact that he did not care to pursue any inquiry into the specific results of his address, we are not to infer any lack of interest or sympathy; it is not that he would not rejoice in the fact of a noble harvest, but it seems as if he felt that a too eager and minute scrutiny might be attributed to vanity or might appear to show an anxiety about

the fruits as though he esteemed them to be on a par with the duty of declaring the divine council. That it was not unconcern about the success of the Gospel is evident from his resort to the prayer that God would not send forth his Word in vain; he pleads the divine promise of its efficacy in every case. It would seem that some encouraging reports had reached him and had possibly been used as an additional argument for his return.

XI. Moreover some other consequences of his address were probably intimated to him; the feelings of his auditors had been variously stirred and had led to deeper questionings and agitations. Some had been wounded in their sensibilities, whether out of sensitiveness or out of an accusatory conscience or possibly both, it is not for us to decide. For all of this aroused state he has the simple answer that the duty to which he had been called in his opinion was to comfort the conscience by speaking directly to it from the divine Word. And the purpose of such an appeal to the moral sense was to make them learn to know themselves; and further to really take to heart the fact that the world is proud, luxurious, self-sufficient; and finally to learn to bear trouble patiently in Christ our Saviour, if one can really speak of their experiences of life as trouble, seeing that our trials have the encouragement of God back of them; at any rate they should be endured without murmuring until his time of deliverance and solution may dawn. Two noteworthy themes are presented in this connection: What the function of preaching is and the subjects which are here dwelt upon by the preacher. 1) Primarily the sermon is an address to the conscience from the authoritative divine Word, its object being to comfort in the true sense by awakening reflection and comparison and judgment and repentance as the highroads to a genuine consolation. This is certainly a lofty conception of the homiletic art. And look again at his understanding of his own call; he is convinced that he had his vocation from God as we have already seen from the outset. He regards his coming at their invitation as the Christian manner of approach and the warrant for this interchange of elevated thought. He had ridden thither in that spirit and had spoken to them in the same temper and from a sense of the gravity and the searchingness of the ministry. This remains as his habitual view of the duty, nor did he swerve from its simplicity and straightforwardness on any occasion. 2) The intermediate points to reach in preaching are a) to stimulate self-knowledge which is the trying to see ourselves as God sees us. It is something averse to our ordinary lightheaded sinfulness, to bring ourselves to such self-examination and to the desire to candidly understand what we are; the glimpse of the interior is not exhilarating and the illusions are preferable to the actual "chambers of imagery". It is even more difficult to do this with a view to improvement by repeating the work of introspection. As each one ought to know his body so

each one ought to know his soul. It is a gross and unpardonable ignorance to remain unacquainted with oneself physically and spiritually. Not to be at home in one's own house is indeed a life out of doors. b) Again it is essential to know the world of men and women in their domestic and social and even political relations; what is the dominating thought and habit of that complex system as alienated from God and not pursuing God. That estranged, selfish fellowship is a world by itself and is the one adverted to here; it is a mass of carnal people intent on the indulgence of the flesh in more or less refined fashion; that can exist in the cloister as well as out of it. One must form and hold a certain judgment of it. He calls it *Üppigkeit*, in which there lie the thoughts of self as an end, of arrogant self-satisfaction, of the pursuit of luxuriousness, of the comfort of the body and of wanton laxity. This is the Johannine world that is at enmity with God and stands in an everlasting contradiction to the new world of Christ, which is to be bound together by mutual love in the love of God. The existence of such a frame-work of evil is patent enough, but its terribleness, its iniquitous essence is unrecognized; we are blinded with its insinuating ease; the illusory glamor veils its ghastliness; its opinions and its arts ensnare us; it deadens the spiritual susceptibilities; it invades and rules the Church with its social cleavages and its alluring frivolities; it sets the tone and the pace and the form: and who is not ambitious to shine in the company of these three graces? This is what moderns call degeneration and hysterical decadence. Schwenckfeld termed it *Üppigkeit*. c) The undrooping bearing of burdens whatever their nature, whether in connection with the cloister life or in individual trial. Christ must be viewed as their expositor and in him alone can one get a fitting estimate of their purpose and value as well as the capacity for enduring them. They are girded about with divine promises; they have their reason and their goal; they are an essential part of the regimen by which the ideals of the Christian life are attained; they have their limit which is set and regulated by God himself. We ought to be willing to persevere until the time that God thinks they have attained their purpose for character, until their mission of blessing in Christ is fulfilled. To many indeed the cloister life itself may have seemed burdensome and over-restrictive, even after a partial improvement had been effected. The government too may not always be wise or considerate; these grievances should be calmly submitted to until through quietness and toleration and bettered character the way for deliverance evolves itself naturally. A larger freedom is more likely to result from persistent patience than will ever be reached by restlessness and petulance and fault-finding and discontentment and grumbling. Those whose chief delight and occupation is to be critical, to pick at everything, to kick against every goad, to foster discontent in others soon

reveal themselves to their companions; these unquiet, insatiable spirits squeak and snarl in all roosts of human kind: their complaints and carpings and bickerings oppress everybody and destroy so much of the force that should be massed against real evils which are at least not wholly personal. These querulous kickers Schwenckfeld sought to disarm and to let a little light in upon their true inward crookedness. Are they really grievances over which you fret and fume and fuss? Are fretting and fuming and fussing the Christian ways of overcoming anything? Are you too a Smelfungus or a shrew?

XII. Schwenckfeld next turns to a larger presentation of the objects he had in view both in his address and now in this reminder of it: 1) To promote comfort in their hearts. The consolatory side of the Gospel is not its least characteristic. 2) To have them first of all build on the true foundation Jesus Christ, by a living faith: the faith which is real and saving. 3) To be conscious of being the temple of God and that the Spirit of God is dwelling within them. 4) To recognize the office of the Paraclete; he is to teach what is to be done and what is to be let alone. Thus Schwenckfeld would make them aware of their relation to the Trinity so that they keep the thoughts of those holy beings as the beginning, middle and end of the life in God. He reminds them also that the faith which they are to hold and by which they are to cling to immortal interests is a living and saving one; it is intelligent, sympathetic, trustful and appropriative. He urges them to realize their consecration as individuals and as a society. They have been devoted to God under no spell of self-instituted or appointed vows but as purified by the Holy Spirit and made meet for sacred uses. The thought of being a temple, a house of God surcharged with the atmosphere of sacrifice and service and blessing, each of them a priestess ministering with a thankoffering by the continuous surrender of themselves to God in a holy and reasonable service; this was their distinct and sacrosanct vocation. In such hearts the Spirit would fulfil his largest promises of comfort and truth. In such a consecrated temple the Lord and Saviour and the Spirit could make their dwelling. Did they need an interpreter of duty, a guide into truth, a light-bringer into perplexing problems of conduct, then, if there were any truth in Christ's pledges, they would find all these offices fulfilled by the holy Paraclete. He will shed light upon any given problem to the perplexed reason; he will indicate what is to be done and what is to be left undone; that which he did for our Lord during his earthly life will be faithfully done for the disciple. Now here is an emphatic scriptural position assumed by Schwenckfeld on the warrant of his Saviour's promise. The practical denial of this trust in the Holy Spirit is what may be laid at the door of many leaders in the Reformation who refused fellowship with Schwenckfeld because of his confidence in

this divine assurance concerning the Paraclete. Because he clung to the Comforter with intelligent conviction of the availability as well as necessity of such a guide in spiritual matters and because of his simple practice of appeal and submission to the infinite teacher, men continue to call him opprobriously enthusiast and mystic and visionary and fanatic. But who deserve to be reminded of the Prophet's rebuke and Stephen's speech and Christ's allusion to the greatest peril that can befall a human soul and the Pauline practical pneumatology? Surely not Schwenckfeld. They who have turned the Spirit's work into magical processes, who devote themselves studiously to the letter, who walk after the flesh and not after the Spirit, — may they not be open to some sadder charges? Is it better to be enthused with the letter or with the Spirit? Is it better to have a chamber of earthly imagery or to have visions of high duty and realizations of sacred promises? Is it more profitable to be filled with aspirations for the education of the race and the elevation of the world heavenward, or to increase its dead wood and its hopelessness and darkness by cutting the golden cord that binds us so intimately to God? Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, the Apostles were distinctly fanatics according to the rule propounded for Schwenckfeld's condemnation by the men of his generation. Let a man be full of the idea of God in his Word and he is beyond the bounds of sobriety according to these subtle literalists who were always literal at the wrong place. Isaiah's experience is an impossible one for those who deny it. Do you ask Darwin or Haeckel for a judgment on the things of God? Those who have not the Spirit will continue to denounce those who have. Saul was once ready to stone Stephen; he lived to repent it and to preach the Gospel he had denied. Let it then be recognized that Schwenckfeld put an implicit trust in what our Lord and his Apostles urged as the office-work of the Spirit. Must not the children then undo the wrongs of their ancestors?

XIII. Schwenckfeld now enforces these propositions in relation to the then present conditions of Society, State and Church. He characterizes the times as evil because of the powers let loose for ill in that period of change; because of the unrestrained tempers of men and the matters too that remained unsolved in the whole sweep of events and the volcanic uncertainty that trembled in the air, how shall the Kingdom make headway in you or in the world? Only a plain, straightforward Christian life could contribute to the mitigation of the agitations everywhere starting up in that distracted, unjointed epoch. Therefore he suggests that it will be necessary for them 1) to remember as an established fact that they are now the children of God in a true and confirmed sense, and as such they are to conduct themselves not according to the desires of the flesh but according to the Spirit. They must draw the line with some sharpness

between the two tendencies, the downward and the upward. The two manners of life are not identical nor parallel nor mixable. The very trends of the propensities must be so renovated that they crave and long for only what is high, noble and specifically spiritual. They must study and diligently pursue the divine Word in its full sense, not in mere external forms, but having in mind the declaration that it is the only food there is for the soul. That Word is to be a permanent presence and force and regulation in the heart itself. As such of course it cannot be mere letters and syllables and sentences; it is the living Word; it is Christ who has life in himself, who is also in the utterances of the Scriptures; Schwenckfeld here appears to make no pointed distinction because he is writing to those who are already Christians. 2) Through the medium of the Word they would understand more and more the nature of Christian liberty. The elements he here suggests are: that it is not of the flesh but of the Spirit; God makes the spirit of each one free, but the very consciousness of this liberty prompts him to become the servant and subject of every man. Hence they were to render humanity a continuous service. This released independence they must apply to their own association but in the fear of God. It was part of their religion that they should live in a reverent apprehension of God while they were helpful to one another. It would not then be hard to cease from opposition and from carping criticisms as to the daily regulations or the duties, provided these did not militate against the divine commandments. Certain precepts of order were essential to maintain the little community in any sort of coherence; and occasions would arise where new provisions would have to be made and a gentle discipline for the refractory would have to be imposed; but none of these were valid, if they contradicted the spirit and the laws of the Gospel and were not according to their own voice and choice. 3) The topics of conversation among them were to be dominated by the Word of God to the gradual exclusion of what was unseemly. Here the Word can only mean the Scriptures. 4) They were to change the language of the musical service into their native tongue for the sake of intelligent approach to God, and the music itself they should subordinate to the thought expressed. Worship must not be a dramatic show, but an understandable and rational service of the Lord throughout. They must be willing to bear the cross of ridicule in being first of the cloisters to carry this reform forward. It is the very function of the Word to recreate and to make all things new. They must seek edification as the just end of all worship; but that such an upbuilding may be acquired these changes must proceed from a believing, upright heart; they must not be wilful or formal. Let all things be done to edifying. The resultant worship of God in spirit and truth will elicit the testimony of the Spirit to their effort at praising the Lord in this lucid

and candid way; for only such an inward condition in drawing near to the heavenly majesty can constitute a reasonable service. 5) They must cultivate fearlessness toward those men who have perverted the Kingdom in its essence and in its administration. They must stand up for the right idea courageously. The spirituality of the Kingdom and its invisibility are its primary concepts. The pretentious and proud religio-world systems are a real abomination to God. 6) They are to cleave to the doctrine and example of Christ as the sole and final authority for them in this grave subject of the Church. What he says about his Kingdom is true and alone authoritative; what he did as King is the sole spiritual government of life. 7) They are to study the scriptural warnings against the perversions of the Kingdom as given by Daniel and as cited by Christ. Our Lord adds monitions against the pseudo-Christians and the pseudo-prophets and their thaumaturgical arts. Schwenckfeld next urges the application of these facts to existing conditions to find out where to locate the Antichrist. a) It is not only one power but all the appearances in history which answer to these and the Pauline descriptions that constitute the Antichrist. He sums up the features in this wise: α) the assumption of world power; β) the arrogance of their procedure and development; γ) the claim to be the exclusive Christian Church; δ) the assertion of that pretense with audacity and with imperative demand for its recognition; ϵ) the pinning of salvation to the observance of externalities; ζ) the bondage of the conscience to false prescription as of higher authority than the courts of God; η) their life and doctrine an entire contradiction of the scriptural life and doctrine; θ) the Pauline description of these features in Timothy; ι) the necessity of such a system in order to reveal the true purpose of God before the day of judgment: these revelations are portrayed by St. Paul to the Thessalonians. b) The obviousness of the application.

XIV. Schwenckfeld then proceeds to sum up with some practical suggestions 1) the duty of a thorough study of the Scriptures under the guidance of a competent teacher. 2) Such a systematic instruction must be pursued under the principle of interpreting Scripture by Scripture. This remains the life-long hermeneutical method of Schwenckfeld. It is aimed against a) the authority of the Church as the sole interpreter; b) against the authority of the Fathers many or few; no accredited exegeses can give a final and exclusive interpretation. Believers must learn for themselves how to explain the Scriptures. Social, political and religious conditions should be made such that this can be done. The Christian has the right to a training that shall fit him to understand the thought of Christ and the Apostles; with this, knowledge should also be increasing in quality and application. Believers ought to have a thorough acquaintance with divine truth. They should not be content with rudimentary studies and

practices. No one can do this for them; the theologians nor preachers nor scholars can take the place of the individual soul; the accountability is personal. Each one should become capable of spiritual judgment for himself, and that is impossible without continuous education of the conscience in duty, in promise and in privilege. He must be qualified also to enter into a vital appreciation of worship and to take part therein. 3) Each believer must learn the will of God which is only to be acquired from the Scriptures. He is called upon to make that will the law of life, the standard of action, the end and the ideal of conduct. Here Schwenckfeld gives us then his idea of the ethical and religious standard, it is the will of God. We have already adverted to the reasons why this alone can be such, and will not recapitulate. For Schwenckfeld it is the beginning and the development of what is authority in life.

XV. Who does not see that what is here suggested, the systematic and thorough training of the Christian, would necessitate still larger reformatory movements? 1) The provision of competent teachers. 2) The sufficiency of the education in order to rear intelligent believers, skilled enough to think out their own systems and to make them capable of a true Christian priesthood, fulfilling the functions of Rom. 12¹. 3) A sufficiency of time during which such instruction and discipline can be carried forward. 4) The rearing of an immense body of intelligent, discriminating believers whose practical wisdom would at once lift State and Church to a fine level of culture, always including character as its chief element. It was the "vision splendid" of a young man. Its carrying forward would have made the existing monastic institutions centers of a revived spiritual learning; it would have founded popular schools; it would have filled the universities with the Christian spirit and consecrated the humanities, the sciences, the philosophies, the professions to a genuine service of God and man; it would have stimulated the Church to her true work; it would have regenerated the State and all its politics; the Protestant map of Europe at least would have had very different boundary lines. If Schwenckfeld was not allowed to carry out his coherent and sensible forethought the fault did not lie with him. What crippled the sagacity, the unsleeping vigilance, the tireless energy, the statesmanlike grasp? — His followers who emigrated to America in 1734 were the first to organize and support a scheme of public schools in 1764, thirty years after the landing of those conscientious exiles. He put the go, the impulse into the hearts of men and it survived the persecutions of two hundred years and took its first opportunity to realize the great vision.

XVI. Then follow a series of injunctions drawn from the epistle to the Ephesians concerning the control of the feelings with respect to one's neighbor, and the manifestation of friendliness and cordiality, and especially

that which inculcates the virtue of forgiveness in a spirit identical with that of God in forgiving us in Christ. He uses the phrase "in Christ" to designate the sphere of life, relationship and duty for the Christian in the very language of St. Paul. To the believer Christ is all in all.

XVII. He closes with the profession of Christian love and good, upright intention as having animated him in the writing of the letter and asks for its reception in the same feeling and temper. His address and his epistle but voiced his cordial sympathy and pity for them in their trials. He is ready to prove that generous emotion practically by another visit. As in the former letter so here his personal centre and motive of action is in Jesus Christ as the only Comforter. The closing thought confirms the view that he desired this like the previous one to his friend to be a letter of consolation in a world of trial, experiment, failure, success; the supreme support of perseverance and steadiness and hope is a divine comfort and that is the beautiful, upbearing mission of the Paraclete.

XVIII. The reformation of the monastery on evangelical lines and its maintenance by the same principles was an experiment which Schwenckfeld initiated in Silesia, and it was carried forward under grave difficulties for something like sixty years, when the general persecution gradually deprived it of its liberties. Naumburg may be regarded as one of the first of the convents to have adopted this system. In other regions it was evolved independently; quite a number of such institutions have survived to this day. We must regard it as a noble, spiritual and economical experiment and one which under the gravest difficulties yielded a good result. But who has ever thought of crediting Schwenckfeld with this idea and with this historic fact? In vain do you turn to any secular or ecclesiastical document for a hint of such a thing. In this affair as in others the antagonists were all eager to get rid of the very mention of him as anything but a disturber of the Lutheran scheme of reformation or of the Austrian counter-reformation. He is held up as a pestiferous curse to Silesia. The facts of history have been so perverted by his opponents that you can scarcely rescue the truth from the heavy dust and corrosion; or those occurrences have been put in such a false light that one has difficulty to credit the fact when he has found it. Happily history as science, and men as lovers of truth, are compelling some rehabilitations and some readjustments. Therefore we may dare to ask right here: Who was really the reformer of Silesia?

G.

A.

ab see **sb.**

aber however 120¹⁰⁻³¹⁻³⁴; 123¹⁰⁻²⁰; **aber** again 123²⁷.

abtreten secede, fall away from 122^{26/27}.

abfall* falling away, defection, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 123⁴.

[ab]scheyb departure, *sb. m., abscheybe dat. sg.* 120²⁴; **abscheyb** is now obsolete and **abscheyb** has taken its place; Luther uses both forms, but seemingly with a distinction in meaning.

[ab]weyden deviate, **abgewyden** *p.p.* 118²⁸.

achtung regard, attention, *sb. f., acc. sg.*, **habet a. auff die worte** 121²⁴; the older form **achtunge in** **habet** **h̄r a. darauff** 121²⁰.

[all] all, entire, **aller** *dat. sg. f.*, **h̄nn a. liebe vnd eynigkheit** 120⁹; **sampt a. hochheit** 123²⁰; **alle** *acc. sg. f.*, **a. bitterkheit** 123¹⁸; **alles** *acc. sg. n.*, standing absolute 118²⁴⁻²⁵; 120²²; 121¹⁶; 123⁶; preceded by **bis** 120²⁰; by **solches** 123¹⁰; followed by **das** 123⁶; by **das da** 121¹⁹; coupled with a noun, **a. widerbellen** 121¹⁶; **all** *acc. pl. f.*, **a. ewer sachen** 122⁷; **alle** *nom. pl. n.* 118²⁷; *acc. pl. f.* 120¹; *acc. pl. n.*, **a. bingl** 121²⁸⁻³⁰; **aller** *gen. pl. f.*, **h̄n ewer a. gegenwert** 119²²; **h̄n ewer a. versamlung** 120²⁰; **allen** *dat. pl. f.*, **euch a.** 118¹²; 119⁹⁻²⁵; 120²⁰; 123²⁸⁻²⁹; **a. andern closter iundfrawen** 119¹⁹; **a. andern klöstern** 120¹³.

alleyne alone, only, *adv.* 123¹⁷; **nicht a.** 121¹¹.

[alt] old, **alte** *acc. sg. f.*, **die a. gewonheit** 121²⁵; **alten** *dat. pl. m.*, **h̄ren a. mißbreuchen** 121²⁰; **[elb]t** *superlative*, **elbtisten** *acc. pl. f.*, **die e.** 120¹.

altter old age, age, *sb. n., acc. sg.*, **das a. ehren** 120⁴; **altter** *gen. sg.*, **des a.** 123¹².

als as, in the capacity, function of, **a. kinder Gottis** 121¹⁰; **a. eyne h̄rsh̄erinne** 119²⁴; **a. eyn Gott** 123⁷; enforcing the relative (*quippe qui*): **die gebott Gotti**. **A. die da h̄rem wesen ... entgegen seyn** 122²²; enforcing the demonstrative with the relative following: **h̄r (a. die bey denen das Götliche wort angefangen|zu predigen)** *quippe a quibus verbum divinum insitum cepit praedicandi* 120¹²; introducing an example, coupled with **nemlich**, in the sense of **to wit** 118¹²; 122¹⁷; as a correlative preceded by **gleich so wol** 118²⁶; by **nicht so viel** 121²¹; introducing a parenthetical clause where nowadays **wie** would be employed: **a. ichs dofur halte** 118²⁸.

als denn thus then, then 123¹⁶; the older form **als denne** 118²⁵.

also thus, in this way 120⁶; 122²; coupled with **folgende** 118¹⁶; coupled with **das** 123⁶; introducing a quotation 120¹⁶; 122²⁵.

am see **sub an.**

Amen Amen 123²⁰.

an on, in, *prep. w. dat.*, **a. der heyligen steht** 122¹¹; **a. h̄rem gemütte ... verlesung ober beschwerung brengen** 120²⁷; contracted with the dative of the neuter article to **am** 120⁸⁻¹⁵⁻²⁴; **to, eyn Christliche ermanung a. euch allen gethan** 118¹²; modern usage would call here for the accusative which is on record in **a. die closter Jungfrawen** 117⁴; **gebunden a. stette** etc. 118¹⁷; **a. stette ... gebunden** 122²¹.

[ander] other, **andern** *gen. (or dat.?) sg. f.*, **eyne der a. bürde heissen tragen** 120⁶; **vergebet eyner(!) der a.** 123^{20/21}: this is of course, mistake for **eyne**, the writer, by inadvertency, having forgotten to change the masculine form of the article as used

- in the quotation into the feminine required here; *ander nom. pl. n.*, a. klöster 121²⁰; *andern dat. pl.*, allen a. kloster iundfrawen 119¹⁹; allen a. klöstern 120^{13/14}.
- andertswo* elsewhere, *adv.* 122^{3/4}.
- [*anfangen*] start, begin, *angefangen p.p.*, a. sc. hat, zu prebigen 120¹³.
- angeber* indicator, pointer out sc. of what to do, originator, *sb. m., gen. pl.* 119³. The use of the word here is notable. In the common acceptance of the term it means indicator, delator, and in that sense only it is recorded by Grimm, but there is a mhd. instance of the use of the word which is on a par with Schwenckfeld's: ein angeber wart des krieges UGB 481 s. 574 (oberlaus.). See Lexer I⁶⁰.
- angefangen* see *anfangen*.
- angeredt* see *anreden*.
- angesehen* see *ansehen*.
- angesehet* see *ansehen*.
- [*anhalten*] hold to, *trans.*, *anhalte past subj.* 3^d *sg.*, mehr a. euch zu vben yn den gottlichen geboten 119^{25/26}.
- anhängen* adhere, give heed to, a. den hrrigen geystern 122²⁷.
- [*anheben*] begin, *anhebet pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.*, a. zugeberen 118²⁰.
- anhalte* see sub *anhalten*.
- annehmen* accept, wollet ... a. 223²⁴.
- [*anreden*] address, approach, *angeredt p.p.*, byn a. / sc. worden euch widderumb zu besuchen 121¹.
- [*ansehen*] respect, *angesehen p.p.*, wie hoch er hmitter ... mag a. werden 122⁴.
- ansehen* stop, laß alles widerstellen ... a. 121¹⁷.
- anstellen* appoint, ewer leben nach dem willen Gottis ... a. 123¹⁸.
- [*anzeigen*] indicate, *angesehet p.p.*, es ist auch von mir a. sc. worden 119⁷; hab ich a. 119¹².
- abgewichen* see *abweichen*.
- [*arg*] bad, *erger* comparative 119¹¹.
- [*arm*] poor, *armen acc. sg. m.*, fur mich a. funder 123²⁰.
- auch* also, *adv.* 118²⁰; 119⁷; 120¹⁻²⁻¹⁵⁻²⁶⁻³⁰; 121¹⁵; 122¹⁵; 123²¹⁻²⁶⁻²⁸; in the sense of in fact, indeed 120²⁴ nach dem er a. zusetzet;
- 123³ wie a. S. Paul ... setzet; in the sense of even 122²⁵ so klar das wirs a. greiffen möchten; in the sense of on the other hand 119¹⁵ aus dem kloster zuziehen oder a. darynne zu bleyben; *auch* nicht nor, neither 119²; 122⁵; *funder auch* preceded by nicht alleyn, but also 121¹².
- auff* upon, at, *prep. w. acc.*, a. den rechten grundt ... erbawet 121¹⁴; *habt achtung a. die worte* 121²⁴; a. beger 118¹⁰; *auff das* so that, in order that, *conj. w. subj.* 119¹⁰⁻²³; 120¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻²⁰; 121³⁻¹¹; 123¹⁰; see also *barauff*; with the n. article contracted to *auffs* 123¹⁵ a. schlewnigste.
- auffgerichtet* see sub *auffrichten*.
- auffrichten* raise, erect, set up, *inf.*, eyn gut gewissen a. 119⁶; *auffrichtet pres. ind.* 2^d *pl.*, So hhr ... newerung ... a. 121²⁰; *auffgerichtet p.p.*, die ... eyn feyn welt reych haben a. 122¹⁸.
- [*auffrichtig*] upright, candid, honest, *auffrichtigen dat. sg. n.*, aus eynem glewbigen / a. herzen 121²²; *auffrichtiger dat. sg. f.*, ynn ... a. meynung 123²⁴.
- auffs* see *auff*.
- auffstehn* rise, es werden ... propheeten a. 122¹⁴.
- aus* out of, from, of, *prep. w. dat.*, a. ... gehört 118¹⁹; a. dem kloster 119⁸⁻¹⁴; a. gotte 119¹⁰; a. genehgittem gemütte 119²⁴; a. ewrem mittel 120²⁴; a. ... liebe 121³; a. ewrem munde 121¹⁸; a. eynem glewbigen herzen 121²²; a. diesen ... worten 122¹⁶; a. S. Paul 123¹⁴; a. der schrift 123¹⁷.
- [*ausferwelt*] elect, *ausferwelten acc. pl. m.*, die a. 122¹⁵; *ausferwelten gen. pl. m.*, von wegen der a. 123¹.
- ausgehen* go forth, seyn wort ... a. lassen 120^{23/24}.
- [*auslegen*] expound, *auslegete past subj.* 3^d *sg.* 123^{14/15}.
- [*aussetzung*] setting forth, rule laid down, foundation, *sb. f.*, *aussetzunge dat. sg.*, von der ersten a. 118²⁰.
- außerhalb* outside of, *prep. w. gen.*, a. ... des klosters 118²⁰.
- ausgeben sich* *refl.*, make out to be, pretend, *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.*, die ... sich fur die ... kirche a. 122¹⁹.

B.

bedenden consider, das sie ... wolten ... b. 120².
 befehl command, *sb. m., dat. sg.*, nach dem b. 120²; *acc. sg.*, über, by mistake printed vbet, den ... b. 121¹⁷.
 beger request, *sb. f., acc. sg.*, auff b. vnd byt 118¹⁰.
 [begeren] desire, request, *begert pres. ind. 2^d pl.*, wo h̄r es aber b. 123²⁷.
 behende quickly, *adv.* 119¹².
 [beruffen] call, *berufft p.p.*, Syntemal ich ... b. warb 120²⁸. Note the weak *p.p.* form.
 beschweren trouble, molest, wolt euch nichts b. lassen spare no pains 123¹¹.
 beschwerung trouble, molestation, *sb. f.* 120³¹; *acc. sg.* 120²⁷; the older form beschwerunge *acc. sg.* 120³¹.
 besser better, *adv.*, [h̄e ēr] h̄e b. bestellen 123¹².
 besserlich conducive to betterment 121³⁰.
 besserung betterment, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 121²¹.
 bestellen appoint, wolt ... eynen frommen tapffern man ... [h̄e ēr] h̄e besser b. 123¹².
 besuchen visit, call on 121¹.
 [betrügen] deceive, *betrüge pres. subj. 3^d sg.* 120⁷.
 [betten] pray, *bettet pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 121²³.
 [beweren] test, *beweret pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 119¹⁰.
 bewußt conscious, so wil mir b. 119¹⁶.
 bey with, *prep. w. dat.*, b. euch geweest 118⁹; b. vns wirdt verachtung 118²¹; b. denen das Götliche wort angefangen 120¹³; b. euch war 120²¹; b. euch nicht seyn 121¹.
 billich fair, proper, wie denn b. 123²³.
 in see sub seyn be.
 [binden] bind, *gebunden p.p.* 118¹⁷; 122²¹.
 biß until, *prep. w. dat.*, coupled with zu, b. zu seynner zeit 120²².
 bitten pray, *inf.*, wil ich vleyßig b. 120²³; *bitte pres. ind. 1st sg.* 120²⁸; *bittet imper. pl.* 123²⁸; *gebethen p.p.* 120⁹.
 bitterst bitterness, acridity, *sb. f., acc. sg.*, alle b. 123¹⁹.
 bleiben stay, remain 119¹⁵; *bleybet pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 121¹⁷; *bleybe pres. subj. 3^d sg.* 121¹².
 blödsicht infirmity, referring here to the

unformed nature and disposition of youth, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 120².

böse bad, wicked, *acc. sg. f.*, die b. alle gewohnheit 121²⁵; bösen *dat. sg. f.*, hyn diejer b. zeit 121⁹.

böshheit wickedness, *sb. f., dat. sg.*, sampt aller b. 123²⁰.

brantmal brand, mark produced by branding with a hot iron, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 122²⁹.

[brauchen] use, employ, *braucht imper. pl.*, b. derfelbigen 121²⁴. Note the genitive case dependent on this verb here; it is construed with *acc.* as well as with *gen.* in mhd., but only with *acc.* in modern usage.

bringen bring about, cause, an h̄rem gemütte wolbe verlegung oder beschwerung b. 120²⁷.

[brüderlich] brotherly, *brüderliche acc. sg. f.*, b. liebe. 118²².

bürde burden, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 120¹²; *acc. sg.* 120⁵.

hyn see sub seyn (be).

byt request, petition, *sb. f., acc. sg.*, auff beger vnd b. 118¹⁰.

C.

Caspar Caspar 118²; on the title page 117³ it is printed Casper.

[Christ] Christ, *Christen nom. pl.*, falsche C. 122¹². Note the plural form which also might denote Christians; according to the testimony of Luther wider das papstum zu Rom (1545), Liij^b, Schwenckfeld is quite in accord with the usage of his time: in deutscher sprache begreift das wort christ beides, den herrn selbst ... vnd auch den so an den herrn Christ gleubet ... Luther himself however, in the September Bible of 1522 prints Christi; but the form Christen is found in the *Ausl. C.*, according to Bindseil, as well as in the pamphlet of 1520 An den christl. Adel ed. Wilh. Braune p. 16³⁴ ff. Es werden kummen in meynem namen falsche Christenn vnd falsche propheten. See also Christus.

Christi, Christo, Christum see sub Christus.
 Christlich Christian, *nom. sg. n.*, eyn recht C. leben 118¹²; *Christliche nom. sg. f.* 121¹²; *acc. sg. f.* 118¹¹; 122¹⁹; *christliche* 119¹⁶;

Christlicher *gen. sg. f.* 120²³; *dat. sg. f.* 120¹⁴; 121²; 123²⁴.
Christlich in a Christian manner, *adv.*, *E.* vnd mit | gute vnterweyßen 120⁵.
Christus Christ, *nom. sg.* 119³; 120¹⁶; 122¹³; **Christi** *gen. sg.*, das erkentnis Jesu *E.* 118¹⁹; das gesehe *E.* 120⁶; das ioch *E.* 120¹²; das Creuze *E.* 121²⁰; nach dem exempel vnserß erlöfers Ihesu *E.* 122⁸; worten *E.* 122¹⁶; **Christis** *dat. sg.*, vnserem herren Ihesu *E.* 118⁵; vnn *E.* 120²³; vnserm herren *E.* 122¹⁸; yn *E.* 123²²; vnn *E.* Jesu 123²⁷; **Christum** *acc. sg.*, auff ... Jesum *E.* 121⁵.
Closter cloister, convent, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 118¹; spelt closter 119⁸; spelt kloster 119¹⁴; closters *gen. sg.* 118²⁷; closter *nom. pl.* 118²⁷; spelt kloster 121²⁶; kloster *dat. pl.* 120¹⁰⁻¹⁴.
[closter iundfraw] convent sister, *sb. f.*, closter iundfrawen *dat. pl.*, mit ... allen andern *c.* 119¹⁰; **Closter Jungfrawen** *acc. pl.* 117⁴.
[closterleben] cloistral life, *sb. n.*, closterlebens *gen. sg.* 119⁶; **Closterlebens** 117⁸.
Conuent convent, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.*, vnn ewrem *E.* 123¹³.
[Corinther] Corinthians, *sb. m.*, **Corin. gen. pl.** 119¹².
Creuze cross, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.*, traget ... das *E.* Christi 121²⁰. Note the terminal *e*; in mhd. the form kriuze is the usual one as against kriuz.

D.

da when, *conj.*, d. ich bey euch war 120²¹.
da there, *adv.* 122¹³; as augmentative coupled with the relative to give it a pointed meaning, der d. ist eyn widerwertiger 123⁵; der d. gelernt ... wer 123¹²; die d. eyn erfüllung ist 118²³; das d. schöne gleyffet 121¹⁰; das d. nâplich ... ist 121²¹; welches d. ist eyn ... speyse 121¹¹; Als die d. ... entgegen seyn 122²³; note the forms with *o*: da 119¹⁶ die d. ist von guten gewisßen and dafur 118²⁰ als ichs d. halte. In the following instances it stands for the demonstrative or relative coupled with prepositions: **dabey** thereby 120¹⁷; **Da durch** whereby 121¹²; **dafür** therefore, for it 122²⁰; **Damit** whereby,

wherewith 122²²; thereby, therewith 123⁸; **da selbst** there 118⁹; **daun** whereof 122¹¹. The older form *dar* appears in the following combinations: **darauff** thereon, thereafter, d. trachten 119⁴; **habt** achtunge d. 121²⁰; **der** merke d. 122¹²; **darburch** for it, because of it, euch wurden d. verlassen 121²⁷; **darynne** therein 119¹⁵; **dazû** thereto, d. berufft 120²². See also **darumb**.

dabey, **da durch**, **dafür** see sub *da* (there).
damit so that, in order that, *conj.* with *subj.*, D. hÿr ... gut exempel môchtet furtragen 120¹²; d. hÿr ... zum grûndtlichen erkentnis ... môcht kommen 123¹⁵. See also sub *da* (there).

Daniel Daniel, proper name, *acc. sg.* 122¹¹.
daudsagung thanksgiving, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.*, mit d. 122²⁰.

darauff see sub *da* (there).

darburch see sub *da* (there).

darff see sub *dürffen* (need).

darumb therefore, *adv.* or *conj.*, D. hab ich ... ermanet 119²²; D. seht ... vnterthan 121¹⁵; d. hÿttet euch 121¹⁹; **darumb** das for the reason that, D. d. solchs ... von vnnottin 118²⁰; nicht d. d. ich gerne wolte 119¹³. See also sub *da* (there).

darynne see sub *da* (there).

dazû see sub *da* (there).

das, neuter article, see sub *der*.

das that, *conj.*, hab ich ... ermanung ... gethan d. 118¹⁸; nicht gleuben d. 119²; trachten d. 119⁵; wie wol es seyn möchte d. 119⁸; wolt ich gewoten haben d. 119⁹; die weil ich ermerck d. 119¹⁵; hab ich ... ermanet d. 119²⁶; 120¹; zusaget ... d. 120²⁶; Die iungen [hab ich ermanet] d. 120³; ich hab euch gebethen d. 120⁹; eyn ... gebott geb ich euch d. 120¹⁷; erkennen d. 120¹⁹; 121¹³; ich bitte d. 120²⁶; wissen d. 121⁵⁻⁶; ... sehet ... zu d. 121⁸; zeugnis geben d. 122¹; **daun** gesaget ist d. 122¹¹; **saget** d. 122²⁰; 123³; ist von nôtten geweest d. 123¹; **Gott** weis d. 123²²; wo hÿr begert d. 123²⁷; preceded by *vnn* deme 121²⁶; preceded by **darauff**: **habt** ... achtunge d. d. 121²⁰⁻²²; preceded by *so* and an adverb: *so* klar d. 122²⁶; preceded by *es* *sey* denn unless it be 123⁴; in the sense of **damit** 121²²; in the sense of *so* **das** 122¹⁴.

preceded by also 123⁷; preceded by auff 119¹⁰⁻²⁰; 120¹¹⁻²⁰; 121²⁻¹¹; 123¹⁰; preceded by darum 118²⁰; 119¹².

daſelbſt see sub da (there).

daſſelbige see sub derſelbige.

danon see sub da (there).

dem, demne see sub der.

dempfunge ſuppreſſion, *sb. f., acc. sg., d. der* liſte 118^{21/22}.

den see sub der.

denen see sub der.

denn for, *conj.* 119¹¹; 120²⁷; 121¹⁸; 122¹³; Denn 120⁶; 123²⁴; *adv.*, in fact, surely, *die d. ſolchs ... wortes noch entperen müſſen* 119²⁰; *der wird euch d. wol lernen* 121⁷; *der uns d. zuvor ... gewarnet hat* 122⁹; *daß ich ... wie d. billich ... getragen habe* 123²⁵; the older form *denne* 118²¹; coupled with the subjunctive *es ſey*, *daß* following: *es ſey d. daß ... queme* unless it be that 123⁴; answering to English than it occurs after a comparative: *die ſelben höher erhaben d. die gebott Gotts* 122²²; in the consecutive sense of then: *ſo d. jemand ... wird ſagen* 122¹²; the older form *denne* 119²⁶.

denun, denne = dann see sub als denn.

Dennoch nevertheless, *adv.* 120²².

der the, article, *nom. sg. m.* 118¹⁹; 119¹¹; 120¹⁶; 121⁶ and demonstrative; 122¹⁻¹² demonstrative. ²⁵; 123²⁻⁴⁻⁵; *gen. sg. f.* 118²¹; 119²⁷; 120⁵⁻²⁰; 123^{5 bis 16}; *dat. sg. f.* 118²⁷; 119¹⁰⁻²³; 121¹⁵; 122²⁻⁴⁻⁸⁻¹¹; 123¹⁷⁻²¹; *gen. pl. m.* 119³⁻²⁰; 121³⁰; 122²¹⁻²⁷; 123¹; *gen. pl. f.* 118²²; 120²; 121¹¹; *des gen. sg. m.* 117²⁻⁸; 121¹³⁻²⁵; *gen. sg. n.* 117⁷; 118²⁰⁻²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁶; 119⁵⁻⁶⁻¹²⁻¹⁷; 120⁴; 121⁹⁻¹⁴⁻³¹; 123¹²; *dem dat. sg. m.* 118⁴; 120³; 121⁹⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻²²; 122²⁻²⁶; 123²⁻¹⁷; *dat. sg. n.* 118¹⁸⁻¹⁹; 119⁶⁻⁸⁻¹⁴⁻²⁷; 120²⁰⁻²²; 121¹⁰⁻²⁰; 122⁸; the *dat. n.* of the demonstrative *deme* 121⁶ (see also sub nach dem, zu dem); *den acc. sg. m.* 120²⁴; 121⁴⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁷; 122¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹⁵; 123⁷; *dat. pl. m.* 122⁶⁻²⁷⁻³⁰; 123¹⁴; *dat. pl. f.* 118¹; 121⁹; 122²⁶; *dat. pl. n.* 119²⁰; *denen dat. pl. m.* of the demonstrative 122²⁰; *die nom. sg. f.* 118²²; 120⁷ demonstrative; 121¹³; *acc. sg. f.* 118¹¹; 120²⁰; 121²⁵; 122¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²³⁻³⁰; *nom. pl. m.* 122¹⁵; *nom. pl. f.* 118²⁰; *als d.* 120¹² demonstrative; *nom. pl. n.* 118²⁷; 119¹;

acc. pl. m. 121²¹; *acc. pl. f.* 117⁴; 120¹⁻³; *acc. pl. n.* 121²⁴; 122²³; *acc. pl. m.* of the demonstrative 122²⁷; *daß* that, neuter article, *nom. sg. n.* 119¹²; 120¹¹⁻¹²⁻¹³; 122¹; 123⁵; article, *acc. sg. n.* 118¹⁰; 120³⁻⁶; 121²⁶⁻²⁷; 122²²; 123²; *nom. sg.* of the demonstrative 123²³; *acc. sg.* 122¹². See also sub derſelbe and derſelbige.

der who, which, relative, *nom. sg. m.* 122⁹; *d. da* 123⁵⁻¹²; *den acc. sg. m.* 123¹⁷; *dat. pl. f.* 119¹²; *denen dat. pl. f.* 120¹³; *die nom. sg. f., d. da* 118²³; *d. do* 119¹⁶; *acc. sg. f.* 122²⁰; *nom. pl. m.* 122¹⁸; *als d. da* 122²³⁻³⁰; *nom. pl. f., d. denn* 119²⁰; *nom. pl. n.* 121²⁶; *daß nom. sg. n., D. denne* 118²¹; *d. da* 121¹⁹⁻²¹; *alles d.* 123⁶.

der gleichen the like, indeclinable demonstrative 118¹⁸.

Derhalben for that reason, *adv. and conj.* 118²⁰.

der maßen to such a degree, *adv.*, followed by auff daß 120¹¹; in such a way as, followed by wie 123²².

[derſelbe] the same, *deſſelben gen. sg. n.* 121²⁰; *die ſelben acc. pl. n.* 122²².

[derſelbige] the same, *die ſelbige nom. sg. f.* 118²⁴; *daſſelbige nom. sg. n.* 121¹¹; *der ſelbigen gen. pl. n.* 121²⁴; *die ſelbigen acc. pl. f.* 120⁵.

des see sub der.

deutlich plainly, clearly 122²⁰.

[deutſch] German, *deutſchen acc. pl. m., die d. psalmen* 121²¹.

die see sub der.

dienſt service, worship, *sb. m., acc. pl.* 119³. See also Gotts dienſt.

dienſtlich serving, serviceable, *macht den menſchen ... yderman d. vnd unterthan* 121¹⁵.

[diſer] this, *diſem dat. sg. n., yn d. lande* 119¹⁰; *diſer gen. sg. f., der geiſt d. welt* 119¹¹; *diſer dat. sg. f. von d. werlet* 122⁵; *spelt dieſer, ynn d. böſen zeit* 121⁹; *diſe acc. sg. f., d. ewer beſchwerunge* 120³¹; *biß nom. sg. n.* 120¹⁰; *acc. sg. n., durch d. ſchreyben* 121²; *spelt diſß, d. meyn ſchreyben* 123²²; *d. alles* 120²⁰; *dißmal* this time 121¹; *diſe* these, *nom. pl. m., wer d. geweſt* 122¹⁷; *acc. pl. m., wider d. klare ſprüche* 122²⁰; *dieſen dat. pl. n.* 122¹⁰.

die weil because, *conj.*, d. w. ich ermerdt 119¹⁵; spelt bieweil, d. ich ... byn angeredt (ac. worden) 120³⁴.

dingt thing, *sb. n., nom. pl.*, das euch alle d. ... besserlich seyn 121³⁰; *acc. pl.*, welchs alle d. vernewert 121³⁸.

da see sub da (there).

doch though, yet, nevertheless, *adv.*, it stands in the apodosis of a concessive clause 119⁹; 120¹⁰; 121², if ob be the correct reading there; but if, as we conjecture, ob be mistake for ob' = ober (aber), then doch has the sense of at least which it has also 121³⁰. In the sense of assuredly, emphasizing the truth of fact as in opposition to a preconceived idea 120⁷.

[dofur halten] opine, dofur halte, *pres. ind.* 1st *sg.*, als ichs d. h. 118³⁸. See also sub da there and halten.

[dreihend] thirteenth, dreihenden, *dat. sg. n.*, Johannis am d., ac. Kapitel 120¹⁵.

[dulden] suffer, bear duldet *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 118³⁸.

danken think, conceit, so sich yrgenteyne lieffe d. 120⁷; gedanckt *p.p.*, hot mich g. 119¹⁸.

durch through, by means of, by the help of, *prep. w. acc.* 118¹⁹; 119⁵; 120³¹⁻³⁴; 121³⁻²⁷; 122¹¹⁻²⁷; 123².

[durffen] need, require, darff *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.*, es d. seyn nicht mehr 123⁹. Modern usage would call for the compound bedurffen in this sense.

E.

[edel] noble, Edlen *voc. sg. f.* 118⁶; edlen *dat. pl. f.* 118¹.

ehelich married, e. werden marry, enter matrimony 122³⁹.

ehren honor 120⁴.

einen see sub ein.

eibstiken see sub alit.

engel angel, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 119¹².

entgegen opposed, e. seyn 122³⁴.

entgegen contrary to, in opposition (contrast) to, *prep. w. dat.* 121³⁰.

entlich finally, *adv.* 123¹¹.

entperen do without, want 119³¹. Note

the construction of this verb with the genitive. In the modern usage the construction with the acc. prevails.

er he, *nom. sg. m.* 119¹⁰; 120³⁴; 122³⁻⁴⁻¹¹; 123^{7bis}; ihm *dat. sg. m.* 120³⁵; ihm *dat. pl. f.* 120⁴; es *nom. sg. n.* 118¹⁸; 119^{7bis} 28; anticipating the subject in e. wer seyn vorgeleichen mit euch there was no comparing with you 119¹⁸; 120³⁵⁻³⁸⁻³¹; 121¹⁸; 122¹⁻⁵⁻¹³⁻¹⁵; 123⁴⁻⁹⁻²⁸; *acc. sg. n.* 121³⁸; 123²⁸; see also sub ich; seyn *gen. sg. n.* 123⁹; sie *nom. sg. f.* 119³⁵⁻³⁷; 120^{7bis}; *nom. pl. m.* 121³⁸; 122¹⁹⁻²²; *nom. pl. f.* 117⁶⁻⁷; 120¹⁻²⁻³; yr 119¹⁴ is mentioned here only because, at first blush, it might seem to be *gen. pl. f.* In reality however, yr without doubt forms a grammatical unit with the following seyn, and yr seyn Jungfrauen means, as the context plainly shows, to any sister in the convent. In the critical note to this passage we indulged in the conjecture that Schwenckfeld either wrote yeseyn (ydeyn) or yreseyn = yreseyn. At that time the evidence for yreseyn (irrein) any, was not as completely before us as it is now when we can confidently say the word is well authenticated and the only doubt that attaches to it is whether it be evolution of mhd. ierein or iergen ein. Beside other proof we find in the admonitory letter of 1524 to the bishop (Lybisch): wo irreinn (spelt jr rein in the reprint.) werd ... geschicht (Bijb, line 16); see also sub yrgenteyn and yr seyn.

erbarmen commiseration, pity, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 123³⁸.

[erbauen] edify, erbauet *p.p.*, e. werden 121⁵.

[Erentfeß] Honorable, Erentfeßten *gen. sg. m.* 117^{2/3}.

erfulßen fulfill 120⁶; erfultet *p.p.* 120¹⁵.

erfullung fulfilment, *sb. f.* 118³⁸.

erger see sub arg.

[erheben] raise, lift, exalt, erhebet *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.*, sich e. 123⁶; erhaben *p.p.*, (haben) die selben höher e. 122³⁸.

erkennen recognize, know 120¹⁸⁻³⁰; 121¹³; 122¹⁷; 123¹⁰; erkennen *p.p.*, die ... e. haben 122³¹.

erkenntnis knowledge, *sb. n., dat. sg.*, noch dem e. 119³⁷; zum gründtlichen e. 123^{15/16}; *acc. sg.*, durch das e. 118¹⁹; durch e. 119⁵. Note the neuter gender of the word. It is feminine or neuter in mhd., in modern usage the feminine prevails.

erlernen learn, find out 123¹⁷.

[erleucht = erleuchtet] illuminated, **erleuchten** *dat. sg. m.* 123⁸.

[erlöser] redeemer, *sb. m., erlösers gen. sg.* 122⁸.

[ermanen] admonish, **ermanet** *p.p.*, hab ich ... e. 119²²; 120¹.

ermanung admonition, *sb. f., gen. sg.*, meiner gethanen e. 121³; *dat. sg.* nach S. Pauls e. 121³⁰; hab ich ... eyn Christliche e. ... gethan 118¹².

[ermerken] notice, **ermerkt** *p.p.*, die weil ich e. sc. habe 119¹⁵.

ernuern renew 120¹¹.

[erst] first, **ersten** *dat. sg. f.* 118²⁷; *gen. pl. m.* 119³.

erstlich in the first place, *adv.* 120¹⁻¹⁵.

ertragen bear, suffer, *guc.* 120²²; e. 121²³.

erinnern remind 121³.

erinnerung reminder, *sb. f.* 117².

es see sub *er*.

[Esai] Isaiah, proper noun, **Esaiam** *acc. sg.* 120²⁴.

etliche some, *nom. pl.* 122²⁰; **etlichen** *dat. pl. f.* 120²⁴; the form **etlichen** *dat. pl. m.*, contraction of mhd. *eteslichen* 118⁸.

etwan at one time, once, *adv.* 120².

etwas something 120⁷.

etlichen see sub *etliche*.

Euangelium gospel, *sb. n.* 119¹⁸; **Euangelij** *gen. sg.* 119¹⁷; 120⁴; **Euangelio** *dat. sg.* 119⁷.

eych see sub *h̄r* (you).

[eufferlich] external, **eufferlichem** *dat. sg. m.* 118¹⁴; **eufferlichen** *dat. pl. f.* 122⁶.

ewer see sub *h̄r* (you).

ewer your, *nom. sg. m.* 121²³; *nom. sg. n.* 119²⁵; *acc. sg. f.* 119²²; 120³¹; *acc. sg. n.* 120¹¹⁻²²; 123¹⁶; *acc. pl. f.* 122⁷; **ewrem** *dat. sg. m.* 121¹⁸; 123¹²; *dat. sg. n.* 120²⁴; 121²²; **ewern** *acc. sg. m.* 119⁹; *dat. pl. n.* 118²⁰; 121⁴⁻¹⁶; **ewren** *dat. pl. n.* 118³; 119⁵; 120²⁰; 121¹².

ewigleyt eternity, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 120²¹.

exempel example, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 122⁸; *acc. sg.* 120¹⁴.

[eygen] own, **eygener** *gen. pl. n.* 118¹⁶; **eygene** *acc. pl. n.* 122²².

eyn a, an, indefinite article, *nom. sg. m.* 119¹¹; 122⁷; 123⁵⁻⁷; *nom. sg. f.* 117¹; 118²³; 121¹¹; *nom. sg. n.* 118¹³⁻²⁰; 119²; *acc. sg. f.* 118¹¹; 123²⁵; *acc. sg. n.* 119⁵; 120¹⁶; 122¹⁸; - **eyne**, the full form of the feminine article *nom. sg.* 119²⁴; 121¹²; *acc. sg.* 119¹⁵⁻¹⁷; 123¹²; **eynem** *dat. sg. m.* 123⁶; *dat. sg. n.* 121²³; **eynen** *acc. sg. m.* 118²⁸; 123¹²; **apelt einen** 119¹²; **eyner** 123³⁰ is mistake for **eyne** one, *nom. sg.* of the numeral 120⁵.

eynander see sub *unter*.

eyner along, *adv.*, e. *faren* 122¹⁸.

[eynig] only, sole, **eynigen** *dat. sg. m.* 123²⁷; *dat. sg. n.* 118¹⁸; **eynige** *nom. sg. f.* 121¹¹.

eynigleyt unity, concord, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 120⁹.

eynsprechen suggestion, inspiration, *inf.*, used as neuter noun, *dat. sg.* 120²².

ſ.

[falſch] false, **ſalſche** *nom. pl. m.* 122¹³⁻¹⁴.

faren move 122¹⁹.

fawl bad, evil, foul, *acc. sg. n.*, f. **geſchwep** 121¹⁷.

felen fail 122⁹.

fern far, so f. in so far as 121¹⁶; the older form **ferne** 123¹⁹.

feyn fine, splendid, *acc. sg. n.* 122¹⁸.

[ſeych] flesh, *sb. n., ſeyches gen. sg.* 118²²; 121⁹⁻¹⁴.

[ſeyß] industry, studiousness, *sb. m., ſeyße* *dat. sg.* 121¹⁰.

ſolgende consequently, *adv.* 118¹⁷.

[ſorcht] fear, *sb. f., ſorchte* *dat. sg.* 121¹⁶.

[freund] friend, *sb. m., freunden* *dat. pl.* 118⁸.

freundlich kind, friendly 123²⁰.

freundtlich kindly, *adv.* 121².

freyheyt freedom, liberty, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 121^{12 bis}; *dat. sg.* 117⁸.

fride peace, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 118³.

[fromm] pious, **fromme** *acc. sg. f.* 119¹⁶; **frommen** *acc. sg. m.* 123¹².

fur for, before, *prep. w. dat.* 121¹⁹ see **hätten**; 122³ see **fürchten**; 122⁴⁻⁷⁻⁹ see

warnen; 123²; *w. acc.* 122¹⁰ see anß-
geben; 123²⁰ see bitten. See also sub
furgeben and vor.
furbitte ensample, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 119²⁵.
[fürchten] *sich refl.*, be afraid of, fürchtet
imper. pl., f. euch für eynem menschen 122³.
[furgeben] *sich refl.*, pretend; gibt sich fur *pres.*
ind. 3d sg., g. f. f., er sey Gott 123⁷.
furächtlich cautiously, *adv.* 121⁸.
furtragen carry before 120¹⁴.
furwils prying curiosity, daring specu-
lation, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 121¹⁸.
fur war forsooth, indeed, *adv.* 119²⁷.

G.

[Galatzer] Galatians, Galatzen *dat. pl.*, jun
G. 120⁸.
[ganz] whole, ganzen *gen. sg. n.* 118²³.
ganz entirely, *adv.* 122²⁴.
gar quite, *adv.* 119¹²; gar nichts absolutely
nothing 118²⁰; 121²⁵; printed as one
word 118²⁵.
[geben] give 119¹⁴ vrsache g.; 122¹ zeugnis
g.; geb *pres. ind. 1st sg.*, g. ich 120¹⁰; gebt
imper. pl. 121¹⁰; gegeben *p.p.*, so hyn Gott
... gnade ... g. *sc.* hat 120⁴; see also
furgeben.
gebeten see sub bitten.
[geberde] gesture, attitude, *sb. f.*, geberden
dat. pl. 122⁶.
geberen bring forth, *jug.* 118²⁰.
geboten see sub gebott.
gebott commandment, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 120¹⁰;
acc. pl. 122²²⁻²³; geboten *dat. pl.* 119²⁰.
gebruchen use, employ, des Closterlebens g.
117⁹; 119⁷.
gebunden see sub binden.
gedacht see sub bänden.
gedulidlich patiently, *adv.* 120²².
gefallen please, meynen freunden zu g. 118⁶.
[gefallen] pleasure, *sb. m.*, gefallen *gen. sg.*,
hyses g., at their own pleasure 122²⁰.
gegeben see sub geben.
gegen against, toward, *prep. w. dat.*, liebe
g. vnserm nechsten 118²³. The construction
with the dative is the prevailling one
also in mhd.; modern usage would call
for the accusative in this instance.
gegenwert presence, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 119²².
gehalten see sub halten.

gehen go 121¹²⁻²²; ginget *past subj. 2d pl.*
119⁸.
gehör hearing, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 118¹⁹.
gelernt learned 123¹².
geliebet see sub lieben.
gelten have value 119².
gelubde vow, *sb. n., nom. pl.* 118²⁰; 119¹.
gemacht see sub machen.
gemeynlich commonly, *adv.* 118²⁷.
[gemürmel] mumbling, *sb. n., gemürmel*
gen. sg. 121^{31/32}.
gemüht heart, *sb. n.*, gemüht *dat. sg.* 119²⁴.
gemühte 120²⁷.
[genehgt] inclined, genehgt *dat. sg. n.*,
aus g. gemühte from the inclination of
her heart 119²⁴.
gendittiget see sub nöttigen.
gepredigt see sub predigen.
geraten get, turn to, *p.p.* sind ... hyn eynen
lautern mißbrauch g. 118²⁰.
gerecht see sub reden.
gerne gladly, willingly, lovingly, *adv.* 119¹².
geroten see sub raten.
gesaget see sub sagen.
[gesang] song, *sb. m.*, gesenge *gen. pl.* 121^{30/31}.
geschaffen see sub schaffen.
geschehen happen, be done, contraction of
geschēchen 122²; geschicht *pres. ind. 3d sg.*
123²³.
geschicht see sub geschehen.
geschrey clamor, tattling, *sb. n.* 123¹⁰.
geschweh idle talk, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 121¹⁷.
gesendet see sub senden.
gesetze law, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 120⁶; gesetzes
gen. sg. 118²².
geseyn be 118²⁷ see also seyn (be).
[gespräch] conversation, *sb. n.*, gesprächen
dat. pl. 121²⁰.
gesprächen see sub sprechen.
gethan see sub thun.
gethanen see sub thun.
getragen see sub tragen.
getröst see sub trösten.
gewarnet see sub warnen.
gewest see sub seyn (be).
gewislich assuredly, *adv.* 123⁸.
gewissen conscience, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 123¹⁸;
acc. sg. 119⁵; 122²²; *dat. pl.* 118^{3/4-29};
120²⁰; 121¹⁶; 122²⁸; the *gen. sg.* of the
feminine gender seems to be on record

123^{12/13}: eyne frommen ... man / der da ... gutter gewiffen wer *virum pium qui sit bonae conscientiae*; just so the *dat. sg.* of the feminine gender is found in 119¹⁷: eyne fromme chriffliche priorinne ... die do ift von gutten gewiffen *piam Christianamque priorissam, quae est bonae conscientiae*, if gutten be misprint for gutter. If our surmise be correct, Schwenckfeld must occasionally have relapsed into the older mhd. usage of treating gewiffen as feminine which as a rule, appears to be neuter with him, quite in accordance with the modern standard. See also sub gut.

gewonheit habit, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 119²⁷; *acc. sg.* 121²⁵.

geyß spirit, *sb. m., n. sg.*, g. bißer welt 119¹¹; g. gottis 121⁶; g. 121²³; g. Gottis 122¹; g. 122²⁵; *acc. sg.* g. 119⁹; heylige g. *nom. sg.* 118¹⁹; *acc. sg.*, heyligen g. 120²¹; geyßes *gen. sg.* 121¹³; the shortened form geyßs 117⁹; geyße *dat. sg.* 121⁹; 122²; geyßern *dat. pl.* 122²⁷.

[geyßlos] unspiritual, geyßlosen *gen. sg. n.* 121³¹.

gibt sich fur see sub furgeben.

ginget see sub gehen.

glawben belief, faith, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 121⁴; 122²⁰.

gleich alike, *adv.*, g. so wol just as well 118²⁶; spelt also gleych, g. wie just as 123²¹; placed after the subjunctive it serves as concessive conjunction: er sey g. zu Rome ober anderswo 122².

glenben believe 119²; spelt glemben 122¹³. Note the umlaut.

[glewbig] believing, faithful, glewbigen *dat. sg. n.* 121²²; *dat. pl.* 122²⁰ *adj.* used as noun.

gleych see sub gleich.

gleychen see der gleychen.

gleyßnerch hypocrisy, show, sham, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 118¹⁵; spelt gleyßnerch 122²⁰.

[gleyffen] glitter, gleyffet *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 121¹⁹.

guade grace, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 123²⁸; *acc. sg.* 120⁴; the shortened form guab 118³⁻¹¹.

gungl enough 123⁸.

gungsam sufficiently, *adv.* 122⁹.

[güdel(pil)] jugglery, *sb. n., güdelpils gen. sg.* 121²⁵.

gült gold, *sb. n.* 121¹⁹.

Gut God, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 118¹⁰; spelt Gott 120⁴⁻²¹⁻²³; 122²⁹; 123⁶⁻⁷⁻⁸⁻²¹⁻²⁵; gottis *gen. sg.* 121⁶; Gottis 120³⁻²²; 121⁶⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁶⁻²⁰; 122^{1 bis 5-23}; 123⁶⁻⁷⁻¹⁷⁻²⁸; gote *dat. sg.* 119²; spelt Gotte 122⁷; gotte 119¹⁰; shortened to got 118⁴; spelt Gott 123⁶; Gut *acc. sg.* 118¹⁸.

Gottis dienß divine service, worship, *sb. m.* 123⁶.

[göttlich] divine, Göttliche *nom. sg. n.* 120¹¹⁻¹²; göttliche *acc. sg. n.* 123²; spelt Göttliche 121²⁸; Göttliche *acc. sg. f.* 118³; Göttlichen *gen. sg. f.* 123¹⁰; *gen. sg. n.* 118²⁰; *dat. sg. n.* 120²⁰; spelt göttlichen *gen. sg. f.* 119^{27/28}; *gen. sg. n.* 119⁵⁻¹⁷; *dat. pl. n.* 119²⁶; Göttlichen *dat. sg. n.* 121¹⁰; *acc. sg. m.* 121¹⁷; göttlicher *gen. sg. f.*, no article preceding, g. weyße in a manner not contrary to respect for the divine 119⁸.

grewel abomination, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 122⁷; *acc. sg.* 122¹⁰.

gryffen grasp 122²⁵.

[groß] great, großem *dat. sg. m.* 119²⁰; größe *acc. pl. n.* 122¹⁴.

[grund] ground, foundation, *sb. m., grunde dat. sg.* 123¹⁸; grundt *acc. sg.* 121⁵.

[gründlich] thorough, gründlichen *dat. sg. n.* 123¹⁵.

grymm fierceness of wrath, *sb. m.* 123¹⁹.

[günstig] favorably inclined, gracious, günstigen *voc. pl. f.* 118⁶.

gut good, *acc. sg. n.*, no article preceding 120¹⁴; indefinite article preceding 119⁵; gutter *gen. sg. f.*, no article preceding 123¹²; *dat. sg. f.*, no article preceding 123²⁴; for gutter, probably by misprint, we have gutten 119¹⁶ eyne ... priorinne ... die do ift von g. gewiffen; guttem *dat. sg. m.*, no article preceding 123¹⁷.

gute kindness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 120⁵.

§.

haben have 119⁹; 122¹⁸⁻²⁰⁻²²⁻²⁶⁻³¹; habe *pres. ind.* 1st *sg.* 120¹⁷; 123²⁰; the shortened form hab 118⁹⁻²⁵; 119¹³⁻²²; 120¹⁻⁹⁻²⁰; habe *pres. subj.* 3^d *sg.* 121¹²; hat

pres. ind. 3^d sg. 120²²; 122⁹⁻³⁰; 123²¹;
hät 119¹⁷; *habet pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 120¹⁹;
 the shortened form *hät* 119¹⁶; 121²⁰;
 the same serves for *imper. pl.* 121²³.

håiten hold, keep, *fiç* *h.* 117⁷ conduct
 one self; *håite pres. ind. 1st sg.*, als *iç*
befur h. as I am of opinion 118²⁰; *ge-*
håiten p.p., gelubbe *fiç* ... nicht mogen *g.*
 werden vows that cannot be kept 119¹;
fiç wullen ... bafur g. feyn they want to
 be taken for it, they want to be con-
 sidered as representing it 122²⁰.

hät see sub *haben*.

heiffen help 120⁵.

[*herr*] Lord, *sb. m.*, *herren dat. sg.* 118⁵;
 121²²; the shortened form *herru* 122¹⁸.

herz heart, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 120¹¹⁻²²; *herzen*
dat. sg. 121¹²⁻²²⁻²³; *dat. pl.* 118²¹; 119⁰;
 120³¹; 121⁴.

herzlich hearty, cordial 123²⁰; *acc. sg. f.*
 123²⁵.

[*hewtig*] of to-day, present, *hewtiges gen.*
sg. m. 122¹⁷.

heyland Saviour, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.* 120³³.

[*heylig*] holy, *heylige nom. sg. m.* 118¹⁹;
acc. sg. f. 122¹⁹; *heyligen dat. sg. f.* 122¹¹;
dat. sg. n. 119⁰; *acc. sg. m.* 120²¹; *heiliger*
dat. sg. f., no article preceding 123¹⁴.

[*heysen*] call, be called; *heys pres. ind. 3^d sg.*
 119³; 123⁶.

hie here, *adv.* 122¹².

hirscherinne ruling lady, lady lordling it
 over, *sb. f.* 119²⁴.

high, exalted 122⁶; *adv.*, highly 122⁴;
 haughtily, arrogantly 122¹⁸; *höcher* com-
 parative of *adv.* 122²⁸.

höcher see sub *hoch*.

[*hoffen*] *hoffet pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 118²⁴.

hät see sub *haben*.

hätten *fiç refl.*, take heed, *hättet imper.*
pl., *h.* *euch* fur beware of 121¹⁹.

I.

iç I, *nom. sg.* 118⁴⁻⁷⁻⁹⁻²⁵; 119²⁻⁸⁻¹³⁻¹⁵⁻²²;
 120¹⁻⁸⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻²¹⁻²³⁻²⁶⁻²⁸⁻³⁴; 121¹⁻²;
 123²⁶⁻²⁷; contracted with the neuter pro-
 noun of the 3^d person to *iç* 118²⁸;
mir dat. sg. 119⁷⁻¹⁶; spelt *myr* 118¹⁰;
 120²²; 123²⁴; *miç acc. sg.* 119¹⁷; 120¹⁰;
 123²⁰⁻²⁹; *mir nom. pl.*, with *e* contracted

to *wir* 122²⁵; spelt *myr* 122¹⁶; 123¹⁷;
uns dat. pl. 118²¹; *acc. pl.* 122⁹.

[*iczig*] present, *icziger gen. sg. f.*, no article
 preceding, i. *zeit* at the present time
 117^{6/7}.

ist see sub *seyn* (be).

ihunder at present, *adv.* 118²⁶.

ja yes, indeed, *adv.* 118²⁴; 122¹⁹.

Jesu Jesus, *gen. sg.* 118¹⁹; *dat. sg.* 123²⁷;
 spelt *Jhesu gen. sg.* 122⁸; *dat. sg.* 118⁵;
Jesum 121⁵.

iç yoke, *sb. n.*, *nom. sg.* 120¹².

[*Johannes*] John, *Johannis gen. sg.* 120¹⁵;
 abbreviated *Johan* 122⁵.

iungt young 120³; *iungen gen. pl. f.* 120²;
acc. pl. f. 120³; *iungste* superlative, *nom.*
sg. m. 123³; *iungsten dat. sg. m.* 123².

iunger disciple, *sb. m.*, *nom. pl.* 120¹⁸.

[*iungfraw*] virgin, sister at convent, *sb. f.*,
Jundfrawen dat. sg. f. 119¹⁴; see sub *yr-*
genteyn; *iungfrawen voc. pl.* 118⁷; 120²⁰;
 123¹¹; spelt *iungfrawen* 121⁸; *Jung-*
frawen 118¹. See also sub *closter iund-*
fraw.

R.

seyn none, *nom. sg. n.* 119¹⁸; 121¹⁷; *seyne*
nom. sg. f. 119²⁷; *seynem dat. sg. m.* 122³;
seynet dat. sg. f. 120²⁷; as to *f.* 119¹⁴,
 see *yrgenteyn*, *yr seyn* and sub *er*.

kindt child, *sb. n.* 123⁵; *kindet nom. pl.* 121¹⁰.

kindlein little child, *sb. n.*, *voc. pl.* 120¹⁶.

kirche church, *sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 122¹⁹.

[*klar*] clear, plain, *klare acc. pl. m.* 122²⁰;

klaren dat. pl. n. 122¹⁶.

Klar clearly, plainly, *adv.* 122²⁵; *Kleret* com-
 parative of *adv.* 123¹⁰.

Kleret see sub *Klar* (*adv.*).

[*Kleyb*] cloth, dress, vestment, *sb. n.*, *Kleyber*
acc. pl. 118¹⁷; 122²¹.

Kloßer, *Klößer*, *Klöstern* see sub *closter*.

kommen come 120²⁸; 123¹⁶⁻²⁸; *kumpt pres.*
ind. 3^d sg. m. 123⁴; *n.* 122⁵; *queme past*
subj. 3^d sg. 123⁴.

künfftig in the future, at some future time,
adv. 123²⁷.

[*können*] be able, *kun pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 119¹²;
 121²⁸; *kündet pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 122⁸; *könde*
past subj. 1st sg. (indirect discourse) 119².

Haupt see sub **kommen**.

Haut see sub **hauen**.

kurzumb in short, briefly, *adv.* 120⁸; 122⁶.

L.

[Lamb] land, *sb. n.*, *lande dat. sg.* 119¹⁹.

lassen let 120²⁴; 123¹¹; leave undone 121⁷;
laß *imper. pl.* 121¹⁷⁻²⁴; **Laß** 121¹⁶; **ließe**
past subj. 3^d sg. 120⁷.

[lauten] sound, read, *lautent pres. p.* 120¹⁶.
lauter clear, sheer, *lautern acc. sg. m.*
118²⁸.

leben live 120⁹.

leben life, *sb. n.*, *nom. sg.* 118¹³; *dat. sg.*
122²³; *acc. sg.* 123¹⁶.

[lebendig] living, *lebendigen gen. sg. n.* 119²⁰;
dat. sg. m. 121⁴.

lection lesson, *lection, sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 123¹⁴.
lebigl empty, void 120²⁵.

[legen] lay, put, *leget imper. pl.* 123¹⁸.

lere doctrine, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 122⁸⁻²⁴;
leren *dat. pl.* 119²⁶; 122²⁷.

lernen learn 119⁷; 121⁷; **lernet** *pres. subj.*
2^d pl. 120²⁰; *imper. pl.* 121²¹.

[lesen] read, **liß** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 122¹²; **lese**
pres. subj. 3^d sg. 123¹⁴.

lesterung scandal-mongering, calumniating,
sb. f. 123¹⁹.

[leht] last, **lehten** *dat. pl. f.* 122²⁰.

[leib] body, *sb. m.*, **leibe** *dat. sg.* 121¹⁴.

leichte easily, *adv.* 122¹⁶.

[licht] light, *sb. n.* **lichtes** *gen. sg.* 119¹².

[lieb] beloved, dear, **lieben** *voc. pl.* 118⁶;
120¹⁶⁻²⁰; 121⁸; 123¹⁰.

liebe love, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 119²³; 120⁹⁻¹⁴;
121²; 123²⁴; *acc. sg.* 118²³; 120¹⁸.

[lieben] love, **liebet** *pres. subj. 2^d pl.* 120¹⁷;
geliebet *p.p.* 120¹⁷.

liebhaberinne lover, *sb. f.* 119¹⁷.

ließe see sub **lassen**.

liß see sub **lesen**.

[listig] cunning, astute, **listiger** *nom. sg. m.*,
indefinite article preceding 119¹¹.

lob praise, *sb. n.*, *nom. sg.* 122¹.

[lobgesang] song of praise, *sb. m.*, **lob-**
gesungen *dat. pl.* 121²².

[Lucas] Luke, **Lucce** *gen. sg.* 122⁶⁻⁷.

Lügereder man that speaks lies, *sb. m.*,
nom. pl. 122²⁸.

[lust] desire, *sb. f.*, **luste**, *gen. pl.* 118²²;
lusten *dat. pl.* 121⁹.

M.

[machen] make, **mach** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 121¹⁴;
gemacht *p.p.* 122²².

mag, **mag** see sub **mügen**.

maiß see sub **maß** **maiß**.

man man, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 123¹².

maffen see **der maffen**.

[Matthæus] Matthew, *gen. sg.* **Matthæi**,
abbreviated **Mat.** 119⁸ or **Matth.** 122¹⁰.

mehr more, greater 123⁹; *acc. sg. f.* 120⁴;
dat. pl. n. 120²⁰ the absence of terminal
ending the same as with **vil** 60¹⁴ vor
vil Jahren; **mehrer**, if correct, must be
gen. pl. plurium 123¹⁵, but it may be
mistake for **mehren** *acc. sg. m.* of the
adj. qualifying **teyl vorn m. teyl**, for the
greater part cf. Doc. VII Ed. A, C^b.

mehr more, *adv.* 119²⁸.

men[sh] man, *sb. m.*, *nom. sg.* 123⁵; **men[shen]**
dat. sg. 123⁶; *acc. sg.* 121¹⁴; 122⁸; *gen.*
pl. 119²⁶; 122²¹; *dat. pl.* 122⁷⁻²⁴.

[menshlich] human, **menshlicher** *gen. sg. f.*,
no article preceding 119^{13/14}; *dat. sg. f.*,
no article preceding 118¹⁵; **menshlichen**
nom. pl. f. 118²⁹.

merden mark, pay attention to, **merde**
opt. 3^d sg., *m. darauff* 122¹².

meiden avoid, abstain from 122²⁹.

meyn my, *nom. sg. m.* 123¹¹; *acc. sg. n.*
123²³; **meyne** *nom. sg. f.* 120²⁶⁻²⁸; *nom.*
pl. m. 120¹⁸; **meynen** *gen. sg. f.* 121³;
meynem *dat. sg. m.* 120²⁴; **meynen** *dat.*
pl. m. 118⁸.

meynung meaning, intention, *sb. f.*, *nom.*
sg. 119⁴; 120²⁸; *dat. sg.* 123²⁴.

miß, **mir** see sub **ich**.

mißbrand abuse, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 118²⁹;
mißbruchen *dat. pl.* 121²⁹.

mit with, *prep. w. dat.* 119¹⁸; 120⁵⁻²⁸;
121¹⁰⁻²⁸; 122⁶⁻²⁰; 123¹⁴⁻¹⁷⁻²⁶⁻²⁸; *m. mehr*
worten in more words 120²⁰; *m. groffem*
schaden to the great detriment 119²⁰.

mittehdung compassion, sympathy, *sb. f.*,
acc. sg. 123²⁵; the word is now obsolete,
the neuter **mitteid** being exclusively in use.

mittel midst, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 120²⁴.

moßt see sub **mügen**.

mohte see sub **mügen**.

mohte see sub **mügen**.

mohten see sub **mügen**.

möchtet, möchtet see sub *mögen*.

[*mögen*] may, be able, *mag pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 122⁴; spelt *magt* 118²⁷; *māgen pres. ind. 1st pl.* 122¹⁶; *māget pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 121¹³; *mögen pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 119¹; *möchte past subj. 1st sg.* 121²; 123²⁸; *past subj. 3^d sg.* 120¹²; spelt *möchte* 119⁸; *möchtet past subj. 2^d pl.* 120¹⁴; spelt *möchtet* 119⁶; shortened to *möcht* 121⁵; 123¹⁰⁻¹⁶; *möchten past subj. 1st pl.* 122²⁵; *past subj. 3^d pl.* 117¹⁰.

māgen see sub *mögen*.

māget see sub *mögen*.

māglich possible 122¹⁵.

[*munde*] mouth, *sb. m.*, *munde dat. sg.* 121¹²⁻¹⁸⁻²².

[*māffen*] be obliged, have to, *muß pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 119²⁷; *māffen pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 119²¹.

muß see sub *māffen*.

māffigen *fiß refl.*, make it one's business, try to 123²⁰.

mür see sub *id.*

N.

nach after, according to, *prep. w. dat.* 120²⁻²²; 121⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁴⁻²⁰; 122⁸; 123¹⁶; spelt *noch* 117⁸; 119⁶⁻²⁰⁻²³⁻²⁷. With regard to 119²⁷ there may be doubt as to whether we have to do with *noch* = *nach* (after) or *noch* (nevertheless), the sentence *ſie muß noch dem erkenntnis der gottilichen warheit weichen* being capable of either construction: it must give way to truth after that has been recognized or: nevertheless it must give way to the recognition of truth.

nach dem after, in accordance with what, because, *conj.* 118⁷; 120²⁴; spelt *noch dem* 118²⁷.

nachgeben give in to, make allowance for 120².

[*nach mañ*] afterwards, *adv.*, spelt *noch mañ* 119^{10/11}.

nachtrahten seeking after, observation, searching, *dat. sg.*, infinitive used as neuter noun 118²⁰.

Rawenburg name of place, *dat. sg.* 117⁵; spelt *Rawenburg* 118^{1/2}.

nehmen take, *inf.*, *jun.* 122²⁰; *nehmen pres. subj. 2^d pl.*, *Auff das ihr ... zu herſen n.* 120²¹.

neht (= mhd. *nēht*, superlative of *nāch*), *adv.*, lately, recently 118⁷. Like Latin *proxime*, *neht* may refer either to that which is next to the speaker in the time preceding or in the time to come; at present *nāchſtens* is used in the latter sense only.

[*neht*] neighbor, *adj.* used as noun, *nehten dat. sg.* 118²³.

nemlich namely, to wit, *adv.* 118¹³; 122¹⁷ preceded by *als*.

nenen call 121²⁸.

new new, *acc. sg. n.* 120¹⁶.

newerung innovation, *sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 121²⁸.

nicht not, negation 118¹⁴⁻¹⁷; 119¹⁻²⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹³⁻²³⁻²⁴; 120²²⁻²³; 121²⁻⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻¹⁹⁻³¹; 122⁵⁻⁹⁻¹³; 123⁴⁻⁹.

nichts nothing 118²⁴; 119²; 120⁷; 123¹¹; *gar n.* is used in the sense of not at all 118³⁰; 121²⁵.

noch nor 118³⁰ preceded by *nichts*; still 121²⁷; 122¹⁷.

noch still, *adv.* 119²⁰. See also sub *nach*.

noch = *nach* see sub *nach*.

noch dem see sub *nach dem*.

noch mañ see sub *nach mañ*.

nöten see sub *von*.

[*nöttigen*] force; *genöttiget p.p.* 119²².

nn now, *adv.* 118¹⁹; 120²¹; 121⁸; 122¹⁶; 123¹.

nur only, *adv.* 121³².

nütlich useful, profitable, *n.* *zur befferung* 121²¹.

nütlich profitably, *adv.* 117⁹.

nimmer never, *adv.* 120²⁸.

O.

ob if, *conj.* 119¹⁰; 120²¹; spelt *Ob* 121³⁰, where it has the concessive sense of even if, the verb being in the subjunctive. The same concessive force would have to be attributed to *ob* 121¹ *vnd o.* *ich bißmal perſonlich bey euch nicht ſeyn möchte*, provided it is correct and not, as would seem more probable, mistake for *ob* = *ober* (aber), the governing conjunction being *Diemei*. For in this clause the principal reason is brought forward why Schwenckfeld sends the letter: because he cannot in person

respond to the invitation, he wants the letter to be a substitute. Ob would seem to give a tinge of the problematical to the reason adduced.

oder or 118¹⁶; 119¹⁵; 120¹⁷; 121¹⁷⁻¹⁸; 122¹⁸⁻¹⁹; 123¹⁸.

[offenbaren] reveal, offenbart *p.p.* 123³⁻⁴.

[ohr] ear *sb. n.*, ohren *dat. pl.* 121¹².

one without, *prep. w. acc.* 119¹.

Oßig name of place 118³.

P.

Ḥ. Paul St. Paul, *nom. sg.* 118²⁴; 122²⁴; 123³; *dat. sg.* 123¹⁴; Ḥ. Pauls *gen. sg.* 121³⁰; a solitary instance of the Latin form of the *nom. sg.* Paulus, without the Ḥ[ancus] preceding 120⁸.

[person] person, *sb. f.*, personen *dat. pl.* 118¹⁷; 122²¹.

persönlich personally, in person, *adv.* 121¹.

predigen preach, *pres. inf. act.*, in the sense of *pres. inf. pass.* 120¹³; gepredigt *p.p.* 119^{18/19}.

priorinne prioress, *sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 119¹⁶⁻²².

[Propheet] prophet, *sb. m.*, Propheeten *acc. sg.* 120²⁴; 122¹¹; propheeten *nom. pl.* 122¹⁴; *dat. pl.* 123¹⁴.

[prüfen] prove, examine, prüffet *imper. pl.* 119⁹.

[psalm] psalm, *sb. m.*, psalmen *acc. pl.* 121²¹.

Q.

queme see sub kommen.

R.

reht advice, *sb. m.* 123¹¹.

[raten] advise, geraten *p.p.* 119⁹.

raum room, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 121¹²⁻¹⁸.

[recht] right, true, rechten *acc. sg. m.* 121⁴.

recht rightly, truly, genuinely, *adv.* 118¹⁹.

rede talk, address, *sb. m.* 120²⁰.

[reden] talk, redet *imper. pl.* 121²⁰; geredt *p.p.* 120²⁰.

regieren govern 119²³.

regiment regiment, rule 123².

reich kingdom, *sb. n.* 122⁵. See also weist reich.

[Richten] direct, Richtet *pres. ind. 2^d pl.*, R. yhr 122⁷ (conditional clause).

[Rome] name of place, Rome *dat. sg.* 122³.

S.

[sache] thing, matter, affair, *sb. f.*, sachen *acc. pl.* 122⁷.

sagen say 122¹²; saget *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 118²⁴; 122²⁴⁻²⁵; 123³; gesagt *p.p.* 122¹¹; 123^{8,9}; contracted to gesagt 118^{25/26}.

samt together with, *prep. w. dat.* 123¹⁰.

S[anc]t see Paul.

satzunge rule laid down, ordinance, precept, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 118¹⁵; sationen *nom. pl.* 118³⁰.

[schaden] harm, detriment, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.* 119²⁰.

[schaffen] create, geschaffen *p.p.* 122²⁰.

[schalk] rogue, *sb. m.* 119¹¹.

[schen] appearance, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.* 118¹⁵.

[schleunig] speedily, *adv.*, [schleunigste] *superlative acc. sg.* 123¹⁵, auffß f., in the speediest way.

Schleien Silesia, *dat. sg.* 119¹⁰. Note the ð; is it due to Slavic influence? cf. zone (Zili) in the Trebniger Psalmen 81⁶.

[schöne] beautifully, *adv.* 121¹⁰.

[schreiben] writing, letter, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 121³; 123²³.

[schreiben] write, [schreibet] *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 120⁸.

[schrift] scripture, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 123¹⁴⁻¹⁷.

Schwendfeldt 117⁴; spelt Schwendfeldt 118².

[schwinden] disappear 119¹² sich f. make himself disappear.

[sechß] sixth, [sechsten] *dat. sg. n.*, am f. (so. Kapitel) 120⁸.

[seele] soul, *sb. f.*, [seelen] *gen. sg. (or pl.)* 121¹¹; spelt seelen 119²⁰.

sehen see 122¹⁰; 123¹⁰; see also sub sibe.

sehet zu see sub zusehen.

selben see sub derselbe.

selber self, *acc. sg. f.* 120⁸; *acc. pl. f.* 120³⁰;

selbest *nom. sg. m.* 123²⁵; see also sub da.

selbige, selbigen see sub derselbige.

selbwillig spontaneously, *adv.* 119^{23/24}.

seien see sub seie.

seltsam happily, blessedly, *adv.* 119⁶.

seligheit happiness, blessedness, salvation, *sb. f.* 122²¹; *dat. sg.* 119¹.

seltsam strange, seldom to be found 120¹⁰.

[senden] sink, *trans.*, gesendet *p.p.* 120²².

senbrieff missive, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 117¹.

senffte softness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 119²⁵; in this sense the word is now obsolete, its use being restricted to designate a soft, portable chair, Sedan chair.

senffte soft, easy 120¹²; corresponds exactly to mhd. senfte, ahd. semfti; in modern usage we have the form sanft without the umlaut.

[sehen] seat, *refl.*, [set] *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 123⁷.

seyn be, *inf.* 119⁸; 120³⁻¹²; 121²; 122²⁰;

syn *pres. ind. 1st sg.* 118⁹; 121¹; ist *pres.*

ind. 3d sg. 118²³; 119⁷⁻¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻²⁷; 120⁷⁻¹⁰⁻

²²⁻³¹; 121¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻²¹; 122⁵⁻⁶⁻⁷⁻¹¹⁻¹³; 123¹⁻⁵⁻

⁸⁻¹¹⁻²²; [set] *pres. ind. 2d pl.* 120¹⁸; 121⁶;

sind *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 118²³, the by-form

seyn 121²⁷⁻³⁰; 122¹⁷⁻²⁴⁻²⁸; [ey] *pres. subj.*

3d sg. 118¹⁷; 122²⁻³; 123⁴⁻⁸; *opt. 3d sg.*

123¹⁹⁻²⁸; [set] *imper. pl.* 121¹⁵; 123²⁰;

war *past ind. 1st sg.* 120²¹; were *past*

subj. 3d sg. 122¹⁵; shortened to wer 119⁴⁻

¹⁰⁻¹⁸⁻²⁵; 123¹²; which is spelt wehr 120⁷;

were *past subj. 3d pl.* 121³¹; geweest *p.p.*

118⁹; 119⁴; 120³⁻²⁸; 122¹⁷; 123¹. See

also geseyn.

seyn of it, see sub er.

seyn his, its, *acc. sg. n.* 120²³; seynen *acc.*

sg. m. 120²¹; seynen *dat. sg. f.* 120²²;

seyne *acc. sg. f.* 120¹².

seht see sub seyn be.

sich *refl.*, himself, herself, themselves, *acc.*

sg. m. 119¹²; 123^{6-7 bis}; *acc. sg. f.* 120⁶⁻⁷;

acc. pl. m. 122¹⁹; *acc. pl. f.* 117⁶.

se see sub er.

sehe lo! *imp. sing.* of sehen used as exclamation 122¹².

sind see sub seyn be.

singen sing 121²¹.

so so, *adv.* qualifying adj. or adv., es ist

... seyne gewonheit f. stard 119²⁷; Ab

der gesenge nicht f. viel weren 121³¹; [aget

Es. Paul ... f. klar 122²⁵; Bil ... mich

f. viel müssen 123²⁶; so viel as much

as: f. v. myr Got ... gnab verlihen 118¹⁰;

f. vil mir bewußt 119¹⁰; so fern: f. yhr ...

bleybet 121¹⁰ in so far as; so wol ... als:

f. w. außershalb a. hinnerhalb 118²⁶ as well

... as; introducing the apodosis = then:

wie wol es seyn mochte, das yhr ... aus

dem closter ginet / Es. wolt ich doch euch

... geroten haben 119⁸; Es. wolt ich ...

doch 120¹⁰; habt yhr achtunge darauff,

... das solche ... gehen aus eynem glew-

bigen ... herzen. Es. wird der gehst ... ge-

ben 121²²; Richtet yhr all ewer sachen nach

der lere ... / f. kündt yhr nicht felen 122⁸;

so ... yemandt ... wird sagen ... f. solt yhrs

nicht glewben 122¹²; introducing a rec-

ommendation: f. sehet ... zu 121⁸ now

then; used as a conjunction = if: f. yhn

Gott ... gnade ... gegeben 120⁴; f. sich yr-

genteyne lieffe bünden 120⁶; f. yhr liebe ...

habet 120¹⁸; f. es ... beschwerung ist 120³¹;

f. yhr durch das ... wort ... auffrichtet

121²⁷; f. ... yemandt wird sagen 122¹²;

used as relative = who, which: durch die

f. lügenreber seyn 122²⁷; spelt [as]: die ge-

lubbe f. one funde nicht mogen gehalten

werden 119¹.

solch such, *nom. sg. n.* 118²⁶; 119²; 123¹;

acc. pl. n. 120²²; solcher *dat. sg. f.* 122⁹;

solche *nom. pl. m.* 121²²; solchen *dat. pl.*

m. 122²⁴; solches *acc. sg. n.* (absolute)

123¹⁰; shortened to solch *nom. sg. n.*

118²⁰; *gen. sg. n.* 119²⁰; *acc. sg. n.* 119¹².

[sollen] shall, be under obligation, sollt

pres. ind. 2d pl. 119⁴; spelt solt 122¹³;

sollen *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 117⁷; 118²⁰; soltet

past subj. 2d pl. 121⁷.

sonder but, *conj.* 119^{24/25}; 121⁹; sonder 119⁴⁻¹⁵;

the older form sunder 119²⁰; 121¹²; Sunde-

der 118¹⁸; 121²⁰.

sonst else, *adv.*, f. yederman everybody else

123²¹; otherwise, for the rest 123¹⁸.

speyße food, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 121¹¹; *dat. sg.*

118¹⁷; 122²¹; *acc. sg.* 122²⁰.

[sprache] language, *sb. f.*, sprachen *dat. sg.*

121²⁴.

[sprechen] speak, say, spricht *pres. ind. 3d sg.*

120¹⁶; gesprochen *p.p.* 122¹⁰.

spruch saying, *sb. m.* 120¹⁵; spruche *acc. pl.*

122²⁰.

[spielen] play, spielt *imper. pl.* 121²².

stard strong 119²⁷.

[stehen] stand, steht *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 122¹¹;

steht *pres. subj. 3d sg.* 118¹⁴⁻¹⁸.

steht see sub sette.

stelle place, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 118¹⁷.

sette stead, place, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 122²¹;

spelt steht *dat. sg.* 122¹¹; this spelling

was very likely taken over from Luther's September Bible in loco where we read feet.

stifter founder, *sb. m., gen. pl.* 119⁴.

stradß straightway, *adv.* 122³⁰.

[suchen] seek, [sucht *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 118²⁵.

sunde sin, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 123⁵; *acc. sg.* 119¹.

sunder sinner, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 123²⁹.

sunder *conj.* see sub sonder.

sutemal since, *conj.*, 120⁷⁻²⁸.

I.

tag day, *sb. m.* 123³; *tages gen. sg.*, *hew-tiges t.* now-a-days 122¹⁷; *tage dat. sg.* 123³.

[tapffer] able, capable, *tapffern acc. sg. m.* 123¹².

teglich daily, *adv.* 119¹⁸; 123¹².

tempel temple, *sb. m.* 121⁶; *acc. sg.* 123⁷.

teuffel devil, demon, *sb. m., gen. pl.* 122²⁷.

teyl part, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 123¹⁵.

[Thessalonicher] Thessalonians, abbreviated *Thessa.* 123³.

[Timotheus] Timothy, abbreviated *Thims.* 122²⁶.

thun do, work 121⁷; 122¹⁴; *thut pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 118²⁴; *gethan p.p.* 118¹²; 120²⁸;

gethanen gen. sg. f. of the *p.p.* 121³.

tdtunge mortification, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 118²².

trachten be after, look (seek) after, *barauff t.* 119⁴; *trachtet imper. pl.*, *t. nach dem Wörtlichen wort* 121¹⁰.

tragen bear 120⁶; *traget imper. pl.* 121²⁶; *getragen p.p.* 123²⁶.

treghlich bearable 120¹²; modern usage calls for the compound *ertröglich*.

trenlich faithfully, sincerely, loyally, *adv.* 119⁹.

[trew] sincere, loyal, *trewer nom. sg. m.* 123¹¹.

trösten comfort 120²⁹; *getröst* (contracted from *getröstet*) *p.p.* 121⁴.

tröster comforter, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 123²⁷.

[tugent] virtue, *sb. f., tugenten dat. pl.* 119²⁶.

[tugentreich] virtuous, *tugentreichen dat. pl. f.* 118¹; *voc. pl.* 118⁶.

II.

ubel evil 119¹¹.

uben sich *refl.*, exercise oneself 119²⁶.

über over, *prep. w. acc.* 119²⁴; 123⁶; misprinted *ubet* 121¹⁷ where it has the sense of above, beyond.

uchristlich unchristian 121²⁷.

und and, *conj.* 117¹⁻⁷; 118³⁻⁵⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻

²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁸⁻³⁰; 119^{1-3-4-6-10 bis 12-17-19-24-25 bis};

120²⁻⁴⁻⁵⁻⁹⁻¹²⁻³⁰; 121^{1-4-5-6-14 bis 15-18-21-22-}

23 (*Und*). 25-26; 122^{2-8-10-14 ter 17-19-20-22-24-}

27 bis 28-29 bis 30; 123^{2-4-5-6-7-10-12-14 bis 16-}

18 bis 19 bis 20 (*Und*). 24-25; special mention

ought to be made of the clause coordinated by und which is logically subordinated and stands for a subordinated infinitive clause 123¹² *wolt euch nichts beschweren lassen und eynen frommen . . . man . . . bestellen*. Such coordination instead of subordination is frequent in English, e. g. Come and take a walk with me.

[ungefelfch] unadulterated, unfeigned, *ungefelfche acc. sg. f.* 118²².

[unnott] non-need, *sb. f.*, occurring only in the phrase *von unnottin* by no means necessary 119¹.

[unnutz] useless, unprofitable, *unnutzen dat. pl. n.* 121¹⁹; *unnutze acc. pl. m.* 119³.

uns see sub ich.

[unser] our, *unser gen. sg. m.* 122²; *gen. sg. n.* 118²²; *unserem dat. sg. m.* 118⁵; 123²⁷; contracted to *unserm* 118²⁸; 120²⁸; 122¹⁸; *unsern dat. pl. f.* 122¹⁶; *dat. pl. n.* 118^{20/21}.

unter among, *prep. w. dat.* 122⁶; spelt *unter* 120¹⁵; *untereinander* one another 120¹⁷⁻¹⁸; one to the other 121¹⁵; 123²⁰; one with the other 121²⁰; *untereinander* one with the other 120⁹ which is adopted from Luther's version in the September Bible.

unterthan subject, subservient 121^{15 bis}.

unterweyßen instruct, teach 120⁵.

[unnerstaub] ignorance, *sb. m., unnerstaubt gen. sg.* 121²⁵.

[unnerstendlich] unintelligible, *unnerstendlichen gen. sg. n.* 121²¹.

unnerstridt unhampered, unfettered 121¹⁷.

[unzeytig] unseasonable, *unzeytigen dat. pl. n.* 121²⁰.

üppidicht luxuriousness, lustfulness, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 120³⁰.

ursache cause, reason, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 119¹⁴.

U.

vater father, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 118⁵.
verachtung contempt, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 118²¹.
verbieten forbid, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 122²⁰.
verbrengen bring to end, pass (life) 123¹⁸.
[verführen] mislead, seduce, *verführt p.p.* 122^{14/15}.
verführung seduction, seductive teaching, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 122⁹.
vergeben forgive, *p.p.* 123²¹; *vergebet imper. pl.* 123²⁰.
vergebens in vain, *adv.* 118²⁴; 120²³.
verlachen ridicule, laugh at, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 121²⁷.
verletzung injury, offense, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 120²⁷.
[verleihen] grant, *verliehen p.p.* 118¹¹.
[vernewern] renew, *vernewert pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 121²⁸; modern usage would call for a compound with *er-*.
[versammeln] gather, *versamlet p.p.* 118¹.
versammlung gathering, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 120²⁶.
[verständnis] understanding, *sb. m., verstande dat. sg.* 120⁴.
[verständlich] intelligible, *verständlich dat. sg. f.* 121²⁴.
verstricken fetter, hamper 122²².
verstrückunge perdition, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 123⁵.
[vertragen] bear, suffer, *vertraget pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 118²⁴.
vertrauen trust, confidence, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 118¹⁶⁻¹⁸.
vertrösten *refl.*, trust 120¹¹.
viel much 118¹⁰; 121³¹; 123²⁶; spelt *vil* 119¹⁶. See also sub *wit*.
[verschiff] diligent, *verschiffem dat. sg. n.* 118²⁰.
verschiff diligently, *adv.* 120²³.
völk people, *sb. n.* 123².
von of, *prep. w. dat.* 117³; 118²⁻⁴; 117³; 119⁷⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁶; 120²¹; 121²⁰; 122⁵⁻²⁴; by 120²⁴; 122¹; 123⁸; from 123¹⁰⁻²⁴; away from 118²⁷; 122²⁶; 123¹⁸. Note the phrases *von nöthen* necessary 120²³; 123¹; *von unnöthen* unnecessary 119¹; *von wegen* because of 123¹.
vor before, *prep. w. dat.* 119²; *w. acc. of*

definite article contracted to *vern* 123¹⁵; see also *fur*.

verbinden oblige, be binding on 118²⁰.

vergleichen comparing, infinitive used as neuter noun 119¹⁸.

[vorig] former, *vorigen* 121³¹.

vern see sub *vor*.

V.

[wandeln] walk, *wandelt pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 121¹⁸.

war see sub *seyn* be.

ward see sub *werden*.

[wahrhaftig] true, genuine, *wahrhaftige nom. sg. n.* 122¹.

wahrheit truth, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 123¹⁶; *dat. sg.* 119²⁶ (may also be considered gen. dependent upon *erkenntnis*; see sub *nach* after); 122²; *acc. sg.* 122²⁰.

[warnen] warn, *gewarnt p.p.* 122⁹.

was something, indefinite pronoun used adverbially for *etwas* 120².

was *rel.*, see sub *wer*.

wegen see sub *von*.

wehr see sub *seyn* be.

weil see sub *die* *weil*.

welcher which, who, *rel., nom. sg.* 123¹³; *welches nom. sg. n.* 121¹⁰; *acc. sg. n.* 118¹⁰; 119³; contracted to *welchs nom. sg. n.* 121²⁸; 122².

welt see sub *werlet*.

welt reich worldly kingdom, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 122¹⁸.

wenn when, *conj.* 122¹⁰; for 122⁴.

wer, *were* see sub *seyn* be.

wer who, *rel., nom. sg. m.* 122¹²; *nom. pl.* 122¹⁷; *was* what, *nom. sg. n.* 122⁶; *acc. sg. n.* 121⁷⁻²³; the *gen. sg.* *weß* is used adverbially in connection with *sich halten* (how to conduct themselves) 117⁶.

werd work, *sb. n. gen. pl.* 118¹⁶.

werden become, be, *inf.* 119¹; 121⁵; 122⁴⁻²⁰; *wirt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 119¹⁹; spelt *wird* answering to English shall 120¹⁷⁻²⁶; 122¹⁻¹²; *werdet pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 121⁴; answers to English shall (will) 122¹⁰; *werden pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 122¹⁵⁻²⁶; answers to English shall, *pl.* 122¹³; *werde pres. subj. 3^d sg.* 123⁴; *ward past ind. 1st sg.* 120²⁰; *wurde past subj. 3^d sg.* 119¹¹; 120¹¹⁻¹⁵; 121⁶;

122²; 123²; *wurdet past subj. 2^d pl. 120⁶; wurden past subj. 3^d pl. 121²⁷.*
werdet see sub *werden*.
weren see sub *ſeyn* be.
werlet world, *sb. f.*, (metathesis of *werelet*)
gen. sg. 118²¹; dat. sg. 122⁴⁻⁵; contracted to werlt gen. sg. 120²⁰; the form welt gen. sg. 119¹¹; dat. sg. 119¹⁰; and in the compound welt reych which see.
wes see sub *wet*.
wesen being, *sb. n., nom. sg. 118¹⁴; dat. sg. 122²³; spelt weſen nom. sg. 118²⁶; 119².*
weychen give way to 119²⁸.
weyß see sub *wiſſen*.
weyſe way, manner, *sb. f., gen. sg. 120²⁸; spelt weyße 119⁸⁻¹⁴.*
weytter further on, as a further consequence, *adv. 118²¹.*
wibder see *zu wibder*.
wibderumb again, *adv. 121¹.*
wider against, *prep. w. acc. sg. 122²⁰.*
widerſtehen barking against, refractory behavior, *inf. used as neuter noun, acc. sg. 121¹⁶.*
widerkriſtiſch antichristian, *nom. sg. n. 123^{1/2}.*
[widerwertig] opposing, *widerwertiger nom. sg. m., indefinite article preceding 123^{5/6}.*
wie how, *adv. 117⁷; coupled with viel 121²³; how that, conj. 118¹³⁻²⁶; 120²; as 118²³; 120⁸⁻¹⁷; 121²⁶; 123³⁻²¹⁻²³⁻²⁶; wie immer however, coupled with an adverb, w. hoch er y. mag angeſehen werden 122⁴.*
wie wol although, *conj. 119⁷; 120²⁰; 23ie-wol 120¹⁰.*
wil see sub *wollen*.
wille will, wish, *sb. m., nom. sg. 119⁴; wiſſen dat. sg. 123¹⁷.*
[wircken] work, effect, *wirckt pres. ind. 3^d sg. 118²¹.*
wird see *werden*.
wirt see sub *iſch*.
wirt see sub *werden*.
wiſſen know, *inf. 120²²; 121⁵; weyß pres. ind. 3^d sg. 123²⁶; wiſſet pres. subj. 2^d pl. 121²².*
wø where, *conj.*, used in the sense of *if 122¹⁵; 123²⁶.*
wol well, *adv. 119⁹; 120³¹; 121⁵; 121⁷;*

coupled with preceding *gleich ſo* just as well 118²⁶. See also *wie wol*.
wolde, wolben see sub *wollen*.
[wollen] will, want, wish, *wil pres. ind. 1st sg. 120²³; 23il in the sense of future 123²⁶; wollen wish, pres. ind. 3^d pl. 122¹⁹; wollet imp. pl. 123²⁵; contracted to wolt 123¹¹; wolte past ind. 1st sg. 119¹³; past ind. 3^d sg. 119²³; shortened to wolt past ind. 1st sg. 119⁶; 120¹⁰; spelt wolbe past ind. 1st sg. 121²; past ind. 3^d sg. 120²³⁻²⁷; wollet past ind. 2^d pl. 120¹⁰; wolten past ind. 3^d pl. 120²; spelt wolben 120³.
wolt, wolte, wolten, wollet see sub *wollen*.
[wonen] dwell, *wone pres. subj. 3^d sg. 121⁶.*
wor see *fur wor*.
wort word, *sb. n., nom. sg. 120¹¹⁻¹³; dat. sg. 121¹⁰; acc. sg. 120²²; 121²⁶; 123²; acc. pl. 120²²; wortes gen. sg. 119⁵⁻²⁰; wortis 118²⁰; 119¹⁷; worte dat. sg. 120²⁶; 121²⁰; acc. pl. 121²⁴; worten dat. pl. 121²⁰; 122¹⁶.*
wunder wonder, miracle, *sb. n., acc. pl. 122¹⁴.*
[wuntſchen] wish, *wuntſch pres. ind. 1st sg. 118⁴. Note the insertion of inorganic t between n and ſch.*
wurde, wurden, wurdet see sub *werden*.
[wüß] horrible, repulsive, *wüßten acc. sg. m. 122¹⁰.*
wyr see sub *iſch*.*

Y.

yederman everybody, *nom. sg. m. 120¹⁸; spelt yderman dat. sg. 121¹⁴; 123²¹.*
yemandt anybody, *nom. sg. m. 122¹².*
yhe ever, at all events, *adv.*, Denn es y. meynemeynung gewest so. iſt 120²⁸; coupled with a comparative, wolt euch nichts beſchweren laſſen vnd eynen frommen man . . . y. beſſer beſtellen 123¹³. It is quite evident that a preceding *yhe* *chr* the sooner, corresponding with *yhe* *beſſer*, the better, has dropped out here.
yhm see sub *er*.
yhn see sub *er*.
yhr you, *nom. pl. f.*, 119⁴⁻⁵⁻⁸⁻⁹⁻¹⁵; 120⁶⁻⁹⁻¹³⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻²⁰; 121³⁻⁵⁻⁷⁻⁸⁻¹³⁻¹⁶⁻²³⁻²⁶⁻²⁷⁻²⁸; 122⁷⁻⁸⁻¹⁰; 123¹⁰⁻¹⁵⁻²⁶; with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person contracted to

h̄rē 122¹²; *ewer gen. pl. f.* 120²⁰; *enē dat. pl.* 118⁴⁻⁹⁻¹²; 119⁹⁻¹⁸; 120¹²⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁻²¹; 121^{2 bis 20}; 122¹⁻²⁻¹²; 123¹³⁻¹⁸⁻¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²⁶⁻²⁷⁻²⁸; *acc. pl.* 118²⁰; 119²³⁻²⁴⁻²⁶; 120^{1-9-17 bis 29-30}; 121¹⁻¹⁹⁻²³⁻²⁷; 122³; 123¹¹.

[*h̄rē*] her, *h̄rē* *gen. sg. n.*, without the article 122²⁰; *h̄rēn* with the article preceding 118²⁵; their: *h̄rē* *gen. pl. f.* 119²⁰; *h̄rēn dat. pl. m.* 121²⁰; 122²⁸; *h̄rēm dat. sg. n.* 120²⁷; 122²³.

h̄rē see sub *h̄r* you.

h̄m see sub *h̄n*.

h̄mmer see sub *wie*.

h̄n in, *prep. w. dat.* 118³⁻²⁹; 119⁵⁻¹⁹⁻²²⁻²⁶; 120²⁰; with the dative of masculine or neuter article contracted to *h̄m* 118¹; 120⁴; 121⁴⁻¹²; spelt *h̄nn* 118^{14-18 bis 20}; 120¹⁰⁻²²⁻²⁴; 121²⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻¹¹⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁻²²⁻²⁴⁻²⁶; 122²⁻²⁰; 123¹³⁻²⁷; *h̄n w. acc.* 118²⁸; 119¹²⁻²⁵; 123²¹; spelt *h̄nn* 120⁹⁻¹⁴⁻²³⁻²⁹; 122¹⁵⁻²⁶; 123⁷⁻²². The use of *h̄nn* with dative 120²⁴, is notable: *h̄m̄eynem ab̄schēbe* at my departure, where modern usage would call for *h̄ē*.

h̄nnerh̄alb within, *prep. w. gen.* 118²⁰.

h̄r see sub *er*.

h̄r kein any one, *h̄r* keiner *dat. sg. f.*, *h̄r* keiner Jundfrawen vrsache geben aus dem kloster *h̄zihen* to give any sister cause for withdrawing from the cloister 119¹⁴. Cf. Ein Christliche ermanung zu furdern das wortt Gottis B ij b l. 16: wo irleinn werd der liebe durch vnns geschicht / whenever any work of love is done by us. A third instance of the word is found in Böhme, Diplom. Beitr. I (1770) 76, the document in which it occurs bearing the date of July 4, 1685: Und damit bieser gehaltenen grantzhandlung ir kein gebend-zeichen sein möchte, &c. and so that there be some souvenir of this action taken with regard to the boundaries. Here seems to belong the *infeyn* met with in a document of 1263, from the Nieder-rheyn published in BfW. IX, 262: Alle bi disen brif sint, bi sulen wizzin, dat ihc Subewiſc Balpode van der Nuwer burſc allerhande vorberunge / of ihc *infeyne* hette gehaft, up mine vrobe Metſilde die grevinnin was zu Geyne, han verrigen bit / vrien willin umbetvungen &c. All those

Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum.

who see this letter shall know that I, Ludwig of Nuwenburg, have transferred of my own free will to my wife Mechtilde who was countess at Seyne all kinds of claims, if I have had any. It is possible that *infeyne* in this letter is a misreading for *irfeyne* just as *Nuwer burſc* seems to be a misreading for *Nuwen buſſc*. If it is correct, it will stand on a par with *irlein* as a development of *irſeyn* adverted to in the Apparatus criticus. See note to 119¹⁴.

[*h̄rgenteſyn*] any one, *h̄rgenteſyn nom. sg. f.* 120⁶.

h̄rren trans., lead astray, trouble 118²⁰; 121²⁶.

[*h̄rrig*] erring; in the sense of making to err, seducing, it occurs in *h̄rrigen dat. pl. m.*, *h̄. geh̄rren* 122²⁷.

h̄rt̄humb error, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 122¹⁵.

3.

h̄enḡniſ testimony, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 122¹.

h̄eyden sign, miracle, *sb. n.*, *acc. pl.* 122¹⁴.

h̄eyt time, season, *sb. f.*, *gen. sg.* 117⁷; *dat. sg.* 120²⁰; 121⁹; *acc. sg.* 118¹¹⁻¹⁷; 122²¹; *h̄eyten dat. pl.* 122¹⁷⁻²⁶.

h̄ihen draw, aus dem kloster *h̄uz*, to withdraw from the cloister 119¹⁴.

h̄irn ire, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 123¹⁰.

h̄nertragen see sub *h̄n* and *ertragen*.

h̄ngeberē see sub *h̄n* and *geberē*.

h̄nnehmen see sub *h̄n* and *nehmen*.

h̄n see sub *h̄n*.

h̄uzihen see sub *h̄n* and *h̄ihen*.

h̄n to, *prep. w. dat.* 120²⁵⁻²¹; 122¹²; 123²⁷; at, in 122³⁻¹⁶; coupled with *bis* until 120²⁰; *h̄n dem adv.*, in addition to that, moreover 120¹; coupled with the infinitive and printed separately 118⁸; 119¹⁵⁻²⁶; 120¹³⁻²²⁻²⁹; 121¹; 122^{23-29 bis}; printed together with the infinitive as one word: *geberē* 118²⁰; *h̄ihen* 119¹⁴; *ertragen* 120²⁰; *nehmen* 122²⁰; with the dative singular of the neuter article contracted to *h̄nn* 123¹⁵; with the dative plural of the *m.* article contracted to *h̄nn* 120⁹; with the

dative singular of the feminine article contracted to <i>jur</i> 117 ³ ; 118 ¹⁻³⁰ ; 121 ²¹ ; spelt <i>ʒu</i> 119 ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ . See also <i>ʒusehen</i> .	<i>[ʒuʃehen]</i> see to it, <i>ʃehen</i> . . . <i>ʒu</i> , <i>imper. pl.</i> , <i>ʃ. nu ʒ. . . das ʒyr . . . wandelt</i> 121 ⁸ .
<i>ʒun</i> see sub <i>ʒu</i> .	<i>ʒunser</i> heretofore, before, <i>adv.</i> 119 ⁹ ; 121 ⁵ ; 122 ⁹ ; 123 ⁴ .
<i>ʒun</i> see sub <i>ʒu</i> .	<i>ʒu wibder</i> against, <i>prep. w. dat.</i> 121 ⁴ .
<i>ʒur</i> see sub <i>ʒu</i> .	
<i>[ʒuʃaget]</i> promise, <i>ʒuʃaget pres. ind. 3^d sg.</i> 120 ²⁴ .	

VII

**An open letter to Jacob von Salza
Bishop of Breslau**

January 1, 1524

A.

OF this work there are two editions which we designate A and B. Of B there are two issues which may be distinguished as Ba and Bb respectively. No original Ms. has been discovered; private copies have been made of A on account of its exceeding rarity, they however have no authoritative value or bibliographical significance.

A. The title of the first and authentic text reads as follows: Ein Christliche ermanung zu fuzern || das wortt Gottis Añn den || hernn Bischoff von || Breslaw. || (ornamental scroll) Durch die Eblenn erentfesten || Hans Magnus von Langenwalbe vñ Caspar Schwed-felth von Ossig. The facsimile is from the copy in the Bibliotheca Milichiana in Görlitz. Copies are also found in Berlin K. B.; Breslau S. B.; Liegnitz P. P. K. B.; München K. H. S. B.; Zwickau R. B.

I. The bordure goes under the cognomen of the grape-cluster. The general conformation is that of an arch resting on a thin architrave supported by pillars. The whole portal arrangement is white and has a background of dark lines. In the middle of the extended architrave and under the arch are two carpellary leaves which have a modillion-like appearance; the under one is thin and somewhat flat; the upper is more curved and much deeper; it is also filled with grape-clusters and has a gladiate leaf springing from each side. From the centre rises a stem with two branching leaves and one upright calyx in which a bunch of grapes is conically arranged between two gladiate leaves. The arch itself consists of concentric curves, three on the inside, two on the outside. Two corollas and four balls or single grapes are visible on the left; two corollas with three balls are on the right; the entire setting of them is irregular. The keystone is cut out by the upper margin of the bordure. On the outer edge of each side of the arch and resting on the architrave are arabesques, whose figures however differ; each one at the top terminates in an inward curve with a corolla. The arch rests on two pillars more or less alike and which admit of a joint ceramic and architectural description. The double pedestal has a number of rounded bases. The larger dado has two reliefs, one of a leaf and the other of the roseberry or poppy. The dado is surmounted by two square surbases or copings

on which rests a second dado with flutings. An upper surbase with triangular pendants finishes the podium. This is surmounted by a column consisting of five parts: 1. a foliated vessel with a pine-cone; 2. above this is a dish holding melon-shaped figures; 3. this is surmounted by a stand; 4. which receives a vase ornamented with two oblique curved bands in black, dotted with balls or single grapes in white; the lips of the vase are calyx-shaped; 5. they in turn receive the upper part of a fluted column that terminates in five equal curves. On this rests a foliated capital of somewhat Gothic style; the outward curve of the capital coils upward into a corolla-like helix; from each helix hangs a pendant reaching to the edge of the lower dish on the left, but the pendants on the right side do not reach quite so far. They are ornamented with equidistant figures in the order of two balls, a corolla, then two balls again and at the end a tassel. Between the two pillars at the base is a shield in which is shrined the head of St. John the Evangelist with halo and collar; the figure rests on an inverted crown. This symbol constituted a part of the coat-of-arms of Breslau and was adopted by the printer Lybisch. In some of his bordures it is placed at the top, the engraving however being quite different. The escutcheon here has as supporter on the left an arabesque of leaves and two calyxes, the upper one containing a grape-cluster; on the right an arabesque of leaves, a calyx and a roseberry or poppy. The bordure is carved out of one block. The engravings and print are sharp and clear. The outer margin is clean cut; the inner margin, save for a few breaks on the right, is also well-defined and straight.

II. The title itself is of Gothic letters and small Schwabacher fraktur. Between the address and the names of the authors is a scroll ornament. In the caption the upper line is Gothic and the rest Schwabacher fraktur of customary size. The entire text is printed from a pretty uniform font. On the last page a line of Gothic appears in the printer's colophon. The only ornaments are on the last page: the ¶ preceding the date; in the last line of the colophon on either side very small lozenge-like blocks are grouped in the shape of a triangle. Underneath one sees a curvilinear ornament like that on the title-page, only inverted. The type is well formed and has good edges; the spacing is sometimes defective, but the print makes a clear-looking page, which is for the most part compact and square. There are occasional blurs in the letter *c* and in the modifiers.

The signatures reach from *A* to *Div* and make a quarto of thirty pages. *A*^b and *Div*^b are vacant. The leading words are generally used but on *Xiv* the phrase under the line is really a continuation of the text which the parenthetic mark is designed to indicate. On *B*, *D*, *Dij*, *Dijj*, and *Dijj*^b the spelling is slightly different from that on the next page. *Cijj*^b omits the leading word. On *Cij*, *Civ*, *Civ*^b and *Dij*^b it is on the

same line with the close of the paragraph. There are mainly thirty-three lines to a page; a few have thirty-four. *Wib* has two and *Wij* three lines unprinted, apparently to mark emphatic paragraphs.

III. The watermark is an elongated beam at whose one extremity is a cross and at the other an ox-head; around the beam a serpent is coiled with head extended. The brazen serpent is of course the symbol, combined with that of the ox-head. The same stamp appears on the paper of Valentine Crautwald's cotemporaneous work: *Ein nutzbar Ebell || Buchleinn von be^{re}ytunge zum sterbe/ mit vns^{er} richt wie sich in de ansechtuge || bo^{se}lsst zu halben sech/ auß || dem latein/ mit eyll vnd || eynefelig gebedt. (a similar ornamental scroll) Durch Walten krautwalt || von der Neisse, published by Lybisch. Again in the sheets of the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs* of Schwenckfeld which Lybisch issued during this year, the like symbol is conspicuous. One is tempted to ask whether the paper was prepared at the mill on the Oder near Breslau?*

IV. The printer of this first edition is given in the colophon at the end of the tractate: *Gedruckt in der koniglichen stadt Breslaw. durch Caspar Lybisch. im iar Tausent funffhundert vn vier. . vnd zwēzigst. .* His name is also spelled Libisch in certain of his books: as in the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs*.

V. The authors of our work are given as *Hans Magnus von Langenwalde vn Caspar Schwēdfeltz von Ossig*. The caption which is likely to be more official gives *Hanns Magnuß vō Langenwalde vn Caspar Schwēdfelt von Ossig*. The spelling *Ossig* is like that at the end of the letter.

The title of nobility in Doc. VI was *Erntfest*; to that is now added the term *edel*. It may also be noted that the Bishop is addressed on the title-page as *Herr Bischoff von Breslaw*, but in the heading as *Dem hochwirdigen in Gott vatter vnd herrn hern Jacob Bischoff zu Breslaw*.

VI. The letter is dated from Ossig, Schwenckfeld's home, on New Year's day 1524. It was therefore intended as a sort of congratulatory epistle addressed to their friend and Bishop according to a custom which still obtains. The composition therefore must have fallen toward the close of 1523. In a case of joint responsibility there would be no little interchange of thought before the conclusion was finally reached. It is possible that November and December with its Advent season and the Christmas holidays were spent at the work. The printer's colophon gives the date of publication as Breslau 1524, without any further specification. And this leads to the question of the actual date of its issue. We are at once directed to an extreme possible limit by the time of the appearance of the next work in June; and since this latter book contains an allusion to the Bishop's reply, this appeal for the promotion of the Word must have appeared in print before that response came into the hands of the authors.

Since the convention of April in Breslau shows traces of the impression produced by this exhortation, it must have seen the light before that decisive meeting. Indeed it is more than likely that it was public property almost immediately after the opening of the New Year, for its tenor seemed designed to influence the course of discussion at the Fürstentag in January. We are almost safe in concluding that it was eagerly read by the princes and nobles before the sessions of that determinative body, and that its courageous spirit animated the deliberations over the state of religion.

VII. Possibly the title was suggested by the authors because it correctly expresses the chief purpose of the letter to persuade the Bishop to issue a mandate securing the permanent authority of the Word of God in his diocese; all the other recommendations really connect themselves with that either by way of preparation or as result. The rest of the title-page however must have been arranged in the printing-office because of the liberty taken with the proper names.

B. The second edition is a fairly exact reproduction of A. Its title-page reads as follows: *Ein Christliche ermanung/ zu fürdern || das wort Gottes/ An || den Herren/ Bischoff von || Brieslaw. || Durch die Eblen Ererent || festen/ Hans Magnus von || Langenwalde/ vñ Caspar Schwendfeldt von || Offid.* The facsimiles of B are taken from the copies in Wolfenbüttel A. B. and Jena U. B. respectively.

The variations from A appear: 1. In the bordure. 2. In the printer's device. 3. In the absence of the scroll ornaments. 4. In the type, spelling and arrangement of the title-page. 5. In the type, spelling and arrangement of the text. 6. In the signatures and therefore the number of pages. 7. In the omission of the leading words. 8. In the treatment of the title E. G. and G. H. 9. In the omission of the colophon. 10. In a number of emendations some of which are correct and others are signs of ignorance, carelessness, hurry. The illustrations of these differences will appear in the various parts of the discussion.

I. The bordure is similar to that of A but older; it was in previous use for other works, hence we find the upper and lower outward margins are somewhat broken. The arabesques, balls, pendants, the black lines of the background, the lack of the corolla in the outer right hand of the pendant, are proofs of variation. A has decidedly a newer and better cut. Moreover the printer's device is entirely different. The bearings of the coat-of-arms of Augsburg, the pine cone, is substituted for the head of St. John the Evangelist and the whole arrangement of the escutcheon deviates from A: a larger square encloses a smaller, the lines of both being heavy and dark; the two are however not equidistant and their position with regard to one another varies in different copies. Within the inner square is a bordure-shield whose extreme points touch the lines of

the square, and on this field are placed the bearings. The cone itself has woody scales only on the dexter side; the sinister side is white with only a suggestion of scales in the serrated edges. The cone is set in a conventionalized, ornamented shell which is affixed to a stand with trinal bases. By a comparison of various copies it would seem that the inner square with its shield was movable, as if we might have here an elementary and crude anticipation of Congreve. A few copies present a second feature: over the pine cone is stamped another shield with the bearings of the imperial eagle. It looks as if this had been done by a small hand-press, or more likely still by an ordinary stamp, because in the two cases found the positions are different; they vary also in the impressions: the one being very black on the dexter side, the other being slighter and more distributed in color, both on the dexter and sinister sides.

II. The type is threefold: Gothic with two varieties of Schwabacher. The type of the address has the same three fonts. The type of the text is: 1. a capital $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ of the height of three lines ornamental gothic. 2. The first line is a larger Schwabacher. 3. The remainder is the medium Schwabacher. They are all clear cut and the imprint is with excellent black ink; only the *e* and the modifiers suffer from blurring. The lining is good; the spacing is too often crowded so as to lead to the omission of punctuation and to a large use of abbreviations. The cut of *f*, *h*, *t*, the *ſ* especially, *ff*, *ß*, *c3* and *ß* often interfere with compact spacing. The only ornament is the ¶ on the last printed page; it serves to introduce the Datum. The signatures run from *A* to *Div*; *A^b* and *Div^b* are vacant, *Eij*, *Eij^b*, *Eiv* and *Eiv^b* are lacking; the object of this omission was probably to preserve the final signature of A. It is a quarto of twenty-eight pages in all. There are no leading words. Except on *Aij* and *Div* there are thirty-five lines to the page.

III. The watermark is the Christian symbol of the Rho surmounted with the four-leaved clover, a form which reaches back to 1419 on Ravensburg paper.

IV. Who is the printer? There is no intimation in the title and the colophon at the end is wanting. From the variations in spelling and from the form of the escutcheon as well as the absence of the colophon, one is safe in affirming that B is surely not a reprint by Lybisch.

1. There is a work entitled: *Ein schöne Cronick vñ Hystoria/ wye nach || Der Synndtfluß Roe. Die || teütschen/ daß streitpar volda jren anfang || empfangen haben/ besonder den ersten || namen schwaben gehaiffen word-||en/ Wa vnd wie sy vñ ersten ge-||wonet/ vñ auß gebrait worde || seynd/ vñ vñ 8 abgötterey || zum Cristen gelaub-||en komen/ vñ wie || sy zu vil streyt-||en vñ frie-||ge geuracht wor-||den/ auch dar-||bey von der || kaiserlichen stat Aug-||spurg ain vater-||läd 8 Schwa-||ben w3 da selbst vñ jren Christlich-||en anfenger im glauben Cristli/*

Auch von || vil kaysern/ vñ auch vil jrer byschoff/ Vñ anß || prelātē gehäbelē
 worbē ist/ gar schön zū hōzē. 2c. At the end of this treatise stands the col-
 ophon: Vollenbung byß werds in der Kayserlichen reichßstat Augspurg des
 eltesten vater land aines der Schwabē mit fürbrung aines liebhabers/ alter/
 vñnd götlicher/ auch Euangelischer warhait. 2c. Die dan auff dise zeit/ ain
 schönen lieplichen verstendigen glantz aller welt zū der seligkeit zū gūt über-
 komen/ vñ auß 8 bynstri has anß lyecht gebracht worden ist/ Vñd Gedruet
 durch Melchior Raminger Im jar M. DXXX. On the upper band of
 the portrait bordure of this Cronick is a large shield embossed with the
 imperial arms. On the lower band is the escutcheon of the pine cone,
 the coat-of-arms of the city of Augsburg. Both these emblems appear, as
 we have seen, in connection with the bordure of B. The fact too that
 two styles of the Schwabacher used in the Cronick appear also in B
 further substantiates the identity of the printer of B.

2. Another work which has Melchior Ramminger's imprint at the end
 is: Der gulden Paradesß öpffel by the first known German dramatist,
 Pamphilus Gengenbach. The type, capitals and small letters, of this little
 poem is similar in its peculiarities to that of our epistle.

3. Another poetical work entitled: Ein schön new lieb/ Wie chri-
 tus den Lazarū von dem todt aufferweckt hat in Hörsog Ernsts || thon zū singen.
 1539/ Johannes II. ||  Ich bin die auffersteung vñ dß leben. || Johannes 6
 Wer in mich glaubt/ der wirt das ewig leben haben. || Johannes 3 || Also
 hat Got die welt geliebet/ das er seyn || ainigen sun gab/ Auff das alle/ die
 an in || glauben nit gar verloren werden/ sonder || das ewig leben habe. || Jo-
 hannes 14. || Ich bin der weg/ die warhait/ vñ dß leben. || Hanns Rogel
 was also published, possibly no later than 1539, by Melchior Ramminger.
 The type of this is exactly like that of B.

4. We may add that the grape cluster bordure is universally attrib-
 uted to Ramminger. Dommer, Heyer, Heiland, the Weimar edition of
 Luther, Barge and Freys, Götze and the Knaake Catalogue unitedly ascribe
 it to his press. We are warranted in concluding that the two issues of
 B came from the printing-house of Melchior Ramminger¹.

¹ There are a number of works which have this bordure but each with a different
 city coat-of-arms. Von dem Sabbat || vñnd gebotten || Feyertragen || Andres Carolstat ||
 M.D.xxiij, has the shield of Aldenburg. Die Artidel so || Byschoff von Bamberg || die
 zween Bröpß vñnd den || Prior Augustiner ordens zū || Nürnberg/ gefragt als || sy von im
 Citiert sein || worden/ Vñd der || Bröpß vñd Priors Antwort || am 12 tag || Septembris. ||
 In Bamberg || M.D.xxiij, has the emblem of Bamberg. Whether Ramminger published
 all these may be an open question; and yet their bordures are exactly alike. That
 of Lybisch alone is an individual engraving after this model. That this is the case
 is apparent from the earlier use made by Ramminger, reaching back to at least 1520.
 In 1528 Wolfgang Stöckel, the printer in Dresden, issued at least five works: the bor-
 dure of which is an imitation of the idea and somewhat of the form of the grape-

5. We know nothing of the circumstances that led to this second issue. Ramminger became in 1521 a printer of Reformation texts. He favored Karlstadt's works at the outset. He next published a considerable number of Luther tractates. At a later period he seems to have inclined to more radical opinions and publications. It is altogether likely that there were interrelations between Ramminger and Lybisch. Possibly upon seeing that Lybisch had published this letter with a bordure imitated from the grape-cluster, he himself was wont to print, Ramminger determined to use the older form with this reprint. At any rate Augsburg and Breslau were very closely connected businesswise. An impulse to the republication of such a work which otherwise might be regarded as having only a local application may be found in the condition of Augsburg and other cities that were under the jurisdiction of bishops. Ramminger's city at this time was undergoing violent agitations. The populace arose in large mass; they demanded of the Bürgermeister the preaching of the free Gospel and especially the return of their favorite brother Schilling who had just been exiled for his evangelical appeals; nor did the tumultuary concourses cease until the restoration of that popular idol; they did not want even Urbanus Rhegius who had been proposed as a substitute, they shouted for Schilling and got him after many pretextful delays. These events are interestingly narrated in Werlich's *Chronica* of Augsburg. Now the bishop of Augsburg was a sly diplomat who did not make himself too prominent when the fever was at its height. It looked at times as if he were going to cut loose from the old moorings and take to the open sea in his own boat. It had not been very different at Bamberg with its bishop. Hence a work like this might be a noble stimulus to such men and might persuade them to a separatistic and independent movement; it might also encourage the people to a more reserved and quiet evolution of their democratic demands and jostlings. We may therefore regard this republication as opportune for all the South German cities and their diocesan heads.

6. We cannot call this second quarto technically a reprint, although to all intents and purposes it amounts to that. Nor can we affirm that it is a surreptitious copy. There is nothing to show that there was or was not a permission secured from the authors or the publisher. If Ramminger and Lybisch had some commercial dealings with one another or stood in any personal relation, that would have been a sufficient justification

cluster. Another interesting feature is that the printer's device is the coat-of-arms of Dresden, so that he adopted also this plan of using the city emblem. It must be remembered that Dresden as the capital of Duke George was the centre of anti-Reformation activity. We find the name of Narciss Ramminger on publications, especially poetical ones, in 1542 and later, so that the original house was maintained for some time.

in those days. That it however was a copy and not an original print is proved by the absence of the colophon.

V. We are also at sea as to the exact time of publishing B. The New Year's day 1524 which indicates the date when the composition of the letter was finished is here repeated but gives us no clue. It is however altogether likely that Ramminger put it to press soon after its appearance in Breslau. This would therefore be after the first month or months of 1524; not unlikely it was in the late spring of that year. The book had made its mark, and Ramminger would want to anticipate the South German trade.

VI. B has been hitherto treated as one edition and it is that practically: 1. There are certain differences however which require discussion and compel also a discrimination between copies; hence we have distinguished them as Ba and Bb. This distinction is based on a few variations in the same print. We find a certain text which is based on A with the divergences already mentioned, this we designate as Ba. In this first impression some one noticed certain obvious errors and corrected them, but he left untouched the greater number of the blunders and wrong emendations, which proves that the corrector was not very serious in his work, that what he did was casual and rather superficial. There was no earnest rereading and comparison with the original. The changes are as follows: a. On $\mathfrak{B}^5$ wieder is separated, wie der. This correction involved a respacing, so that part of the letters are in a different position relative to the lines above and below; and the punctuation after Sohanne has a more inwardly curved slant than in Ba. b. On $\mathfrak{B}^{25}$ züherr is restored to the correct reading zu Chor (A = zu chör). This again necessitated a respacing which was effected mainly by spelling the vnnb of Ba as vnb; this made a slight change of position relative to a few words in the line above and below necessary. c. On $\mathfrak{B}^{11j} \text{ } ^{10}$ verlamlūg, an obvious erratum, is restored to verlamlūg. This is the entire errata apparatus and yet it is sufficient ground for making a distinction between Ba and Bb. Specimens of Ba are to be found in München K. H. S. B., in the Schwenckfeld Library and in Wolfenbüttel B. A. And copies of Bb are in Darmstadt S. B.; Heidelberg U. B.; Jena U. B.; Rothenburg a/T. S. B.; Stuttgart K. L. B.

2. But as we have partly intimated there are other variations. a. That of the printer's device we have already commented upon. b. There is a second one in the manner of printing a part of the title-page. The ch of Durch, the en of festen and the d of Dffid are in some copies more and in others less out of line. But none of these differences has any relation to the variation in text on which our distinction between Ba and Bb has been based. The cone appears on a copy with corrected text or on a copy with uncorrected text alike; and so with the difference of lining on the title-page.

3. What then is the history of these changes? The matter may have

unfolded itself somewhat in this fashion: The Breslau copy was taken in hand by an editor to prepare a text which should better serve the South German reader. He must have made a Ms. that was defective in its emendations, and was probably written in a somewhat illegible script. The first sheets were printed, when a casual concentration of the printer chanced on these errors on the inside and outside of the folio B to Biv^b; those within were not noticed and yet particularly one of them was most glaringly obvious. These then were corrected and the printing went on regardless of any further revision. When the facts came to light that there were really two texts, it was at first designed to designate the earliest uncorrected impression by the other Ramminger stamp of the imperial eagle. It was immediately found that the second stamp had also inadvertently been put on a corrected copy and so the project was discontinued. The dislocations on the title-page are due to the looseness of the type which was a fortuitous matter entirely and had no design or connection whatever with the revised or unrevised text. Such may have been the story of the work in the printing-house. However the interior circumstances may have related themselves, it is perfectly evident that there were great haste and considerable carelessness. Some of the emendations were good, but the major part of the changes show inefficiency in some quarter. When one reads certain corrections which are really worthy and careful one cannot but ask, why were the others so carelessly and even perversely made? Had the readings been of an even quality we might search for a deeper significance; a few of the emendations could possibly be interpreted as having a local color; but when these are viewed in the light of the whole impression one cannot give them any weight. B with its variations only emphasizes the superior text of A, although that has some formal errors.

VII. The authors' names are given on the title page as Hans Magnus von Langenwalbe and Caspar Schwendfeldt von Dffid. In the caption they are reproduced as Hans Magnus von Langenwalbe and Caspar Schwendfeldt von Dffig which follows the address of the superscription in A.

We now turn to the discussion of questions connected with the work as a whole. I. A very natural inquiry springs up as to the relative contributions of both these authors to the content and the form of the letter. We have no direct standard whereby to judge Hans Magnus' share, for so far as is known this is the only literary effort with which his name is immediately connected. With his collaborator it is of course far different. Yet with him too, his German style and his methods of collocating thought were still in a formative period. That Schwenckfeld was the leading hand can hardly be open to misgiving, from his previous extended correspondence, from his concentrated devotion to the Reformation and from his well known and accredited influence. Nor can we question

the conscientious and liberal attachment of Hans Magnus to his friend's aggressive enterprises. He too was profoundly engrossed in the effort to redeem Silesia from the old yoke of tradition. The renovations effected on his own estates establish that beyond peradventure; his sympathy with Schwenckfeld was of a sterling and reliable quality. In a certain sense he may be regarded as representing the majority of the nobles who had declared in favor of the revival of apostolic Christianity. If we turn to the contents, — the language and the ideas, — these quite assuredly for the greater part are reflections of Schwenckfeld's previously expressed sentiments, and partake of the vigor of his utterance in enforcing his opinions. They have an extraordinary similarity with those of Document VI and with the immediately succeeding letter and tractate addressed to his Herzog. The argument based on Christian love, the vital elements of faith, the essence of the Christian life, the form of deprecation, the conception of the spiritual Kingdom, the broad tenets involved in Christian liberty, the method of education, the separation from Rome as a secularized state, the quotation from Cyprian, the knowledge of Canon law, the determined criticism of legality and externalism, — all these are positive demonstrations of his share in the construction and elaboration of the treatise.

The preliminary meetings were probably spent in projecting the topics which were to be discussed in the paper. Hans Magnus' chief contributions possibly related to the grievances which needed removal and rectification, to certain personal recollections of the previous conversations and utterances of Jacob von Salza when he was yet engaged in secular avocations, and to the religious condition of the peasantry. From these suggestions Schwenckfeld made the first copy of the letter which then became the subject of emendation and enlargement in the later conferences during the holidays. Its final form certainly reflects the strong and nervous hand of the master of Ossig. The very fact that he places his coadjutor's name first and that he dates the letter from his own home is an incontestable sign that he considered himself as responsible for its immediate authorship.

II. A question naturally arises was this epistle first sent as *Ms.* to the Bishop or was it an open letter addressed to him and the general public and therefore forwarded to that dignitary in print? 1. One could argue in favor of the first, that if the writers hoped to win anything of the points for which they strove they would not compel that dignitary to answer in open court; they would approach him privately and seek to gain first of all his good will and so draw forth his opinions; if they could not convince him, they might at least discover his real inward attitude toward a reformation. To challenge him openly would be more likely to confirm him in opposition to the movement, if he were predisposed to antagonize it; if he inclined to temporize, it would be fatal to an ultimate

affirmation for the good cause they represented, because they made a present, immediate decision imperative. They would leave him only the alternatives yes or no. In the letter of 1527 Schwenckfeld and Crantwald approached the same Bishop by a private communication; would it not be likely that they had done the same with the first petition? 2. In spite of these considerations this seems more likely to have been an open letter. a. Had it not been so, the authors would have had to wait for a reply before publishing. It would have been a gross incivility to have done otherwise, especially if they desired first of all to win his favor through a personal correspondence. And such a response would naturally have been included in the issue of the same to show the comparatively hopeless attitude of the Bishop as that proved to be. An answer was indeed sent and the spirit of it is reproduced in the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs*; that it was there mentioned in June of this year shows that it would have been incorporated, or a statement of its purport at least made in our present work, had the correspondence originally been private.

The very fact that the Bishop might have terminated the whole correspondence with a request not to make the subject a matter of popular discussion would have compelled them either to keep silence or to begin the very breach which they hoped to avoid. They resorted to what was a sufficient guarantee for publicity by asserting two sovereign rights, that of petition and that of self-defence; nor did the Bishop apparently deprecate either of these in his reply, for as yet the press had remained remarkably free. The police regulations had been entirely broken down along with the general disruption, and an *index prohibitorum* was of little avail where the secular arm declined any vigorous intervention. Debate through the agency of the press was well nigh universal. And the quantity of literature scattered broadcast and eagerly purchased is amazing and incredible; publishers were anxious to issue all that had already proved its popularity or gave promise of rapid sale, and that too for a while in lands whose princes were unfavorable to the fresh currents that threatened their class privileges and traditions. We come soon to the period of repression not limited to Roman influence, but established by Protestant theologians and Protestant magistrates. b. Further, any uncertainty as to the time or the content of the reply would have imperilled the program Schwenckfeld had in view. His first object was to win the Bishop, or at least to cause him to declare himself publicly; and if that failed to meet the exigency, then to appeal to the Herzog to give an official countenance to the reformatory enterprise. After the Bishop had missed his opportunity, this second step was taken in a public letter addressed to Friedrich II and prefacing the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs*. In each case the object was to obtain an official sanction for a Reformation

according to the Word of God. This program was repeated in 1527, after the accession of Ferdinand I to the suzerainty of Silesia December 5, 1526, had imperilled the religious awakening of the whole country. The letter then addressed to the same Bishop was edited by Valentine Crautwald and Caspar Schwenckfeld and the Apology was issued by the Herzog himself, although the document had probably been composed by Schwenckfeld. c. Further, the Fürstentag to be convened at Grottkau was close at hand. It actually assembled on January 26¹. This letter expressed the major sentiment of the princes and the nobles of the country as the writers aver. The peerage and the gentry were ready to support the Bishop heartily in a reform movement based on the principles of the Gospel. This letter was designed therefore to assure the Bishop of this fact beforehand, and to give him courage in advance of the meeting, if he needed any such stimulus, or to show him the temper of the country in case he inclined to proceed on more conservative lines. The brief interval between the New Year and this convention would allow of no private correspondence, if the issues were to come to a head at the end of the month. d. There is another item which may have entered as a factor into the plan. The call and settlement of Hess in Breslau had at least Jacob's partial if somewhat negative support. He had not sided with the sterner elements, the prelates. He was not for violent expedients nor did he invoke an outside secular arm. Moreover as a layman he had given utterance to some sharp criticisms of undeniable evils. Everything seemed to show a certain intrepidity and inclination to promote the abolition of some abuses at least. The hope of the petitioners was that he might be brought to a decisive policy of evangelical reformation within his own diocese, independent of Rome and yet without disturbing the existing domestic order. If so it was time to strike. e. There is a consideration which adds to the argument for this being an open letter because of its direct appeals to the general public; in the introductory part of the apology where the accusations are massed together about their being Lutherans and introducing innovations and misleading their friends through erroneous doctrines and not rendering obedience to the prelates, they make their avowals of an evangelical Christian life for the information of the Bishop and for the multitude. In like manner at the end of their defense they say: And now to bring the discussion to a conclusion, gracious Lord, we set out with the desire to narrate to your Grace the entire foundation of the evangelical cause just so far as God would vouchsafe us the ability. Not that there was any necessity to instruct your Grace by

¹ Schickfus says Jan. 17. The Urkunden of Brieg gives the same date for a Fürstentag at Breslau.

such a declaration, but that we might state the reasons for our faith to your Grace as our ordained Bishop and also to the general public. These expressions allow of no other interpretation than that the author designed this to be an open letter. f. Further they deemed it a Christian duty to do one another good by mutual admonition; especially was such a free interchange of judgment and exhortation due between those who held spiritual offices and those who acknowledged their jurisdiction. This obligation was founded on the fundamental coequality of all believers, for before God and therefore before men we all stand upon the same level; and it was well to remind one another of that fact and to speak plain, unadorned truth from that frank basis. It is to this simplicity of Christian relationship that they appeal in defence of their procedure without disguises, without subterfuges, without flatteries. It became a matter of conscience to advise with candor about the high interests of the Kingdom, its agencies and its instruments in which every individual follower of Christ had a deep concern. It was the privilege and the obligation of our petitioners to express their sentiments openly.

III. Another point of interest would be to know whether our authors sent the letter as Ms. officially and carefully indited, or did they forward the printed copy directly? The fact that the Bishop made a written reply might incline us to adopt the first view. In that case they would have had to inform him of the public nature of the document and of the fact that it was in press. We may be sure in any event that two such courteous men would have made no self-stultifying, bad impression by any act that savored of rudeness, or that might have stirred the indignation of the dignitary whom they were anxious to enlist for their conservative plans. The reply was relatively prompt. Since it was quoted in the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs* June 11, 1524, it must have come to hand some weeks certainly before that date. One may presume also that it preceded both the Convent assembled at Breslau in April and the disputation held by Hess some days later. It is altogether probable that the Bishop did not wait long after the reception of the petition with its apology. Some of the days in March when our evangelists began to be busy on their estates may easily have seen the answer on the desk at Ossig or at Langenwaldau.

IV. The most conspicuous appearances of this work in literary history: 1. Schwenckfeld makes two allusions to this letter in his own writings so far as preserved. a. In the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs* issued in June of this year he remarks: Wir haben auch Hanns Magnus mein lieber Christlicher bruder vnd ich als arme leyen iederman zu dinst niemand zu schaden/ den herrn Bischoff von Breslaw als vnsern obersten seelforger grund vnd ursach vnserß glaubens angezeigt/ vñ so wir mit heyliger biblischer schrift

bessers vndericht/ daß wir herzlich gerne wolten folgen/ Auch dorneben auß Christlicher trew vnnb pfflicht. S. G. ermanet gottis wort vnb daß lauther Euangelion. S. G. ampte noch zu forbern/ Fiiij^b. This indicates whereon the emphasis was placed by the authors; the first being on the reason and causes of their faith as based on their study of the Scriptures and in accordance with which they were open to further and better instructions; and the second being upon the desire to stimulate their chief pastor to further the Word of God and the pure Gospel in consonance with his office. Schwenckfeld here indeed reverses the order probably to bring the second point in direct connection with the Bishop's reply. We cannot omit drawing attention to the very affectionate terms with which he speaks of his collaborator as indicative of the warmth of his friendship and the geniality of his nature. b. The second notice is in the Catalogus I and Catalogus II in both of which the epistle is placed under the sixth Gattung embracing his apologetic and defensive works. In the first the title reads: Eyn Christliche Ermanung zu fürbern das Wort Gottes, an den Herren Bischoff zu Breslaw No. LXXIX p. 12^a. The only difference in the second is in the size of the type No. LXXIX p. XIV^a. The title is noteworthy because it is based on that of A, although there are some orthographic variations. Did Schwenckfeld preserve his original habit of spelling while in South Germany where the Catalogus was printed? It might also be doubtful whether he was familiar with B although he must have known of and seen it, if not earlier, at least when he resided in Augsburg.

2. Why was this letter not included in the folios? It was a pity that so remarkable a document did not appear in that monumental enterprise, for there is scarcely any more significant help to the proper understanding of Schwenckfeld's development of ideas. It contains the strongest evidence for the practicality of his effort at reclaiming Christianity to solid and at the same time generous lines of progress. Especially vital is it for the social aspects and purposes of Christianity. The work itself certainly made a decided impression upon his fellow-countrymen. This is evident from the determination reached at Breslau on Tuesday after Misericordia, April 12, 1524 by the princes, lords and estates: that henceforth in Silesia the holy Gospel should be preached in no other way than purely and clearly according to the meaning of the holy Scriptures; and it should also be the standard of free, Christian, virtuous conduct. This resolution was carried in spite of the Bishop who plead for the limitation of its interpretation according to the inspired fathers.

3. An incidental proof of the circulation of the work in edition A is in the fact that it is found in a collection¹ of Hans Appel of Breslau, the

¹The entire collection of 27 treatises is a very rich one. Among the rest one finds

friend of Luther, which he had stamped ETliche EWANGELISCHE BVCHER ANNO 1524 HANS APPEL. Herein too are the *Ermanung des Mißbrauchs* and Crautwald's translation *Von Vorbereitung zum sterben*. These three constitute Nos. 9, 10 and 11 of the collection. It contains also two tractates of Luther which were sent with his autograph to his friend Johann Appel. On the inside of the cover is the inscription: *Sum Andreae Appel Vratislaviensis 1549*. A similar instance occurs with respect to a volume on whose front cover is stamped at the top HVLDRICI: ZVINGLI and at the bottom MDXXV. The collection therefore would appear to have been the property of the Swiss reformer. The letter to the Bishop contained in it seems to have been a presentation copy, for at the foot of the title-page, written in red ink, one reads: *diß buchlein helt in sich die sūma eines ganzen Chr... Lebens vnd sol meiner liben Freūbin* the dots indicate where the binder cut away the script. A few Ms. marginalia are comments of no value. Several treatises of this volume are from Zwingli's pen. This collection is now in the Kirchenbibliothek von St. Peter und Paul in Liegnitz.

4. The Augsburg reprint may possibly be regarded as a response to the demands of a more extended circle of readers; certainly judging from the number of copies preserved, B seems to have had a wider circulation and not unlikely was issued in a larger edition. There is no record of the effect upon the cotemporary theological literature.

5. The chroniclers Curaeus-Rätel and Schickfus pay no attention to this letter. Even when the latter gives the summary of the *Fürstentage* he makes no allusion to the underlying influence which pervaded that body in the proceedings of 1524.

6. Krentzheim begins the series of the few chroniclers that mention the work; he did it very naturally by reason of religious interests. He himself was accused of Schwenckfeldianism as well as of Crypto-Calvinism. As Hof-Prediger in Liegnitz and for a time Superintendent, he suffered much from the strait-laced section of the Lutherans. He was of course personally acquainted with the fact of the existence of Schwenckfelders in Liegnitz and the communities of that faith which peopled the adjacent towns and villages. He felt himself compelled to assist in their persecution. He mentions the letter with great caution and without com-

here: Von der waren npeffung || beyb leibs vnd blüts || Christi. || Ein kurtz schriftliche vñlegung / vnd chrifflicher || verstandt/ nach grundtrechter art vnd || weiß der Schrift. || Vnd von dem Lauff wie || man den / sonder allen zūfatz dñ / salt || oder beschwerung/ handlen sol. || Durch Element zuegler || Wartner zñ Straßburg. This work is bibliographically interesting, and the author is in every way so, as a thoughtful layman of engineering as well as horticultural talent, whom Schwenckfeld became acquainted with later in Strassburg. This collection belongs to the Bibliotheca Milichiana in Götting.

ment in this wise: Caspar Schwenckfeld/ ein Edelman zu Ossig/ im Lubenischen Kreiß/ des Signißischen Fürstenthumbs in Schlesien/ schreibt dieses Jahr/ am ersten Tag des Janners/ an Bischoff Jacob zu Breslaw/ vnd vermanet in/ das er Gottes Wort befördern wolle. p. 367^b. cf. also Krentzheim *Ma. Chronologiae* under 1524, Lib. IX Bl. 241.

7. Buchholz, his cotemporary, alludes to the work mainly for the reason that he may say Schwenckfeld was a follower of Luther. *Caspar Schwenckfeldius Nobilis Silesius Cal. Januarij edidit librum inscriptum Iacobo Episcopo Wratislaviensi, quem hortatur, ut puram Euangelij doctrinam amplectatur. Sed eo tempore adhuc sensit cum Lutero.* Sub a. 1524. It is on this point that the later authors and historians spend themselves mainly.

8. v. d. Hardt copies this statement word for word with the omission of *sensit*: *Caspar Schwenckfeldius: Nobilis Silesius Kal. Jan. edidit librum inscriptum Iacobo. Ep°. Vrat. quem hortatur, ut puram Evangelij doctrinam amplectatur. Sed eo tempore adhuc cum L°.* Part V. p. 71.

9. Pol alludes to it in the manner and almost the words of Krentzheim.

10. Thus far it would seem that the chroniclers had limited themselves to a knowledge of the title-page or had simply repeated one another. There is not the slightest attempt at analysis, much less a just appreciation of the splendid content or any trace of investigation into the stirring influence of this document. They speak of one of the chief and most formative works of a great era, utterly unconscious of its pregnant suggestions, its manly tone, its far-reaching sociological and educational scope. The long reign of scholastic confessionism naturally ignored the greatness of the Silesian reformer. If its exponents condescended to notice him at all, it was to reproduce or to enlarge upon the maledictions of the Book of Concord. When pietism began to rear its head in an organized fashion, there was at least a revival of interest from a different angle, that of spirituality as a life.

11. Ottius still lingers on the dead level and considers Schwenckfeld from the old standpoint of his relations to Luther: *Caspar Schwenckfeld ab Ossinga, primò politicæ operam dedit, ex casu verò aliquo rebus sacris, ac tandem pecularia sua dogmata alios quoque docuit ore & scripto. Anno 1524 scribit pro Lutheri doctrina ad Jacobum Episcopum Uratislav.* p. 40.

12. Scultetus copies slavishly from Buchholz: *Caspar Schwenckfeldius Nobilis Silesius Kal. Januarii edidit librum inscriptum Iacobo Episcopo Vratislaviensi, quem hortatur, ut puram Evangelii doctrinam amplectatur. Sed eo tempore adhuc sensit cum Lutero.*

13. Freherus is equally dependent: *Theologus singularis A. C. 1524. Librum edidit inscriptum Iacobo Episcopo Uratislaviensi, quem hortatur, ut puram Evangelii doctrinam amplectatur. Sed eo tempore sensit adhuc cum Lutero.* Part I. § III. p. 190.

14. In the *Unschuldige Nachrichten* 1720 p. 604 occurs this statement under 1524: Hielt er (Schwendfeld) sich noch zu Luthero, und gab im Januario ein Buch heraus welches er dem Bischoff zu Breslau, Jacobo, zugeschrieben, ihn auch darinnen nach drücklich vermahnet daß er die reine Lehre des Evangelii annehmen und befördern solle.

15. In Walther's *Silesia Diplomatica*, Breslau 1741, I, 20 under 1524, stands the following: Magni von Langenthal und Caspar Schwendfelds von Ossig Christl. Ermahnung an Herr Jacob Bischoff zu Breslau, zu fürdern das Wort Gottes d. d. Ossig in des neuen Jahrstag 1524. prod. sine loco in 4 to. 4 Bogen. While the title is considerably twisted the fact of its being noted as without place shows that Walther derived his knowledge from some source that used B.

16. Löscher, the very flower of orthodox knighthood, ignores the variant moods of the independent schools of religious thought and casts his one wild lance in this wise: Insonderheit aber hatte Carlstadt mit denen Fanaticis Ric. Storch/ Thoma Münckern/ Casp. Schwendfelden und andern solche Gemeinschaft/ die ihn auffer den Stand brüderlicher Liebe setzte. With that thrust the adversaries lay dead and huddled in one indiscriminate heap. (*Hist. Mot.* Part I. c. I. § XXXIV. p. 47.) Nor does he handle anything subsequently save the controversy about the Lord's Supper. His skill in historical research however, and his Christian temper are alike illustrated by the above.

In all these writers there is not a sign of intelligence; they continue the same rattle of dry bones which helped the earlier chroniclers to deprive the Reformation of its primitive coloring and to ignore the manifold intensity of interests which was its chief characteristic. It is this distinctive disregard of the spontaneity and enormously checkered heterogeneity of that time that up to this day has not been justly set forth. The centralizing tendency still continues; the historical judgment is forced into two or three small, inadequate, dislocating channels which prevent a proper estimate of the national, the social and the individual streams of variation. The multiform supplementations of that tonic time receive no just discussion. Men continue to write general histories before the details of particular annals have had a chance to obtain a really scientific treatment. Too many of the local narrators indulge their prejudices and refuse to give room to liberal and normal estimates of the events whose development they desire to chronicle. Indeed they are forced into the same narrow and exclusive grooves which the general historian has prepared for them.

17. The defenders of spirituality in religion again reverted to this master letter. Salig who uses B, because the Wolfenbüttel library had that edition only, gives an appreciation and an entirely unpartisan outline of its noble schemes, not without a certain fervor and admiration and a wise

reserve of comment that the concepts and the morality may speak and plead for themselves. Clear as the analysis is, it does not bring into sufficient relief the different joints of the armor. The author probably hesitated to make some of the strong points too emphatic in a time when the socialistic and political side of these topics had been ossified into peremptory state systems which, as it turned out, only a new philosophy of law could overturn, while the Christian principles of state-life were bound hand and foot and the clergy were far more the officials of the court than ministers of the Word.

18. Pietism too had its unsuccessful struggles, although it restored life to some of the prostrate and buried ideas of Christ. It is to be expected that Arnold would not be behindhand in bringing this letter into the forefront when he began his scientific and spiritual revolt against the slavish, emasculate portrayals of Christianity then current, although he uses it more as a preface to his elaborate unfolding of Schwenckfeld's teaching. Th. II. p. 836.

19. The old temper however remained in the Silesian historians. Thebesius' remarks are a little bit naive and pleasantly innocent. Indeed they are so refreshingly green that it is well to reproduce them: Das 1524. Jahr den 1. Jan. war Caspar Schwenckfeld eines alten Adel. Geschlechts aus Schlesien zu Ossig in dem Lubnischen Weichbilde dieses Fürstenthums seiner Meynung nach sehr wirthlich das Evangelium noch besser als Lutherus zu befördern, und soll an den Hrn. Bischoff zu Breslau Jacobum von Salza geschrieben und ihn ermahnet haben, das Wort Gottes zu befördern. How little he knew of this letter appears from the remark which follows a little beyond: Ich habe in seinem so genannten Epistolar, so noch hier in eines gelehrten Theologi Bibliothec zu finden ist, nachgesehen, da dieser so genannte Brief bald im Anfange weitläufig zu finden, es ist aber kein Jahr oder Tag beigesetzt. Es wäre aber dieses seines sehr andächtigen Schreibens unvonnöthen gewesen, wenn er es gewiß mit der Lutherischen Lehre aufrichtig gehalten hätte. Es steht auch ferner als eine kurze Vorrede dabey: „Diese Epistel sey Caspar Schwenckfelds und seines Mit-Bekenners Valentin Krautwalds“, welches gar sein rechter Geist war, wie bald folgen wird. Seine gedachte Episteln haben meistens keine Zeit beigesetzt und die Rahmen an wen sie geschrieben nur Litt. N.N. bezeichnet. Indessen ist gewiß daß Krautwald dieses Jahr der Lehre des Evangelii annoch eifrig beugepflichtet. Th. III. p. 21—22. The good man had things rather sadly mixed but in such a bland way that one can patiently condone his crass orthodox bumptiousness. One is nevertheless tempted to ask how much reliance can you place upon the other statements made in this history unless they be verified from additional sources?

20. Kohler in der Schlesischen Kern-Chronike simply says: Wie Lutheri Lehre hervor brach/ so gab er derselben Beyfall/ und vermahnete in einem Anno 1524,

im Januario heraus gegebenen Buche den Bischoff von Breslau/ Jacob von Salza/ daß er die Lehre des Evangelii annehmen und befördern sollte. Th. II. pp. 457, 458. Therefore he relates the work wholly to the impulse which Luther gave. This is a little like philologians who write grammars and dictionaries of languages they cannot speak correctly and then set up for authorities on the same.

21. Hensel borrows these mistakes of Thebesius and amplifies them according to the strict laws of tattle and with all the circumstantiality of Russian gossip. This too is rich enough to be quoted. Thebesius führt aus dem in Liegnitz noch befindlichen Brief und Handbuche Schwendkfelds an, daß er sehr kurze Zeit es in den Artikeln von der Bibel, Person Christi und Abendmahl mit Luthern gehalten habe; indem er bald ganz andere und verdächtige Worte gebraucht, zu welchem, wie dabey stehet, sein Mitgehülfe Krautwald, seine Meynung beygetragen. Schwendkfeld also und seine Anhänger bildeten sich ein, daß sie das Evangelium in Schlesiens gar viel reiner vortragen wolten, als Friedrich 2 und die Breslauer durch ihre Geistlichen; weil Luther und Philipp den Catholischen noch zu viel gelten ließen, und einige von ihren Ceremonien im Gottesdienste behielten. Der Eifer bewog daher Schwendkfelden, daß er sich der Sache mit mehrern Ernst annehmen, und eine reinere Kirche samlen wolte. Daher stehen in diesem Briefbuche des Schwendkfelds zu Liegnitz zwey bewegliche Briefe, welche er deswegen an den damaligen Bischof zu Breslau Jacobum von Salza und Friedrich 2, Herzog in Liegnitz, geschrieben; nemlich zum neuen Jahre 1524 den 1 Januar und den 11 Junii. Bey dem Bischof treibet er an, das Evangelium im Lande zu befördern, und bey dem Herzoge warnet er, daß er solches nicht im Lande zu sündlicher Freyheit mißbrauchen solle. Der gelinde Herzog ließ den Schwendkfeld auf seinem Gute zu Ossig, und hoste das Beste. Als er aber von seinen andern Lehrern und Trozendorfen recht aufgedeckt wurde, und des Königs Ferdinands Befehl dazu kam; so befahl ihm der Herzog, aus dem Lande zu gehen, und nicht wieder zu kommen. p. 200. Thebesius knew that a copy of the Epistolar M was on hand in Liegnitz; he confounds the letter to the Bishop therein printed with this earlier one of 1524. Hensel acknowledges his indebtedness to Thebesius for criticisms of Schwendkfeld's treacherous ecclesiastical designs and corrupted system of theology. While he identifies the then still extant copy of M in Liegnitz with that one mentioned in the Jahrbücher he nevertheless seems to be aware of two circular and separate letters written by the dangerous agitator of Ossig; one was addressed to the Bishop and the other to Friedrich II, the former having the furtherance of the Gospel in view, the latter pointing out its current abuses. Yet he seems to regard both of these as parts of that Epistolar. It is evident therefore that he had absolutely read nothing of any of these documents, for the two letters of which he speaks are not in the Epistolar, nor are they anti-Lutheran, nor is the second one anything but an intro-

duction to a treatise on the didactic and practical perversion of certain dogmas the design being to warn the ministry against current dangerous tendencies. More mistakes could scarcely be strung together. The attitude of Friedrich II is grossly perverted so as to establish the orthodoxy of that prince; the exile too is made a state act and not a voluntary step. Of what value are the other parts of his history judged by the woeful ignorance and depraved misrepresentation of this section? Exact research was certainly at a discount with the persecuting clergyman of Neudorf where there was a large percentage of Schwenckfelders; and truth was not his highest ambition.

22. Rosenberg is instructive in another way in that he at least condescended to avail himself of the liberal minded Salig. He even borrows the title of B from that genuine historian although A had been printed in Breslau. But it is a relief to find him amazed over the fine qualities of the letter and marveling at the courage of the man whom he so faithfully and orthodoxly condemns otherwise. To show the lights and shadows of our subject we feel constrained to quote him also. There is at least a spark of justice in the commentation. Und was den Bischof anlanget, so erhielt er bald darauf so gar ein öffentliches Ermahnungsschreiben (Der Titel ist: Ein Christliche Ermanung, zu fürdern das Wort Gottes, an den Herrn Bischof zu Breslau, durch die Edlen Gerentfeste, Hans Magnus von Langenwalbe, und Caspar Schwenckfeld von Dßig. Dßig am Neujahrs Tage, 1524. 4. 4 B. Und man kan den angeführten Inhalt desselben etwas ausführlicher finden in Saligs Histor. der Augspurg. Confession. III Th. p. 955) von zweien Schlesißen Edelenten, daß er ein gleiches thun und den Lauf des Evangelii nicht hindern sollte. Das waren, der bekante Caspar von Schwenckfeld, und ein Magnus von Langenwalde. Der Brief ist auf alle Weise lesenswürdig, und verdiente daher auch bekannter zu seyn; so wol um der Freimüthigkeit willen, mit welcher es diese Männer gewagt haben, in einer solchen Absicht an einen Bischof öffentlich zu schreiben, als auch um der Vorstellungen willen, die sie demselben gemacht haben. Denn sie führten ihm zuörderst die wahre Gestalt eines Bischofs aus den Briefen Pauli an den Timotheum und Titum zu Gemüthe, als nach welchen ein Bischof nicht berufen sey, sich in weltliche Hindel zu mischen, sondern das Wort Gottes zu treiben. Sie rühmten dabey den Bischof, daß er längstens willens gewesen wäre, dis zu fördern, wo er nicht von einigen Prälaten, denn von allen könten sie das nicht sagen, davon wäre zurück gehalten worden. Hernach entschuldigten sie sich, wider die Anklage einiger Prälaten und Mönche, die sie bey dem Bischofe hart angegeben hätten, als wenn sie Lutherisch wären, und den Geistlichen keinen Gehorsam leisten wollten. Diesen Wortwurf lehnten sie von sich ab, und versicherten, daß sie nichts anders suchten, als die Ausbreitung des Namens Christi, und eines Evangelischen Lebens. Allein dazu hülffen, wie sie sagten, die gleißnerischen Mönchsverdienste

und selbst erdichtete gute Werke nicht nur nichts; sie schädeten auch so gar dagegen. Sie verlangten vor ihre Person nichts, als daß eine Christliche Evangelische Ordnung nach dem Ausspruche des göttlichen Wortes gemacht würde; nicht mit Aufruhr und Verjagung der Priester, sondern in aller Geduld und Sanftmüthigkeit. Allein das Evangelium müste alsdenn, nicht nach den bisherigen Deutungen, sondern nach dem Worte der Schrift vorgetragen werden. Sie lehnen sodenn noch mancherlei Einwürfe von sich ab, die man ihnen wegen der Väter, der Concilien, der hergebrachten langen Gewohnheit u. a. m. machen könnte, und beantworten den Vorwurf gar bescheidenlich, als ob die Leute durch das neue Evangelium gar nicht besser geworden wären. Endlich wünschten sie, daß der Bischof die ungelehrten Geistlichen im Chore behalten, die Gelehrten aber auf die Dörfer zu Predigern schicken, das gemeine Volk so wol, als die Priester zu fleißigem Lesen der Bibel ermahnen, die Mißbräuche abschaffen, den Priestern die Ehe erlauben möcht, u. s. w. Und zuletzt führen sie ihm noch das oben schon gedachte Exempel seines Vorfahrens zu Gemüthe, und versichern dabey, daß wenn der Bischof nur über dem Worte Gottes halten würde, so würde auch der Adel so wol, als andre Leute treulich bey ihm stehen und fest halten. (Dieser Brief steht bald zu Anfang von Schwendfelds Epistolar in seinen Werken. Und ob er wol daselbst zu 1525 gesetzt ist, so meint doch Herr Salig im oben angeführten Orte, weil Schwendfeld hie schon von Luthero ganz abgeneigt und wieder ihn sey; so müsse dieser Brief erst nach seiner Unterredung mit Luthero, und also etwa um 1527 geschrieben seyn.) pp. 243—245.

23. Ehrhardt was a man of immense industry, and his Presbyterologie is a most praiseworthy work; but he did not concern himself to search for the original facts concerning Schwenckfeld at least, whom he abuses with a bitter and unbottled rage. He does not come to the appreciative and surprised mood of Rosenberg although Ehrhardt too borrows facts from Salig and again gives the title of B; but he adds the remarkable information that it was printed in Breslau! He is only concerned with the Lutheran hue of the letter. It is well also to quote his double reference: a. Die zwey Schlesiſchen Adelige Herren, Hans Magnus von Eberhard, Hr. von Langenwalbe, u. Kaspar von Schwenckfeld auf Ossig ermunterten Ihn, auch ihres Orts, zur Förderung der reinen Lehre. Dies thäten sie im Januar 1524 in einer unter ihrem Nahmen gedruckten Schrift (Sie führt die Aufschrift: „An Christliche Ermahnung zu fürdern das Wort Gottes an den Herrn Bischoff von Breslau, durch Hanns Magnus von Langenwalbe u. Caspar Schwenckfeld v. Ossig, d.d. Ossig am Neujahrs-Tage, (Breslau) 1524“, in 4 auf 4 Bogen gedruckt: Von ihrem Inhalt sehe man Saligs Hist. der Augspurg. Confess. Th. 3, S. 955, und Rosenbergs a. B. S. 243, f. a. Thebesii a. B. Th. 3, S. 21 u. f.), zu einer Zeit, in welcher es Schwenckfeld noch mit Luthern hielt. Th. I. Abs. I. p. 52. b. Denn 1523 war er (Schwenckfeld) schon einer derjenigen Hof-Kavaliere, welche dem Herzoge anriethen, daß auch Er sich zur Evangel. Religion

wenden möge. Damals meinte erß gut mit Luthers Lehre (§ 2, not. g, num. 4), laß dessen deutsche Bibel-Uebersetzung fleißig, und begünstigte, nach Vermögen, die Luthrische Reformation (Davon ist seine, an den B. Jakob von Salza zu Breslau gerichtete Schrift, Zeuge: „Ein christliche Ermahnung zu fürdern das Wort Gottes an den Herrn Bischoff zu Breslau, durch Hans Magnuß von Langenwalde und Casp. Schwenckfeld von Ossig.“ welche von Ossig 1 Jan. 1524 datirt u. in Breslau (1524, 4) auf 4 Bog. gedruckt ist.) Th. IV. c. I. p. 38. The pastor of Beschine, so near to Wohlau too, is of that orthodox historical mind which writes history to prove a preestablished harmony, for he contends jealously for the relief of the Herzog from the stigma of being a disciple of Schwenckfeld. A historian with blinders on is an untrustworthy horse when the automobile goes by. It is also a mythological fact that all hamadryads die with the tree in which they have spent their woody days; alas! They live long and come to their last hour with fibrous tenacity. Lutheran orthodoxy was a dying Pan and the forests reechoed its anguished cry. The positive and assured way in which Ehrhardt mauls and mangles Semler for his defense of Schwenckfeld is one of the finest bits of Dantesque polemicism one can read. Pietism and rationalism were two horns of the historic dilemma that gored him terribly and he made a pretty but unavailing fight against their fierce and successful plunge. These new forces mastered the arena for a season, but their development was active enough to narrow the area of dryadism. The light and the rain began to fall upon the deepest recesses of the arid old forest.

24. With the use of modern historical method there is a revival of interest in this salient document. As a representative of the supranaturalistic school of Church history we may take G. J. Planck. He does not indeed find in Schwenckfeld any evidence of much culture springing from his university training, but concedes to him an earnest and persistent activity in religious ideas from the very outset of the Reformation. It was this however, that led him to engage in the introduction and spread of the bettered religious knowledge, not only in his own circle, but among the people in general. Almost from the outset he had a larger ideal than that of Luther, although he was glad to help in the bringing forward of that reformer's thoughts, hoping for a purer innovation in course of time. The earliest clear proof of this is in the letter addressed to the Bishop. Planck adduces this under the title *Ein christliche Ermahnung zu fürdern das Wort Gottes an den Herrn Bischof zu Breslau durch die Eblen, Ehrenvesten Hans Magnuß von Langenwalde und Casp. Schwenckfeld von Ossig.* This shows that he had neither A nor B before him but that he used Salig with a few alterations in spelling; this conjecture is verified by his citations which do not agree exactly with the text, although enclosed in quotation marks, but with Salig's comments. His criticism however, is of value as showing

an appreciative spirit free from the trammels of prejudice. He considers the letter as a *Strafpredigt* for the methods used by the Bishop in checking the Reformation, which assuredly is not the case. There is not a particle of the severe lecture about it and Schwenckfeld does not take Jacob to task for resisting the good work; it is the prelates who get the castigation. Schwenckfeld's next point according to Planck is to defend himself from the charge of Lutheranism and yet to praise Luther for the many abuses which he had corrected, for his exposure of the evils of the papacy and for his effective liberation of many consciences to a cleaner life. The Bishop would incur a grave punishment, if he were to antagonize further the progress of so benign a work. Nevertheless Schwenckfeld's dissatisfaction with the results of Luther's Reformation is clearly stated and the plans for a happier enlargement of the good effects are distinctly outlined. This was briefly nothing less than the founding of a society based upon the practical knowledge of religion whose fruit would necessarily appear in the life and conduct of every one adopting it. His primary thought was that any one who had a correct understanding of the doctrine of Jesus must infallibly become a better man; hence those who do not show such a result unmistakably lack an accurate knowledge. This was manifest in the aggravated lives of those who had professedly adopted the Reformation and who talked much about faith, but had no real conception of its nature, any more than they had before Luther began to teach justification. Schwenckfeld inculcates a total separation from all these unsavory elements. The Church should be constituted of such only as gave indubitable testimony to the reality of their conversion. Such a society would of necessity present a regenerated aspect and would grow wholesomely by the very nature of its leaven. The causes of the present unsufficing character of the Lutheran Reformation lay not so much in the imperfect doctrines as in the abuses of them made by their disciples.

25. Herber finds room for this letter in his tables of *Silesiae Sacrae origines*; his column of historical events says under 1524: *Litterae Caspari Schwenckfeldii ad episcop.* 1. Januar. p. 88; to state this much was quite a concession.

26. Wachler in his life of Schwenckfeld *Schlesische Provinzialblätter* 1833 pp. 210—212 gives and takes his title and his entire exposition of the letter from Salig, sometimes using the very words of his creditor, so that it is evident he had not seen the work itself; under such guidance his estimate of the letter is very favorable, especially with respect to Schwenckfeld's desire to be regarded as Christian and not as Lutheran, except so far as Luther himself was evangelical. This was the heart's wish of many an earnest man of the time. Multitudes of souls were eager to stand upon a broader basis than that which individual or

provincial judgment might form, as indeed Luther himself was anxious to maintain. It is hardly fair however to say that Schwenckfeld was purely aiming at the purification and regeneration of the Catholic Church itself, because he distinctly avoids the term Catholic seeing what its use practically involved; he adopted the terms Christian and Evangelical or the combination of the two. But he did strive after peaceful change through principles that would silently wear away the opposing rocks; the erosion would be complete and the new era would be reached by the force of the inherent energy and accelerated current of the Word. A man who advocated separation from Rome, diocesan independency, the restoration of the vernacular and the freedom of the clergy to marry could not be regarded as endeavoring to maintain the Catholic Church. He advocated, as is rightly acknowledged by Wachler, the sole headship of Christ and therefore the revival of the Christian Church.

27. Döllinger starts from Schwenckfeld's discontent with the practical results of the Reformation; and this position he finds very clearly stated in this work, incorrectly called his first. He considers it to be a severe lecture (*Strafprebigt*) of the Bishop for hindering the spread of the Word, although Schwenckfeld is constrained to confess his dissatisfaction with the fruits which had sprung from the new soil. It was just this disapprobation that incited him to originate his distinct spiritual movement as well as to become a preacher. These thoughts are obviously drawn from Planck and not from any acquaintance with the letter itself. Bd. I. p. 277.

28. On the twenty-first of August 1523, the Bishop had written to Johann Hess urging him to undertake the office of a preacher at St. Maria Magdalena in Breslau, with suitable words of caution and encouragement. The writer of the *Regesten des Geschlechts Salza* remarks that the counterpart of the Bishop's letter is: *die christl. Ermahnung das Wort Gottes zu fördern, an Herrn Jacob Bischof zu Breslau von Magnus von Langewelbe und Caspar Schwerdtfeld von Ossig, Dat. Ossig MDXXIV; f. Ant. Balth. Waltheri, Silesia diplomatica. Tom. I. S. 20.* But our letter is scarcely a counterpart. Had this author but read it he would assuredly not have called it a *Gegenstück*, and the wonderful contortions of the names and year is not suggestive of a draught from the fountain-head.

29. Heyne however, is sadly lacking in originality and consequently falls into amusing errors, because his informant is Thebesius and not the letter itself, of whose reading he is wholly guiltless. In Bd. III. p. 306 he says: *Als Luther's Auftreten gegen die Kirche in Wittenberg auch in Schlesiens großes Aufsehen zu erregen begann, schrieb er (Schwenckfeld) unterm 1. Januar 1524 an den Bischof Jakob von Salza und ermahnte ihn, das Wort Gottes im lutherischen Sinne zu fördern. Indeß ist die Richtigkeit dieses Schreibens, obwohl es sich unter den Briefen Schwenckfeld's ohne Angabe des Jahres und*

Tages vorband, dennoch zu bezweifeln, wie dies auch aus dem, was Thebesius darüber schreibt, nicht unbedeutlich zu entnehmen ist. Here now we have a full sized merger of the two letters to the Bishop into one and then a doubt of the authenticity of that. And this stupendous criticism is based on the flat disregard of the readily accessible material. After that it is no wonder that Soffner thought it better to pass over the document.

30. The rest of the moderns outside of the general Church histories, whose entire method persists in wronging the Christian faith and misrepresenting real Christian history, do much braver and fairer work. The epistle is mentioned by Erbkam p. 367 and RE² without comment and only with reference to Salig. Schneider deals lovingly and justly by the great letter. Hampe approvingly gives some of its salient points. Hoffmann sweeps the lyre with full and resonant chords. Barclay remembers it with suitable eulogy. Erdmann and Grützmacher give it at least a favorable recognition. Ziegler speaks of it as a public letter in which the Bishop was urged to the furtherance of the pure, exclusive Word of God without human additions. It is no little disappointment to find that Grünhagen has made no mention of what was the key to the religious events of 1524. Even Hess' disputation which began on April 20 is no improvement upon the themes handled in this most eminent of the treatises which shaped and fostered the Silesian Reformation. How can one ignore the vital strife about the centre of authority in religion, the plea for freedom of conscience and the social salvation of the agrarian classes who then stood far below the guilds of the cities? How long are the prejudgments of Establishment that established itself by the magistracy and by force, to suppress the facts which underlay the regeneration of century XVI and to banish the earnest advocates of freedom, democracy and spirituality from their legitimate recognition and honor? How long will the historians of the state and of culture decline to trace the effect of the colossal energy and regnant speculation of the statesman whose wise plans were overthrown by the subtle hate of ecclesiastics and autocrats, to the century-long damage of his native land?

V. The title of this letter occurs in the following bibliographical works: *Haebertini Bibliotheca Krafftiana* under No. 188 ed. B. Köpke's *Catalogus* No. 6³ indeterminate. Panzer Vol. II No. 2559 ed. B. Weller No. 3164 ed. A. Schneider *Verz.* No. 2 edd. A and B.

VI. The main outline of the thought runs in this order: 1. A preface which is a disarmament of criticism. Love is the universal Christian principle and the manifestation of a genuine, unaffected, self-abnegating Christian spirit. A bishop ought to be its chief exponent inwardly and in every outward relation. Hence he cannot but treat their fraternal plea with reciprocal affection *Xij*. 2. The profound responsibility of so high

a shepherd to feed himself and his flock on the Word of God as the only food for the soul, and to set up this Word as the chief authority, and this in spite of all opposition $\mathfrak{Hij}$ — $\mathfrak{B}^i$. 3. Personal defence involving a definition of their own principles and practices, and an extended reply to their critics $\mathfrak{B}^i$ — $\mathfrak{D}$. 4. An appeal for the application of the Word of God to some existing abuses, regardless of the hostility of any advocates of traditional privilege $\mathfrak{D}$ — $\mathfrak{Dij}^i$. 5. The closing exordium for an unequivocal personal return to the Lord and to a consideration of the exclusively spiritual nature of his kingdom $\mathfrak{Dij}$ — $\mathfrak{Div}$.

VII. In the citations from the Scriptures we find all the passages from the Old Testament to be original renderings or free adaptations from the Vulgate and in some cases possibly from the LXX, for there are grounds for assuming that he had begun his study of the Greek language. Those from the New Testament are direct quotations from Luther, adaptations from the same and his own translations influenced at times by the Koburger.

The following points are to be observed with regard to the text:

1. The three reproductions of the title-page come in this order, the first is A; the second and third are B. The differences of Ba and Bb it must be remembered have nothing to do with the title-pages since the uncorrected and the corrected text are found with either. It may be well to state that copies with the double stamp of eagle and pine-cone are found in Jena U. B., in München K. H. S. B. and in the Schwenckfeld Library.
2. The texts of A and Ba are printed on opposite pages. The corrections of Bb appear in the apparatus criticus only, because they are so very few and unimportant.
3. The notes are printed as follows: a. The app. crit. of A and B respectively comes immediately under its own text. b. The general notes and scriptural citations are numbered on the basis of A but follow from page to page under the app. crit.

B.

A.







B.

A.

Dem hochwirdigen in Gott

vatter vnd herrn hern Jacob Bischoff zu
 Breslaw¹. 12. Enntbiern wir Hanns
 Magnus von Langewalde² vnd Caspar
 Schwendfelt von Ossig Gnab vnd
 fribe von gott dem vatter vnd vn-
 serem herren Ihesu Christo.

10 Hochwirdiger vatter genediger herr/ So der heylige | Paulus³ zun Chorin-
 thern sagt/ Das die rechte liebe ge-|dulbig vnd ganz freündtlich sey/ niemands
 neydet/ ist | nicht frech/ auffgeblosen noch vorbrieslich/ Sihe suchet | nicht eygenn
 nutz/ leyt sich nicht erhornenn/ gebend⁴ | nichts arges/ fremt sich auch nicht
 vber die vngerech-|tigkeyt/ sonder vil mehr mit der warheit⁵.

15 Sehen wirs darvor ahn/ das E. G.⁶ als ein Christ-|licher Bischoff⁷ (vnns
 allenn zum exempel surgestellt) | solcher lieb reich vnd voll ist/ Welche den alle
 ding zum | besten auflegt vnd vtheilt/ haben 8 halb für genommen E. G. |
 ein Christliche brüderliche vormanung⁸ zu thun/ vnnd | wollen vns trostlich vor-
 sehenn/ Sintemal auß Christ-|licher pflicht wir einander alles gutt schuldig/
 20 beson-|dern E. G. als vnser vorordenther bischoff vnns/ vnd | wir widerumb
 der selben E.G. werde solchs vnser schrey-|benn/ nicht ynn vordrieß noch vorech-
 tiglich⁷/ sonder der | massen wie es von vnns geschicht/ das ist Christlicher |
 meynung vnd ynn brüderlicher lieb annehmen.

Zu solchem wir manchfelter weiß vorursacht/ vnd | durch den geist ge-
 25 triebenn werden/ auß dem/ das wir | als glibmos Christi erkennen/ wie vieler
 menschen heil | vnnd seligkeit/ izundt noch gott ahn E. G. gelegenn/ | Darumb

1. 12. Sihe = sieh = sie. cf. 63⁹.

It is more variant than in B.

1. 15. Mark the punctuation of EG throughout.

1. 17. 8 stands for der either as one word or as a

syllable.

¹ Jacob von Salza, Bishop 1520—1539.

² Hans Axleben Magnus genannt.

³ Called

variously der heylige Paulus, sanct Paul, S. Paul, S. Paulus and Paulus.

⁴ E. G. =

Euer Gnaden *vestra clementia*.

⁵ The appeal is to him as a Christian.

⁶ Equals Ber-

B.

B.

Dem hochwirdigen in Gott vater
ter vnd herren/ herren Jacob/ Bischoff zu
Breslaw 2c. Endtbietten wir Hans Magnus
von Langewalbe/ vnd Caspar Schwend-
felt von Dffig/ Gnab vnd fryde von
Gott dem vatter vnnb vn-
sern herren Ihesu
Christo.

5

10

Schewirbiger vatter Genediger herr/ | So der heylig Paulus zun Corinthern
sagt/ Das | die rechte liebe gedultig vnd ganz freuntlich sey | nyemandts
neydig/ ist nicht frech/ auffgeblasen/ noch ver|brießlich/ Sy suchet nicht aygen
nuß/ laßt sich nicht erzür|nen/ gedenkt nichts arges/ fremd sich auch nicht
vber die | vngerechtigkait/ sonder vil meer mit der warhait.

15

Sehen wirs darfür an/ das Ewer Gnab/ als ain Christlicher Bischoff
(vns allen zum Exempel fürgestellt) solch|er lieb reich vnd voll ist/ Wölche
denn alle ding zum besten | auflegt vnd vtraylt/ haben derhalb fürgenommen/
Ewer | Gnab/ ain Christliche brüderliche ermanung zuthun/ vnd | wollen vns
tröstlich fürsehen/ Syntemal auß Christlicher | pflicht wir ainander alles güt 20
schuldig/ besonder Ewer | Gnab/ als vnser verordenther Bischoff vns/ vnd wir
wi|derumb derselben Ewer Gnab/ werde solchs vnser schrey|ben/ nicht in ver-
brieß/ noch vorächtiglich/ sonder dermaß|sen/ wie es von vns geschicht/ das
ist Christlicher mahnung | vnd in brüderlicher lieb annemen.

Zu solchem wir manchfeltiger weyß verursacht/ vnd | durch den gayst ge- 25
tryben werden/ auß dem/ das wir als | glydmaß Christi erkennen/ wie viler
menschen heyl vnnb | seligkait / begundt noch Gott an Ewer Gnab gelegt

l. 13. neydig A has neydet. l. 19. ermanung substituted for vormanung probably not only because it is the most frequent form but because outside of this one place A itself uses ermanen and ermanung. l. 27. gelegt hat is an emendation of gelegenn probably because of South German syntax.

mahnung; ermanung is used in all other places. ⁷ Deprecation similar to that in Doc. VI, p. 123.

a. 1 Cor. 134-6 zun Corinthern; Cod. Tep.; all other versions have zun Corinthern, so in B.

¶ ij ist von nottenn E. G trewlich vnd brüderlich | (¶ ij ihres ampts) hies ampts (welchs freilich bz ferlichst ist) zu erinnern / | aber ha auffß letzte hier selbst seligkeit war zu nehmen.

Vnd wollen also E. G ynn dem Herren ermanen vnd | bitten / auff das E. G
5 das lauther gottis wort vnd Euan- gelion Christi ahn allen menschlichen zusatz ynn
yhrem | bistumb zu predigen vorschaffe / die weil denn gottis wort | eine einige
speiß der seelen ist / doomit sie sol ernert vnd | ewig erhalten werden^a / dorauff
auch aller Christen furnemen | als auff einen bestendigen felsen erbawet sein soll^b.

Disß einige ist E. G hochlich von notten zuuorzoigen / | auff das die hartten
10 sprüche / des ernstn richters / do- mit gott triefft¹ die gottlosen bischoff vnd vn-
fleissige | hirtten / nicht vber E. G am iüngsten tag / außgehen.

Es spricht gott durch den propheten Ezechielem am | 3. Du son des men-
schen / ich hab dich gegeben zu einem | wechter² (das heist eyn bischoff) dem hauß
Israel / bz | du yhm solt vorkundigen mein wort / so es aber nicht tuft | wil
15 ich sein blutt von deinen henden fordern³ / Item Hie- remie am .23. Wee den
hirtten die austrewen vnnnd zu- reysen die herdt meiner weide / spricht d Herr /
Darumb | sagt gott der herr Israel zu den hirtten / die do weiden | meine
schoff / Ihr habt austreuth meine herdt / sie auß- geworffen vnd nicht besucht /
Nempt war ich wil vber | euch besuchen die bößheyt ewis furnemens spricht der |
20 Herr / vnd wil versamlen die vberbleybenden meiner herdt | von allen landen /
vnd wil sie widder brengen zu yher | rechten weide / Sie werden wachsen vnd
gemert / vnd | ich wil hirtten erwecken / die werbenn sie weyhenn / sie | sollenn
hinfur nicht forchtig sein / noch sich schreckenn | lossenn / es wirt keiner vorlornn
auß der zall spricht der | herr^d. Item Esaie am .56. Die wechter meines
25 volcks / | seind alle blindt / sie findt alle vnwissen / stumme hunde / | die nicht
¶ ij^b hellen können / sie sehn noch eytelkeit / schlaffen | (¶ ij^b vnd lieben) vnd lieben die
trewme / es sein³ vnvorschempte hunde / | die nymer können gesetiget werden / die
hirtten selbes | haben keynen verstand (vomym in dem wort gottis) | Sie sein³
30 seinem geiß / von dem^c | obersten bis auff den letzten^e / Vnd bald darnach / d ge-
rechte vordirbet / vnd es wil niemand zu herzen nemen^f.

Es ist in allen Propheten durch gott angezeigt die | harthe sch were straff /
so vber die yenigenn / die sich der | seel sorg vnderzienn / ergehn wirt / wo
sie nicht yhem | ampt noch / gottis beuehl vnd ordnung / ein genüg thu- en /
35 Solchs solt wollich einem zu herzen gehn / welcher | auch ein mal gebedt /
das er sterben muß / vnnnd seine | seel nicht wolt ewig lossen vordampft sein.

1. 7. einen for einem; B has ainen. 1. 8. soll = soll. cf. 250¹⁰ sol. 1. 10. bischoff, we would have expected bischoffe. 1. 12. Period omitted after am, due to lack of space.

1. 32. sch were = schwere. 1. 34. The / should be after ampt not noch.

¹ triefft = trifft. B has tryfft. ² wechter = ^{ru}ux = ^σρονός = speculator. ³ sein = seind of l. 25 = findt.

hat. Darumb ist von nōtten E. G. trewlich vnd brāderlich jres/(A ij) ampts/wōlches frey- A ij
lich das ferlichst ist) zū erinnern/ ober/ ja auff's letzte jrer selbst sālīgkait war zūnemen.

Vnd wōllen also E. G. in dem herzen ermanen vnd bit-ten/ auff das E. G.
das lauter Gottes wort vnd Euange-lion Christi on allen menschlichen zūsaß in
jrem Bistumb | zū predigen verschaffe/ dieweyl denn Gottes wort ain ay-nige 5
speyß der seelen ist/ darmit sy soll ernōrt vnd ewig er-halten werden/ darauff auch
aller Christen fūrnemen/ als | auff ainen bestendigen Felsen erbawet seyn soll.

Diß ay-nige ist E. G. hōchlich von nōtten zū versorgen/ | auff das die
harten sprüche/ des ersten richters/ damit got | tryfft die Gotlosen Bischoff
vnd vnsehlige hyrten/ nicht | ober Ewer Gnad am Jungsten tag/ außgeen. 10

Es spricht Gott durch den Propheten Ezechielem am .3 | Du sun des men-
schen/ ich hab dich gegeben zū ainem wächter | (das hayst ain Bischoff) dem
hauß Israel/ das du jm solt | verkündigen mein wort/ so es aber nicht thūst/
will ich seyn | blūt von deinen henden vordern. Item Hieremie am .23. | Wee
den hyrten die zerstreuen vnd zerreyssen die herb meynner wayde/ spricht der 15
herr/ Darumb sagt Got der herr Is-rael zū den hyrten/ die da wayden meine
schaff/ Ir habt zer-streut meine herdt/ sy außgeworffen vnnb nicht gesücht/ |
Rempt war ich will ober euch besüchen die hoßhait ewers | fūrnemens spricht
der herr/ vnd will versamlen die oberbley-benden meiner herdt von allen lan-
den/ vnd will sy wider bin-igen zū jrer rechten wayde/ Sy werden wachssen 20
vnd gemert | vnd ich will hyrten erwecken/ die werden sy wayden/ sy sol-len
hinfür nicht förchtig sein/ noch sich schrecken lassen/ Es | wirt kayner verlorn
auß der zal spricht der herr. Item Esaie | am .56. Die wächter meins volcks/
seind alle blind/ sy seind | alle vnwissen/ stumme hunde/ die nicht bellen
können/ sy sehen nach eytelkeit/ schlaffen vnd lieben die trewme/ es sein | vn- 25
uerschempfte hunde/ die nymmer können gefettiget werden/ | die hyrten selbst
haben kainen verstand (vernym in dem wort | Gottes) Sy sein alle abgewichen
auff jre wege (das ist auf (A ij^b) menschen gesetz) ain yeder nach seinem gehß/ von A ij^b
dem ober-sten biß auff den letzten. Vnd bald darnach/ der gerechte | verdirbet/
vnd es will nyemandt zū herzen nemen. 30

Es ist in allen Propheten durch Got angezaygt die har-te schwāre straff/ so
ober die jhenigen/ die sich der seel sorg | vnderziehen/ ergeen wirdt/ wa sy nicht
jrem ampt nach/ | Gottes beuelch vnd ordnung/ ain genügen thūn/ Solches |
sollt warlich ainem zū herzen geen/ wōlcher auch ain mal | gedācht/ das er
sterben muß/ vnd seyn seel nicht wolt ewig | lassen verdampt seyn. 35

l. 7. ainen cf. A 7.

l. 9. ersten misprint for erußen as in A.

l. 17. gesücht

an erroneous emendation. The umlaut of ð is cut into by the arm of the f.

a. Jo. 6²⁹⁻³⁵.

b. Matt. 7²⁴.

c. Ezek. 3^{17, 18}. The name Ezechielis derived from the Vulgate. Also used in pre-Lutheran versions. Now written Gesehiel.

d. Jer. 23¹⁻⁴.

e. Is. 56^{10, 11}. The form Esaiaß is not in use in any of the coteremporary versions; it is after the LXX and NT.

f. Is. 57¹.

Was hilffts spricht 8 Herr ym Matheo / den men-|schen / so ehz die ganz
welt gewunne / vnd nehme doch | schaden an seiner seele / aber was kan der
mensch geben / | damit ehz seine seele erloße¹ / es wirt yhe die zeit komen / | dz
wir gar sch were rechenschafft werden geben müssen.

5 Darumb wollen wir hiemit / nicht wie ynn hoffen der | brauch ist (als wir
auch wol wosten / wo es Christlich | wer) mit heuchley vmbgehn / sonder red-
licher Christ-licher weiß / vnnb bruderlicher liebe & G trewlich ge-|warnet haben /
Angesehen das & G noch 8 fleischlich-|enn geburt vnnsers standes¹ / vnnb auch
etwann vnser | gonstiger lieber fründt gewest / Auff das² & G sich hin-|für wolt
10 yr lebenn lang vben vnnb bekleissen ynn dem | wort gottis / vnd den sachen
des geists / So viel³ sich | & G vormals / ynn menschen wortten vnnb welt-
li chen | hendeln bemühet hatt.

Welchs & G als einem Christlichen bischoff zueigen⁴ / vnnb allein geburen
wil / wie der heylige Paulus seinen | Titon vnnb Timotheon lieblich ermanet⁵
x iij 16 des episteln (X iij & G als) & G als wir horen / teglich ynn hendenn hatt.

Wir wollen hie vnder wegen lassen / das ihr eygenn | geistlich recht mit-
bringt / wie sich ein bischoff / in welt- | liche handel / keiner gestalbt flechten soll /
Sonder mitt | der Bibel vnd dem heyligen Euangelio vmb gehn / die | gefangen⁵
vnd betrübten gewissen zu trösten / die armen / | wo auch die sein / erneren / vnd
20 alle werck der liebe yder-|mann zu erzeigenn⁶.

Also wirt & G auß pflicht vres ampts / wie wir bie-|ten / vnd hoffen ein
Christlich mandat lassen auß gehn / | vnd doneben noch geburlichem ampt fleissig
auffsehen | haben / Auff das hinfurt nichts anders / denn dz lauther | Eu-
angelion Christi noch außlegung der heyligen schrift /⁷ | vns allen zu trost / ynn
25 & G bistumb geprediget vnd ge-|lessenn werdenn.

Vnd alle die yenigen / so sabeln vnd menschen lere mit | einfuren / Eu-
angelischer weiß zustraffen beuehlen⁶ / welche | Paulus dem Tito also anzeigt / Es
seindt viel widder-|spenstige vnnuße sch weger vnd vorfurer / sonderlich die | auß
der beschneidung (dz ist / welche den werden des | gesetzs / vnd nicht den werden
30 des glaubens / anhangen) | welchen man muß das maull stopffenn / die do
ganze | heilßer vorzieren / vnd leren dz nicht taug / vmb schent-|lichs gewinß willen⁴ /
Volgt bald bornach / vmb 8 sach-|en willen stroff sie scharff / auff das sie ge-
sundt sein ym | glauben / vnd nicht achten / auff Jüdische sabeln vnnb | men-
schen gebott / welche die warheit abwenden⁶.

l. 4. sch were = schwere. l. 11/12. weltli chen = weltlichen. l. 25. werdenn should
be werde. l. 28. sch weger = schweger. l. 29. dz = das.

¹ He was born in August, 1481 as the youngest son of Nicolaus von Salza. ² De-
pends on gewarnet haben preceding. ³ So viel = eben so viel als. ⁴ A form used
which = zueigenen = zugehören be proper. ⁵ Contraction of gefangenen. ⁶ CJCan.,
Decret. P. I Dist. XXIII c. II, III. ⁷ The hermeneutical principle repeatedly ad-
verted to in this letter.

Was hilffts spricht der herr im Mattheo / den menschen | so er die ganz
welt gewunne / vnd neme doch schaden an | seynere seele / oder was kan der
mensch geben / damit er seyn | seele erlöse / es wirdt ye die zeit kommen / das
wir gar schwere rechen schafft werden geben müssen.

Darumb wollen wir hiemitt / nicht wie in hoffen der | brauch ist (als wir 5
auch wol westen / wo es Christlich wer) | mit heuchlerey umbgeen / sonder red-
licher Christlicher weis | vnd brüderlicher liebe Ewer Gnad treulich gewarnet
haben / Angesehen das E. G. nach der fleischlichen geburt / | vnser standes /
Vnd auch etwann vnser günstiger lieber | freind geweest / Auff dz E. G. sich
hinfür woll jr lebenlang | üben vnd befehlen in dem wort Gottes / vnd den 10
sachen des | geysts / So vil sich E. G. vormal / inn menschen worten | vnd
weltlichen hendeln bemühet hatt.

Wölchs E. G. als ahnem Christlichen Bischoff zu ah-gen vnd allain ge-
büren will / wie der heilig Paulus seynen | Thithon vnd Thimotheon lieblich
ermanet / des Episteln | Ewer Gnad / als wir hören täglich in hendeln hatt. 15

Wir wollen hie vnder wegen lassen / das jr ahgen | geistlich recht mitt-
bringt / wie sich ain Bischoff / in welt-lich handel / kayner gestallt flechten soll /
Sonder mitt der | Bibel vnd dem heiligen Euangelio umbgeen / die gefangen |
vnd betrübten gewissen zu trösten / die armen / wa auch die | seyn / ernözen /
vnd alle werdt der liebe yederman zu erzagen. (Aij) 20 A ij

Also wirt E. G. auß pflicht vnd jres ampts / wie wir bitten / vnd hoffen
ain Christlich mandat lassen außgeen / vnd | daneben nach gebürlichem ampt /
flechtig auffsehen haben | Auff das hinfür nichts anders / denn das lauter
Euangelion | Christi nach außlegung der hailigen schrift / vns allen zu | trost /
in E. G. bistumb geprediget vnd gelesen werden. 25

Vnd alle die yhenigen / so fabeln vnd menschen leere mit | einfüren / Euan-
gelischer weis zu straffen beuelhen / wölche | Paulus dem Tito also anzagt.
Es seind vil widerspenstige vnnütze schweyer vnd verführer / sonderlich die auß
der | beschneydung (das ist / wölche den werden des gesetzs / vnd | nicht den
werden des glaubens / anhangen) wölchen man | muß das maul stopffen / die 30
da ganze heuser vertriben / vnd | leeren das nicht taug / vmb schendtlích ge-
wynß willen / | Folgt bald darnach / vmb der sachen willen straf sy scharpf | auff
das sy gesund sein im glauben / vnd nit achten / auf Südtliche fabeln vnd men-
schen gebot / welche die warheit abwenden

l. 6. heuchlerey in contention with the form heuchley.
inserted after pflicht. l. 25. werden cf. A 25.
lacking for want of space.

l. 21. vnd mistakenly in-
l. 34. Period after abwenden

a. Matt. 16²⁰. b. Tit. 1⁷ sqq.; 1 Tim. 3² sqq. In B Thithon; Cod. Tep.: Tuten [Thuten
Gal. 2³ etc.]; Mentel: Thytus; Koburger: Thytus; Luth.: Tito, so Zürich. In B Thimotheon,
cf. p. 122. c. Tit. 1¹³, 14. d. Tit. 1¹⁰, 11. e. Tit. 1¹³, 14. In B also Titus.

Item zu Timotheo / so bezeug ich nu vor gott vnnb | dem herren Ihesu Christo / der do zukunfftig ist / zu rich-ten / die lebendigen vnd die todtenn / ynn seiner ersche-nung vnd seinem reich / predige das wort / halt ahnn / | es sey zur zeit obder zur vnzeit / straff / bedien / ermane | mit aller langmütikeit vnnb lere /
 A iij^b 5 Denn ehs wirt ehne | (A iij^b zeit sein /) zeit sein / do sie die heylsame lere nicht werden vortra-gen / Sonder noch hñen eigen lasten werdenn sie hñ | selbst lere auff werffen / noch dem sie die ohren hñden / | vnd werden die ohren von der warheit wen-den / vnd sich | zu den fabeln leren / Du aber sei nüchtern / allenthalben | leid-lich / thu dz werd^a eines rechten euangelisten / richt | dein ampt reblich auß^a.

- 10 Solchs ist alles denn bischoffenn gesagt / auff das sie | vleyssig auffsehn haben / domit nichts / denn gottis wort | geprediget werde / vnd wir haltens genzlich dafur E. | G. weh: langst des gemüthes gewest / diß zu fördern / | wo ehliche Prelathen¹ (wir wollen die gottforchtigenn | vnd geleerthen außgenommen haben) E G. dor ahn nicht | vorhinderthen / Es sein aber die yenigen / do E.
 15 Paulus | auch zu Timot. von sagt / Du solt wissen dz in den lezten | tagen werden ferliche zeitung ein treten / denn es werden | menschen sein / die von sich selbst halben / Geizig / Stolz / | hoffertigt / lesterer / den Eldern ungehor-sam / vnbänd-bar / ungeistlich / vnfreundtlich / storrigt / schender / vn-keüsch / vn-güttig / wilbe / vorretter / feueler / auffgeblo-sen / die mehr lieben die wollust /
 20 denn gott / die do haben | dz geberde eines gottseligen wandels / aber seine krafft | vorlauden sie / von solchen wende dich^b.

Gleicher weiß aber wie Jannes vnd Jambres Moßi | widderstunden / Also widersteen auch diese der warheit / | Es seindt menschen von zurutten synnen / vntüchtig | zum glauben / Aber sie werdens nicht außfuren / denn hñ | torheit
 25 wirt offenbar werden yberman spricht S. Paul^c.

Also sicht E G. dz man solche leut / die noch got / noch | s welt nuß sein / nicht allein nicht horen soll / forderlich | in sachen / dz wort gotes vnd den glau-ben betreffende / Sun^d wenn sie ymmer zuentbieten schreiben² vnd E G. zu
 A iiii schuß | ihres gottlosen wesens / auff Thirannei³ bringen vnnb | (heßen wollen / (A iiii)
 30 Sol sich E G mit dem wort gottis / als ein rechter Bischoff / ynen entlegen setzen vnd sie straffen / das sie ein | andermal doheym bleiben⁴.

Von solchen sagt wol der Prophet Esaiass / dz sie ge-plaget sein mit dem

l. 23. zurutten misprint for zurutten. l. 25. A / should be after yberman. l. 29. (heßen wollen / is part of the text and not leading word which is here omitted.

¹ In Silesia this term ordinarily included 1) the suffragan-bishop; 2) the officials of a Chapter; 3) the Abbots; 4) the commanders of the knights of St. John. They are placed between the bishops and the canons in a minute of the Dom-Chapter of Breslau Sept. 9, 1523. Kastner I, 17. ² It is doubtful whether schreiben is verb or noun; in the latter case it would be dependent on zuentbieten whenever they address writings.

³ A term applied to the hierarchic system in vogue expressive of usurpation, absolutism, injustice and cruelty. ⁴ Referring to the commissioners whom the Chapter had appointed to wait on the Bishop at Neisse, Oct. 13, 1523. The expression was prob-

Item zu Timotheo / so bezeug ich nu vor Gott vnd dem | herren Ihesu Christo / der da zukünftig ist / zu richten / die | lebendigen vnd die tobtē / in seynrer erscheynung vnd seynnem | reich / predige das wort / halbt an / es sey zur zeyt oder zur vn|zeyt / straff / bebiw / ermane mit aller langmütigkeit vnd | leere / Denn es wirt ain zeyt seyn / da sy die haysame lere nicht | werden vertragen / 5 Sonder nach iren aygen lusten werden | sy in selbst leere auf werffen / nach dem sy die oren jucken / vnd | werden die oren von der warhait wenden / vnnb sich zu den | fabeln leren / Du aber sey nüchtern / allenthalben leyblich / | thū das werck aines rechten euangelisten / richt dein ampt | redlich auß.

Solchs ist alles den Bischöffen gesagt / auff das sy flehssig auffsehen haben / 10 damit nichts / denn gottes wort gepre|diget werde / vnnb wir haltens gentslich darsür E. G. wer | langst des gemüthes gewest / biß zu fürdern / wa etliche Prelaten (wir wöllen die gottdiichtigen vnd geleerten außgenommen haben) E. G. daran nicht verhindern. Es seyn aber | (A iij^b) die ihenigen / da sant Paulus auch A iij^b zu Timotheo von sagt / | Du solt wissen das in den letzten tagen werden ferliche 15 zeitung eintreten / denn es werden menschen sein / die von sich | selbst halten / Geyzig / Stolz / hochfertigt / lesterer / den Eltern ungehorsam / vndandbar / vngaysslich / vnfreuntlich | störrigt / schender / vnkeüsch / vngüttig / wilbe / verzetter / freueler / aufgeblasen / die meer lieben die wollüst / denn Got / | die da haben das geberde aines gottsaligen wandels / aber | seyne krafft verlauden sy / von 20 solchen wende dich.

Gleycher weyß aber wie Jammes vnd Jambres Moys | widerständten / Also widersteen auch dise der warhait / Es | seynd menschen von zerrüttten synnen / vntüchtig zum glauben. Aber sy werdens nicht außführen / denn jr thozhait wirt | offenbar werden yederman spricht sant Paulus. 25

Also sieht E. G. das man solche lewt / die weder Gott / | noch der welt nütz seyn / nicht allain nit hören soll / fürder|lich in sachen / das wort Gottes vnd den glauben betreffen|de / Sonder wenn sy hymmer züentbieten schreyben vnd E. G. | zu schuß jres gottlosen wesens / auff Tyranny bringen vnd | herzen wöllen / Soll sich E. G. mit dem wort Gottes / als | ain rechter Bischoff / jnen 30 entgegen setzen vnd sy straffen / | das sy ainandermal dahayn bleyben.

Von solchen sagt wol der Prophet Esaias / das sy geplaget seyn mit dem

- l. 12. etliche substituted throughout for etliche. l. 17. hochfertigt = hochfertig; substituted for hoffertigt in A. l. 21. Jammes misprint for Jannes. l. 26. weder substituted for noch. l. 29. herzen misprint for hegen.

ably borrowed from certain proverbial phrases. cf. Wander under dāheim. Fibiger fails to allude to this circumstance.

- a. 2 Tim. 41-5. Luth.: vertragen ... eynes Euangelischen predigers. b. 2 Tim. 31-5. Luth.: gewolliche zeitung. c. 2 Tim. 38, 9. In B zerrüttten; Luth.: zurüttten.

schwindel geist^a/ also / das sie denn | weß der warheit nicht erkennen mögen/
seind geschla-|gen mit blindheit vnd verstockung ihres hertzens^b.

Sa sie nennen es den gots dienst / so man vil stiftunge¹ | vnnb gemurmelt/
doch ane hertß vnnb glaubenn/ muß | vmb gelbes willen/ fur nympt/ vnd haben
5 also / das ar-me volck ein gefurt/ das solche werd ihnen forderlich | sein zur
selikeit/ Wie wol es billicher hies bauchs dinst/ | denn gottis dinst/ mocht ge-
nant werden/ vnnb ist ein | lauther vorfurung der armen einfelbigen/ do & &
billich | solt ein sehenn.

Mann sicht woll das die mōnch furnemlich/ wol so | ferren rhyenn als ein
10 geher ein oßß²/ Wenn ein reicher | sterben sal/ kommen vnd bitten den kranken an/
ihre | gutte werd zu vorlauffen/ sie sollen wol zuuor ein vier-tel iar lang auff
ein alt mütterlein heren/ ehe sie stirbt / | wie sie noch heuttiges tags reden
dörffen/ sie nehmen | darumb das almoß/ das sie vor die sunden der menschen |
genugt tethen/ was solten sie sunst ihrem faulen leben | zum schein fur wen-
15 denn/ wir wollenn die/ so das wort | gottes predigen/ außgezogen habenn.

Wie wol es freylich vmb gelt vnnb gutt gar nichts | ad wenigß zu thuen
weh/ wo nur nicht vnßelich viel | seelen do durch vorfurt wurdenn/ das sie
meinen durch | solch eßlerlich werd ynn hymel zu kommen/ Iha es mo-|gen vnns
vnser eygene werd nicht rechtfertigenn/ wie | Pauls sagt^c/ viel weniger frembde/
20 gekauffte werd.

Was geschicht aber? Die armen elenden menschen | stehen für vnd für ynn
X iij^b hrem sundtlichenn leben/ das sie | (X iij^b sich auch) sich auch nymmer bessern/ noch zu
ir selbst rechtem er-|kenntnis kommen/ Vormeinens den am leßten/ yha wenn | sie des
guts nymer gebrauchen mögen/ mit testamenten | vnd viel meß lesen/ lossen außrich-
25 ten/ So sie doch beim | leben voller vnarmhertzigkeit/ ihrer frunde vnd nech-
sten ganz vorgeßenn/ Es geschicht auch/ so ehliche ein | meß lossen lesenn/ aber
dem mōnch ein scheffell³ korns | mittelen/ lichter auff steden/ kirchfertthen
hien vnd | der gleichen/ vnd ynn des die arme freundt kommer vnd | nott
leiden lossen/ gehn sie do her/ sicher ynn ihrer gleißnerey/ gleichsam⁴ sie es
30 wol hetten troffen/ Dorku vnser | gnanthe geystlichen ganz reblich beholffen
sein/ sagen | es muß auff der alben pahn bleibenn.

Sa lieben brüder/ wir wollenn auch vil lieber eine vo-tiua⁵ singen lossen/
abder dem mōnch ein scheffell korns | geben/ lichter auffsteden/ kirchfertthen hien/
vnd der | gleichen/ denn das wir teglich mit vnsern bösen lüßten | vnd be-
35 girben des fleischs streitten sollen/ wie Christus | von vns haben wil vnd &.

l. 10. sal cf. 244⁸. l. 19. Paulus, the *us* is expressed by 9. l. 29. After lossen
the original has a curved line.

¹ These were mainly connected with the Mass and were made by individuals or cor-
porations. Their number increased marvelously especially in century XV. ² This
proverb is founded on Matt. 24²⁸. cf. Wander s. n. aaß. The word oßß is a Silesian
form of oßß, oßß = aaß. ³ A Silesian scheffell of that day = c. 2.11 U. S. bushels.

schwindel gahst / also / das sy den weg der | warhait nicht erkennen mögen /
seind geschlagen mit blindhait vnd verstockung ires hertzens.

Ja sy nennen es den got's dienst / so man vil stiftunge | vnd gemurmelt /
doch on hertz vnd glauben / nur vmb gel'tes willen / für nymbt / vnd haben
also / das arme volck ein-gefürt / das solche werck jnen fürderlich seyn zur sällig-⁵
keit / | Wiewol es billicher ires hauchs dienst / denn Gottes dienst / | möcht ge-
nannt werden / vnd ist ain lautter verfürung der | armen ainseltigen / da E. G.
billich solt einsehen.

Man sicht wol das die Mönch fürnemlich / wol so ferren | ruchen / als ain
Geyer ain ochs / Wenn ain reicher sterben | (Aiii) soll / kommen vnd bieten den ¹⁰ A iiii
kranden an / ires güte werck zu | verkauffen / sy sollen wol zuuor ain viertel jar lang
auff ain | alt mütterlein heren / ee sy stirbt / wie sy noch heütiges tags | reden döffen /
sy nemen darumb das almäsen / das sy für die | sünden der menschen genüg
thäten / was solten sy sunst irem | faulen leben züm scheyn fürwenden / wir
wöllen die / so das | wort Gottes prebigen / außgezogen haben. ¹⁵

Wiewol es freylich vmb gelt vnd gütt gar nichts / oder | wenig zuthun
wer / wa nur nicht vnzelich vil seelen dadurch | verfürt wurden / das sy mahnen
durch solch eüsserlich werck | in hymel zu kommen / Ja es mögen vns vnnsrer
aygene werck | nicht rechtfertigen / wie Paulus sagt / vil weniger frembde / | ge-
laupte werck. ²⁰

Was geschicht aber? Die armen elenden menschen steen | für vnd für in
irem sündlichen leben / das sy sich auch nymmer bessern / noch zu jr selbest
rechtem erkendnus kommen | Vermainens den am letzten / Ja wenn sy des güts
nymmer | gebrauchten mögen / mit Testamenten vnd vil meß lesen / | lassen auß-
richten / So sy doch bey dem leben voller vnarm-herzigkait / irer freünde vnd ²⁵
nächsten ganz vergessen / Es | geschicht auch / so ettliche ain Meßz lassen lesen /
oder dem | Mönch ain scheffel Korn mittaylen / liechter auff stecken | Kirchferten
ziehen vnd der gleichen / vnd in des die armen | freündt kummer vnd nott leyden
lassen / geen sy daher / sichler in irer gleyßnerey / gleichsam sy es wol hetten
troffen / Darzu vnser genante gahstlichen ganz redlich beholffen sein / sagen es ³⁰
muß auff der alten ban bleyben.

Ja lieben brüder / wir wöllen auch vil lieber aine votina | singen lassen /
oder dem Mönch ain scheffel Korn geben / | Liechter auffstecken / Kirchferten
ziehen / vnd der gleichen | denn das wir täglich mit vnsern bößen lüsten vnd be-
girden | des flayssch streyten sollen / wie Christus von vnns haben | will vnd ³⁵

l. 10. ochs misprint for oyßz.

l. 33. Kirchferten misprint for Kirchferten.

⁴ gleichsam = gleich als ob.

⁵ According to the liturgical definition the votive Mass has two elements: a special vow or desire and an intercession for the dead. It may be private or public according as the vow or desire is individual or general. cf. WWKL. and RE.

a. Is. 19¹⁴.

b. Is. 69¹⁰.

c. Rom. 3¹⁰.

Paul lernt / Das ist / dz wir | sollen iberwinden durch den geist Christi vnd
 sein got-lichs wortt / die laster / vnreynigheit / hoffart / seufferey / | rohung / horn /
 geiz / froß / schagung der armen / vnd | ander laster* / so vns vom Adam
 angeborn sein / Beson-bern die eigene liebe welchs ein heuptlaster aller laster |
 5 ist / (wie woll es wenig¹ menschen erkennen) es hilfft | aber nicht / Adam muß
 auß / sol Christus ein gehn² / wie | der Herr sagt ym Joanne Es sey denn das
 der mensch | anderwert geborn wirt / kan er nicht ein gehn vns reich | der hymell³ /
 Nicodemus der kluge tapffer man londe | es aber nicht vorstehn / wir wollen
 hie geschweigen | der betriegnis des geists / welcher vnser herz ganz voll | stect /
 10 woll dem der es erkennt / Das auch der prophet | Hieremias wol sagt / Des
 8 menschen herz ist boße / vnd | (Vnerforschlich) vnerforschlich⁴ / Es muß das liecht
 der götlichen gnaden | dorein leuchten / sollen wir vnser gebrechen erkennen.

Wie soll mans aber erkennen / wenn die götliche gnad | nicht geprebiget
 wirt / vnd so vil vorfurer ahn wege | stehn / welche die menschen furen auff
 15 ihz eigen ertichte | weiß / do gott nichts von weiß noch wissen will.

Von den allen saget der Herr Christus / ym funffte-⁵hend Math. so kler-
 lich dz / So es auch ein ander thet / | ehz muß eigentlich ein lezer gescholten
 werden / denn | Christus vorwirfft yhe do selbst / die werd so ahn den | geist
 geschehen / allesamt / Was ist aber der geist ann-bers / denn der glaub in Christum /
 20 yha ehz vorwirfft auch | weiter alle menschen gefez / heist es vnnuße dinst⁶.

Was wurd ehz aber sprechen zu denen / so messz hal-then / vnd zu chz
 gehen vmb gelbes willen / Wir hal-bens / wenn ehz nicht so barmherzig wer /
 ehz wurde sie | alle zum tempel auß hagen⁷ / damit sie nicht ein ergerniß | weren /
 dem Christlichenn volck / Aber ehz wart biß zu | seiner zeit / er sol sie noch woll
 25 findenn.

Kurz vmb / es spricht der christliche lerer Taulerus⁸ / | Alle werd der gott
 nicht ein anfang / ein mittel vnd ein | end ist / nympt sich gott nicht vmb ein
 haer breit ahn.

Solchs kompt alles boher wie vor gerebt / dz gottis | wort ist vorzwigen
 30 blieben / Ist es nicht war / dz vn-der hundert priestern viel hundert iar her /
 kaum einer | die Bibel gehabt hatt / dorauf wir allein den rechtenn | grundt /
 vnser seligkeit / scheppenn müssen / wie habenn | sie denn recht vnd wol mocht lernen.

Iha ap gleich einn stuch des Euangelij gesagt⁹ / ist es | dennoch an allen

1. 6. Joanne should be followed by /.
 in the Ms., although not necessarily.

1. 21. hal has / instead of hyphen.
 or does e lengthen a as in 280²?

1. 7. anderwert may have been anderweid

1. 16. Period omitted after funfftehend?

1. 26. Alle = aller.

1. 28. haer = haar,

¹ This has the effect of a proverb.

² In the second sermon on the fourth Sunday after Trinity and in the sermon on Wednesday before Palm Sunday. Ed. Augsburg 1508, and ed. Basle 1521.

³ The allusion is to the Gospel and Epistlelections in the *Missale Vratislaviense* published by authority of Johannes Turzo *Decanus et coadjutor Electus ac Confirmatus Vratislaviense* dedicated to the priests and clergy of that diocese July 1, 1505.

Sant Paulus lernt / Das ist / das wir sollen überwinden durch den gayst
 Christi vnd sein götlichs wort / die | laster / vnra ini kait / Hoffart / saufferey / rachung /
 Zorn / gehß | (A iiii^b) Fraß / schagung der armen / vnnb ander laster / so vns von | A iiii^b
 Adam angeborn sein / Besonder die aygne liebe / wöllichs | ain hauptlaster aller laster
 ist (wie woll es wenig menschen | erkennen) es hilfft aber nicht / Adam muß auß / 5
 soll Christus | ein geen / wieder Herr sagt im Johanne / Es sey denn das der |
 mensch anderweyt geboren wirt / kan er nit eingeen ins reyß | der Hymell / Ri-
 codemus der Kluge tapffer man kunde es | aber nicht versteen / wir wollen hie
 geschweygen der betriegnus des gaysts / wölcher vnnser herß ganz vol stect /
 wol dem der es erkennt / Das auch der Prophet Hieremias wol | sagt / Des 10
 menschen herß ist böße / vnnb vnerforschlich / | Es muß das liecht der götlichen
 gnaden darein leichten / | sollen wir vnser gebrechen erkennen.

Wie soll mans aber erkennen / wenn die Götliche gnab | nicht gepredigt
 wirdt / vnnb so vil verführer am weg steen / | wölche die menschen füren auff
 jr abgen erbichte weyß / da | gott nichts von wayß noch wissen will. 15

Von den allen saget der Herr Christus / Mat. 15. So klerlich das / So
 es auch ain ander thet / er müß aigentlich ain | lecher gescholten werden / denn
 Christus verwürfft ye da selbst | die werdt so on den Gayst geschehen / alle sampt /
 Was ist | aber der gait anders denn 8 glaub in Christum / ja er verwürfft |
 auch weitter alle menschen geseß / haist es vnnütze dienst. 20

Was wurd er aber sprechen zu dienen so Meß hallten / | vnnb zühern geen
 vmb geltes willen / wir haltens wenn er | nicht so barmherzig wer / er wirde
 sy alle zum Tempel auß | Jagen / damit sy nicht ain ergernus weren / dem
 Christlichen | volck / Aber er wart biß zu seiner zeit er sol sy noch wol finden

Kurzumb / es spricht der Christliche leerer Taulerus / Alle werdt der gott 25
 nicht ain anfang / ain mittel / vnd ain end | ist / nympt sich Gott nicht vmb ain
 hat Vrait an.

Solchs kompt alles daher wie vor geredt / dz gotes wort | ist verschwigen
 bliben / ist es nicht war / das vnder hundert | Biefftern vil hundert jar hór /
 kaum ainer die Bibel gehabt | hat / darauß wir allain den rechten grund / vnser 30
 sáligkayt | (B) schepfen müssen / Wie haben sy denn recht / vnd wol mócht | lernen. B

Ja obgleich ain stuch des Euangelij gesagt / ist es dennoch | on allen gayst

1. 2. vnra ini kait = vnrainilait. 1. 6. wieder = wie der, as in A and corrected in Bb. The slant after Johanne is concave in Bb. 1. 7. anderweyt cf. A 7.
 1. 16. Mat. 15. an abbreviation to save space. 1. 21. dienen substituted for denen.
 1. 21. vnnb is changed to vnd in Bb owing to the correction which immediately follows. zühern misprint, corrected in Bb to zu Chor; A has zu chó.

a. Rom. 8; Gal. 5; Eph. 2; Col. 3. etc.
 Montel: anderweib; Koburger: anderwayb.

b. Jo. 33.5. In B anderweyt; Cod. Tep., and
 c. Jer. 179. The form Hieremias is not in

use in any of the coteremporary versions; it is after the LXX and the N. T. vnerforschlich is
 from the Vulgate, inscrutabile. d. Matt. 153-20. e. Jo. 214-18.

geist vnd bewerung der schrifft/ auch | vormischung yrriger heidtnischer leher/
herfur bracht/ | Schweigen die lügen vnd fabeln/ damit eygener nutz | gesucht/ das
B^b dozan keine besserung gefolget/ noch hatt/ | (B^b folgen mögen/ folgen mögen/ Noch dor-
ffen sie vnuorzshempt rebenn/ | das Euangelion wer stetigs gepredigt/ so sie doch viel |
5 mehr sich selbst den Christum/ viel mehr die hell vnd das | segeferw/ zu schrecken
den gemeinen man/ denn den hy-mel/ vnd seine vorheischungen zuuortrawen/
vnd die | gütigkeit gottis / do durch wir ynen zu lieben gereicht | werden/ ge-
predigt habenn.

Aber wie solt besserung folgenn/ wo die priester vnnd | prediger zu ihrem
10 ampt von gott noch von der gemein | nye gerufft seynn/ sein sie aber gerufft/
so ist es ya mit | ihrem zuthuen geschenn (wee den wo sie sich nicht er-kennen)
Es hatt sie freilich mehr eigene liebe (das ist | hohe ehre/ heitlicher nutz/ auch
faulheit vnd gutte tag | zu haben) gerufft/ denn gott der Herr.

Wie bey den heitten Hieroboam .3. regum .13. auch | geschach/ Also ein
15 yber der nuh: wollt/ möcht priester | werden* / was aber hernach folgte/ findt
man woll do-selbst/ Zu solchemm sachenn vnnd übel/ habenn vnßere | bischoff/
mit ihrem leichtfertigen weihen gar meisterlich | geholfenn/ Dorzu furstenn vnd
hernn vnd edelleutt/ | das man nymer betracht ap einer geschicht/ vnnd dem | volck
mit gutter lehr vnnd Christlichen exempel/ wol | möcht furstehen/ Sunder yber-
20 man hatt das seine/ ny-mandt gottis ehre/ vnnd die lieb des nechsten hierinn |
gesuch t^b.

Es wil auch heit seyn G¹. Herr vnser selbst nicht zu-vorgeffen / vnns bey
E G Christlicher weiße zuentschul-digen/ welches auch nicht der kleinisten vsachen
eine | ist/ dieß schreiben.

25 Wir haltens darfur/ es haben vns epliche frume leutt | offtmals bey E. G
ahn gegeben/ als solthenn wir | Lutherisch² seynn/ newerung³ helffenn einn
B ij fußenn/ | vnd sunst vnser freund durch yrrige lehren vorfurenn/ | (B ij den prelaten)
den prelaten nicht gehorsam leisten/ vnd der gleichen/ | Wollen wir E G vnd
menniglich hiemit noch vnserem | höchsten gewissen vnd seel selikeyt geanth-
30 wort haben/ | das wir Christen sein⁴ / vnd als war⁵ gott/ vnser Herr
ist/ | der alle herzen erkent/ wie wir nichts höhers / begeren/ | nichts heftigers
bieten/ denn allein das der nahm got-tes vnd Jesu Christi vnser⁶ erlosers/
mit rechtem diñst/ | gelobet vnd gepreist wurde/ das sein gotlich wort/ allen |
betrübtten zu trost ynn aller welt vorkundiget wurde. | Das alle menschen einen
35 rechten glauben vnd herzlich | vortrawen/ zu gott gewannen/ das wir vns
vbethen/ ynn | allen werden/ der lieb/ yber legen yberman/ ynn Summa | das

l. 1. mit is omitted after auch.

l. 7. ynen = ihn.

not uncustomary usage.

l. 21. gesuch t = gesucht.

l. 36. After vbethen the original has a curved line.

l. 6. vorheischungen a then current form for ver-
heisungen.

l. 10. noch omitted after ampt according to a

l. 29. seel selikeyt is to be

l. 31. The / after höhers is unnecessary.

l. 36. The / after werden

should be omitted.

vnd bewerung der schrifft / auch vermischung / irriger haidtnischer leer / herfür
bracht / schweigen die lügen / vnd fabeln / damit aigner nuß gesucht / das daran
kayne / besserung gefolget / noch hat folgen mögen / Noch döffen / sy vnuer-
schembt reden das Euangelion wer stetigs gepre-|digt / so sy doch vil mer sich
selbst denn Christum vil mer die | hell vnd das fegfeur / züschrecken den ge- 5
mainen man / denn | den hymel / vnd seine verhayffungen züertrawen / vnd
die | gütigkeit Gottes / daburch wir jnen zü lieben gerahgt wer-|den / gepredigt
haben.

Aber wie solt besserung volgen / wa die priester vnd predi-|ger zü irem
ampt von got noch von der gemain nye beräfft | seyn / sein sy aber beräfft / so 10
ist es ja mit irem züthun geschehen | (wee den wa sy sich nicht erkennen) Es
hat sy freylich mer | angene liebe (dz ist hohe eere / zeytlicher nuß / auch faul-
hait | vnd gütte tag zü haben) beräfft / denn gott der herr.

Wie bey den zeytten Hieroboam .3. Regum .13. Auch ge-|schach / Also ain
yeder der nur wolt / mocht priester werden | was aber hernach volgte / findt man 15
wol baselbst / Zü sol-|chen sachen vnd vbel / haben vnser Bischoff / mit irem
leichtfertigen weyhen gar mahsterlich geholffen / Darzü Fürsten | vnd Herren
vnd Edelweyt / das man nymmer betracht ob | ainer geschickt / vnd dem volck mit
güter leer vnd Christli-|chen Exempeln / wol mocht fürstehen / Sonder yederman |
hatt das seyne / nyemandt Gottes eere / vnd die lieb des nächstn hierinn 20
gesücht.

Es will auch zeyt sein G. herr / vnser selbst nit züuergeffen | vns bey
E. G. Christlicher weyse zü entschuldigen / wölches | auch nicht der klainisten
vsachen aine ist / diß schreybens.

Wir haltens darfür / es haben vns etliche frumme lewt offtmals bey E. G. 25
angegeben / als sollten wir Lutherisch seyn / | newerung helfen einführen / vnd
sunst vnser freünd durch | (W^b) irrige leeren verführen / den Prelaten nicht gehorsam w-
laysten | vnd bergleychen / Wöllen wir E. G. vnd menigklich hiemit | nach vn-
serem höchsten gewissen vnd seelsüligkeit geant-|wurt haben / das wir Christen
seyn / vnd als war got / vnser | herr ist / der alle herzen erkent / wie wir nichts 30
höhers / bege-|ren / nichts hefftigers bitten / denn allain das der nam Gottes vnd
Jhesu Christi vnser ersüßers / mit rechtem dienst / | gelobet vnd gepreyst wurde /
das seyn götlich wort / allen be|trübten zü trost in aller welt verkündiget wurde.
Das alle | menschen aynen rechten glauben vnd herzhlich vertrauen / | zü Gott
gewinnen / das wir vns üben / in allen werden / | der lieb / yeder gegen yeder 35

1. 6. verhayffungen substituted for vorhayffungen.
gerufft as more technical.

1. 10. beräfft substituted for
l. 14. Regum misprint for regum.

¹ G. = Gündiger. ² The term constantly used in the minutes of the Chapter to designate the Reformation. ³ of. p. 121²⁰. ⁴ Note this remarkable confession of evangelical Christianity. ⁵ als war = so wahr als.

a. 1 K. 13²⁰. The form Hieroboam occurs only in LXX.

b. 1 Cor. 10²⁴; Phil. 24.

wir alle/ wie wir ikt vom Euangelio Christi reden/ | auch ein recht Euangelisch
Christlich leben furethen.

Also wurden als denn/ alle gleißnerische werd/ ynn | rechthaffene werd
vorwandelt/ Daher ihunder aller | haber kompt/ das sich die falschen geystlichen/
5 mit den | rechten geystlichen/ handen/ vber¹ dem dinst gottes vnd | gutten werckenn.

Der sachen sein wir beide parth eins/ das gott zu die-nen vnnb gutte
werck zu thuen sein/ aber ym beithenn | sein wir ganz vneins/ Sie sagenn
ihre eigene ertichte | weiß vnd menschen geseß/ sei gottis dinst/ So sagenn | wir
nein dor zu/ Es sey viel mehr abgötterey vnd gleiß-neren/ Sunder Glaub vnd
10 was gott befolhenn hat/ sey | sein einiger dinst/ des wir viel spruch widder sie
vnd vor | vns/ ym alten vnd neuen testament haben/ es lernt auch | die vornunft/
vnd wenn wir vns des allein vnderstän-den/ dz gott gebotten hatt/ wir hetten alle
augenblick | genugsam zuschaffenn/ yha wenn wirs nur mochtenn | außrichtenn.

Thene wollens mit eüßerlichen werden vnd mensch-lichen gehorsam vor-
Bij^b 15 brengen/ vnd werden nyemer besser/ | (Bij^b Sunder) Sunder bleyben für vnd
für ynn ihrem geiß/ hoffart/ | vnreinigkeit/ zorn .xc. So wollen wir das
herz vnnb | den götlichen gehorsam/ das ist/ des glaubens gehor-sam/ für wen-
den/ vnd das man stetiges mit den bösen | lästen des fleischs streitten soll.

Der halb sollen wir lauffen ym glauben durch Christum | zu gott vnd
20 seiner barmherzikeit/ ynn yhn tramen vnd | hoffen/ auch wie ein kind/ den
lieben vatter forchten/ | So lauffen yene zu einem menschen/ dem sie mer traw-
en vnd forchten/ denn gott/ vnd lauffen vornach zu holz/stein/ speiß/ kleider/
tag vnd zeit/ das alles von Chri-sto vnd seinem werckzeug Paulo vorbotten ist/
sie wollen | gott mit eüßerlichem schein hoffiren/ So eh² doch ein | geist ist/
25 vnd wil das inen seine diener ym geist vnd der | warheit anbetthen sollenn³/
fragt noch eüßerlichem ge-þrenge lauther nichts/ ya es ist ein grewell vor seynen |
gotlichen augenn^b.

Dorumb sicht man dz solche leitt frech sein/ vnd aller | vormessenheit vol/
sie vormeynen die gottis wege/ durch | ihre vornunft vnnb weißheit zuerforschenn/
30 das doch | Christus ym Matheo klar abschlecht/ danck seinem | vatter/ das
ers den weissen der welt vorborgenn hatt/ | vnnb den kleinen aber albern
offenbart^c.

Dorumb können die selben/ das einige wörtlein/ glau-benn/ nymer recht
vornemen/ Solchs macht alles das | sie vorlossen haben den born²/ des leben-
35 bigen wassers/ | vnnb habenn ihn zuriffene cisternn gegrabenn/ die das | wasser
nicht halben mögen^d.

Weitter damit wirs vollend herauß füren von sunden/ | tragen wir ynn
eüßerlichen lastern vnd gebrechen/ als | ehebuch/ mordt/ vnreinheit vnd der

l. 14. menschlichen should be menschlichem.

l. 37. Weitter should be followed by /.

¹ Governs the dative.

² born = brunnen, B has brunnen.

man/ in Summa/ das wir alle/ | wie wir heyt vom Euangelio Christi reden/
auch ain recht | Euangelisch Christlich leben fñlereten.

Also wurden alsdenn/ alle gleyßnerische werdt/ in recht-/schaffene werdt ver-
wandelt/ Daher hezund aller hader kumpt | das sich die falschen gaystlichen/
mit den rechten gaystlichen | zanden/ vber dem dienst Gottes vnd gñtten werden. 5

Der sachen sein wir bayde parth ains/ das got zñ dienen | vnd gñtte werdt
zuthñn seyn/ aber im beñtten sein wir ganz | vnains/ Sy sagen jre aygne er-
dichte weyß vnd menschen geseß/ sey gottes dienst/ So sagen wir nawn darzñ/
Es sey vilmer abgñttereÿ vnd gleyßnereÿ/ Sonder glaub vnd was gott/beuo-
lhen hat/ sey sein ainiger dienst/ des wir vil sprñch wiß | sy vnd vor vns/ im 10
alten vnd neuen testament haben/ es lernt | auch die vernunft/ vnd wenn wir
vns des allain vnderstñnben/ das got gebotten hat/ wir hetten alle augenblick
genñgßam zñschaffen/ ja wenn wirs nur mñchten aufrichten.

Ihene wñllens mit eñsserlichen werden vnnd mensch-/lichen gehorsam ver-
bringen/ vnnd werden nymmer besser/ | Sonder bleyben fñr vnd fñr inn jrem 15
geyß/ hochffart/ vn-/rañnigkait/ zorn/ ꝛ. So wñllen wir das herz vnd den
Gñtlichen gehorsam/ das ist/ des glaubens gehorsam/ fñrwen-/ben/ vnd das
man stñtigs mit den bñßen lñsten des fñaysses | streyten soll. (B ij) B ij

Derhalb sollen wir lauffen im glauben durch Christum | zñ Gott vnd seynen
barmherzigkait/ in jñ trawen vnd hof-/sen/ auch wie ain kindt/ den lieben vater 20
fñrchten/ So lauffen ihene zñ ainem menschen/ dem sy mer trawen vnd fñrch-
ten/ denn Gott/ vnd lauffen darnach zñ holz/ stahn/ speyß | fñayder/ tag vnnd
zeyt/ das alles von Christo vnnd seynem | werdzeylig Paulo verbotten ist/ sy
wñllen Gott mit eñsser-/lichem scheyn hoffñren/ So er doch ain gayst ist/ vnd
will | das jñ seyne diener im gayst vnd der warhait anbetten sol-/len/ fragt 25
nach eñsserlichem geprenge lauter nichts/ Ja es | ist ain greuel vor seynen gñtt-
lichen augen.

Darumb sñcht man das solche lewt frech sein/ vnd aller | vermessenhait
vol/ sy vermahnern die gottes wege/ durch jre | vernunft vnd weyßhait zñ er-
forschen/ das doch Christus | im Mattheo klar abschlecht/ danckt seinem vater/ 30
das ers | den weysen der welt verborzen hatt/ vnd den fñaynen oder | albern
offenbart.

Darumb kñnnen die selben/ das aynige wñrtlein/ glauben | nymmer recht
vernemen/ Solchs macht alles das sy ver-/lassen haben den brunnen/ des leben-
digen wassers/ vnd haßben jñ zñrissen Cistern gegraben/ die das wasser nicht 35
hal-/ten mñgen.

Weytter damit wirs vollenbt herauß fñren von sñnden/ | tragen wir inn
eñsserlichen lastern vnd gebrechen/ als Ge-/bruch/ mozt/ vnrañnigkait vnd der

l. 16. hochffahrt = hochfahrt; substituted for hoffart.

a. Jo. 4²⁴. b. Lk. 16¹⁵. c. Matt. 11²⁵. Ood. Top.: lutzeln; Mentel: lutzeln; Ko-
burger: Keinen; Luth.; vnmundigen. d. Jer. 2¹³.

wir alle/ wie wir iht vom Euangelio Christi reden/ | auch ein recht Euangelisch
Christlich leben furethen.

Also wurden als denn/ alle gleißnerische werck/ ynn | rechtschaffene werck
vornandelt/ Daher ihunder aller | haber kompt/ das sich die falschen geystlichen/
5 mit den | rechten geystlichen/ handen/ vber¹ dem dinst gottes vnd | gutten werdenn.

Der sachen sein wir beide parth eins/ das gott zu die-nen vnnd gutte
werck zu thuen sein/ aber ym deuthenn | sein wir ganz vneins/ Sie sagenn
ihre eigene ertichte | weiß vnd menschen gesetz/ sei gottis dinst/ So sagenn | wir
nein vor zu/ Es sey viel mehr abgötterey vnd gleiß-nerey/ Sunder Glaub vnd
10 was gott befolhenn hat/ sey | sein einiger dinst/ des wir viel sprach widder sie
vnd vor | vns/ ym alten vnd neuen testament haben/ es lernt auch | die vornunfft/
vnd wenn wir vns des allein vnderstan-den/ dz gott gebotten hatt/ wir hetten alle
augenblick | genugsam zuschaffenn/ vha wenn wirs nur mochten | aufrichtenn.

Thene wollens mit eüßerlichen werden vnd mensch-lichen gehorsam vor-
Dij^b 15 brengen/ vnd werden nymer besser/ | (Vij^b Sunder) Sunder bleyben für vnd
für ynn ihrem geiz/ hoffart/ | unreinigkeit/ zorn .xc. So wollen wir das
herz vnnd | den götlichen gehorsam/ das ist/ des glaubens gehor-sam/ für wen-
den/ vnd das man stetiges mit den bösen | lästen des fleischs streitten soll.

Der halb sollen wir lauffen ym glauben durch Christum | zu gott vnd
20 seiner barmherzikeit/ ynn yhn trawen vnd | hoffen/ auch wie ein kindt/ den
lieben vatter forchten/ | So lauffen yene zu einem menschen/ dem sie mer traw-
en vnd forchten/ denn gott/ vnd lauffen vornach zu holz/stein/ speiß/ kleider/
tag vnd zeit/ das alles von Chri-sto vnd seinem werckzeug Paulo vorbotten ist/
sie wollen | gott mit eüßerlichem schein hoffiren/ So eh^r doch ein | geist ist/
25 vnd wil das inen seine diener ym geist vnd der | warheit anbetthen sollenn^a/
fragt noch eüßerlichem ge-|prenge lauther nichts/ ya es ist ein grewell vor seynen |
gotlichen augenn^b.

Dorumb sicht man dz solche leutt frech sein/ vnd aller | vormessenheit vol/
sie vormeynen die gottis wege/ durch | ihre vornunfft vnnd weißheit zuerforschenn/
30 das doch | Christus ym Matheo klar abschlecht/ danckt seinem | vatter/ das
ers den weissen der welt vorborzenn hatt/ | vnnd den kleinen aber albern
offenbart^c.

Dorumb konnen die selben/ das einige wortlein/ glau-benn/ nymer recht
vornemen/ Solchs macht alles das | sie vorlossen haben den horn²/ des leben-
35 digen wassers/ | vnnd habenn ihn zuriffene cisternn gegrabenn/ die das | wasser
nicht halben mögen^d.

Weitter damit wirs vollend herauß führen von sunden/ | tragen wir ynn
eüßerlichen lastern vnd gebrechen/ als | ehebruch/ mordt/ unreinigkeit vnd der

l. 14. menschlichen should be menschlichem.

l. 37. Weitter should be followed by /.

¹ Governs the dative.

² horn = brunnen, B has brunnen.

man/ in Summa/ das wir alle/ | wie wir heyt vom Euangelio Christi reden/
auch ain recht | Euangelisch Christlich leben fñereten.

Also wurden alsdenn/ alle gleyßnerische werck/ in recht-|schaffene werck ver-
wandelt/ Daher hekund aller hader kumpt | das sich die falschen gaystlichen/
mit den rechten gaystlichen | zanden/ vber dem dienst Gottes vnd gñtten werden. 5

Der sachen sein wir bayde parth ains/ das got zñ dienen | vnd gñtte werck
zuthñn seyn/ aber im beñtten sein wir ganz | vnains/ Sy sagen ire aygne er-
dichte weyß vnd menschen ge-|setz/ sey gottes dienst/ So sagen wir nayn darzñ/
Es sey vilmer abgötterey vnd gleyßneren/ Sonder glaub vnd was gott/beuo-
hen hat/ sey sein ainiger dienst/ des wir vil sprñch wiß | sy vnd vor vns/ im 10
alten vnd neuen testament haben/ es lern | auch die vernunft/ vnd wenn wir
vns des allain vnderstñnden/ das got gebotten hat/ wir hetten alle augenbliß
genñg-|sam zñschaffen/ ja wenn wirs nur mñchten außrichten.

Ihene wñllens mit eufferlichen werden vnnd mensch-|lichen gehorsam ver-
bringen/ vnnd werden nymmer besser/ | Sonder bleyben für vnd für inn irem 15
geyß/ hochffart/ vn-|rarnigkait/ zorn/ zc. So wñllen wir das herz vnd den
Gñtlichen gehorsam/ das ist/ des glaubens gehorsam/ fürmen-|den/ vnd das
man stätigs mit den bößen lñsten des flayßs | streyten soll. (B ij) Bij

Derhalb sollen wir lauffen im glauben durch Christum | zñ Gott vnd seynen
barmherzighait/ in jñ trawen vnd hof-|fen/ auch wie ain kindt/ den lieben vater 20
fürchten/ So lauffen ihene zñ ainem menschen/ dem sy mer trawen vnd fürch-
ten/ denn Gott/ vnd lauffen darnach zñ holz/ steyn/ speyß | klayder/ tag vnnd
zeyt/ das alles von Christo vnnd seynem | werckzeig Paulo verboten ist/ sy
wñllen Gott mit euffer-|lichem scheyn hoffñren/ So er doch ain gayst ist/ vnd
will | das jñ seyne diener im gayst vnd der warhait anbetten sol-|len/ fragt 25
nach eufferlichem gepreng | lauter nichts/ Ja es | ist ain grewel vor seynen gñtt-
lichen augen.

Darumb sñcht man das solche lewt frech sein/ vnd aller | vermessenhait
vol/ sy vermaynen die gottes wege/ durch ire | vernunft vnd weyßhait zñ er-
forschen/ das doch Christus | im Mattheo klar abschlecht/ danck seinem vater/ 30
das ers | den weyßen der welt verborzen hatt/ vnd den klaynen oder | albern
offenbart.

Darumb können die selben/ das aynige wñrtlein/ glauben | nymmer recht
vernemen/ Solchs macht alles das sy ver-|lassen haben den brunnen/ des leben-
digen wassers/ vnd ha-|ben jñ zñrissen Cistern gegraben/ die das wasser nicht 35
hal-|ten mñgen.

Weytter damit wirs vollendt herauß fñren von sñnden/ | tragen wir inn
eufferlichen lastern vnd gebrechen/ als Ge-|bruch/ mordt/ vnrainigkait vnd der

l. 16. hochffahrt = hochfahrt; substituted for hoffart.

a. Jo. 4.²⁴. b. Lk. 16.¹⁵. c. Matt. 11.²⁵. Cod. Tep.: lugeln; Montel: lugeln; Ko-
burger: kleinen; Luth.; vnnunbigen. d. Jer. 2.¹².

gleichen .xc. auch | mit vnserm widerpart vberin/ Das sie alle wider gott | sein/
 B iij Aber in den innerlichen sunden des hertzens/ sein | (B iij wir weit) wir weit vnder-
 scheiden/ so sie einen freien willen¹ auff-bloßenn/ doraus denn vormessenheit vnnd
 geistliche | hoffart aber eigne liebe erwechset/ das aller tieffste aller | geistlichste
 5 laster/ das auch kein mensch ganz enig ist/ | ya sie erkennen aber nicht/ schrei-
 ben die gutten werdt | ehlicher massen ihn zu/ vormeinen den hymel damit zu-
 vorbienen/ Wir aber wissen durch das wort gottis / dz | ynn vnser natur vnd
 treffen nichts guts ist/ vnd dz all | vnser leben vnd besten werdt/ vor gottis
 augen nicht | bestehn mochten/ wo ehr mit vns wolde zugericht gehn²/ | Sinte-
 10 mal gott allein dz hertz richt das doch böse vnd | vnnerforschlich ist³.

So geben wir gott vnserm schepper die ehre vnd stehn | ym glaubenn seines
 sons Ihesu Christi/ durch welchs | blutt wir gerechtfertiget sein⁴.

Der halb wo irkeinn werdt der liebe durch vnns ge-schicht/ schreiben wirs
 alles gott vnserem Herrn zu/ der | der solchs durch vns wirckt/ als durch seinen
 15 werckge-zeugt/ damit wir auch erkennen/ das wir einen gene-digen gott vnnd
 liben vatter ym hymel haben

Wissen auch weil wir ym glauben stehn/ das dz yenige | so ynn guttenn
 werckenn/ sunblichs⁵ mit vnder leufft/ | (wie denn geschriben steht/ das der ge-
 recht felt sieben | mal ym tag⁶) so ferr wir teglich/ do wider streiten/ wil | es
 20 gott durch den glauben ynn Christum nicht zu rechen.

Inn summa wir wissen nichts denn Iesum Christum | vnd das der ge-
 creuziget ist⁷/ vnnd das wir durch seine | gotliche barmhertzigkeit erlost vnd
 geseliget sein / Denn | hymel haben wir schon/ konnen wir ihn nur behalten/
 dz | brenge vnns allein der glaub/ welcher gleich so wenig | mag ane gutte
 25 werdt sein/ als ein gut baum ane frucht.

Diß habenn wir G G ym bestenn/ als vnserm voro-benthen bischoff ange-
 B iij zeigt/ vnserm Christlichen namen | (B iij zu erretten/) zu erretten/ wollen auch
 so ferr wir mit heiliger schrifft | bessers vndberricht würdenn gerne folgenn.

Es ist ye ein gewiß regell⁸/ welcher sucht lauther die | ehre gottis/ den nutz
 30 seines nechstenn/ vnnd die erret-tung der armen gefangen gewisenn/ 8 muß auß
 got sein.

Welcher aber sucht seine eigene ehre/ liebet seinen ey-genn nutz vnnd will
 das voldt/ So durch das blutt | Christi gefreiet ist/ auff menschen gehorsam/
 seine ge-sehe vnd Tirannei widder gotlichs wort furen/ vnnd | also den hymel
 35 vor ihn zuschliessen⁹/ vnd den vmb gelt | wider auff sperren/ der ist wollich
 nicht auß gott/ wir | wissen ye das gott der mißbrauch nicht gefallen mag.

1. 2. Aber a correct form for aber and should not be mistaken for oder as in B.

1. 5. das for des gen. depending on enig without.

1. 9. zugericht = zu gericht.

1. 14. seinen should be either sein or seine.

1. 16. Period after haben omitted.

1. 27. vnserm should be vnsern. zu = zu.

¹ This was before Erasmus' book appeared, Sept. 1524.

² Depends on so whatever

gleichen. 2c. Auch mit | vnserm widerpart überein/ Das sy alle wider got seyn
 oder | in den innerlichen sünden des herzens / sein wir weyt vnder|scheyden / so
 sy ainen freien willen auffbloßen / darauß denn | vermessenheit vnd gaystliche
 hoffart oder aygne liebe er|wechset/ das aller tieffste aller gaystlichste laster/ das
 auch | kein mensch ganz ainig ist/ ja sy erkennen⁵ aber nicht/ schrei|ben die gütten
 werd⁶ etlicher massen in zü/ vermainen den hymel damit züuerbienen / Wir
 aber wissen durch das wort | gotes / dasin vnser natur vnd treffen nichts güts
 ist/ vnd | das all vnser leben vnd besten werd⁷/ vor gottes augen nitt | (B ij)⁸ Wir
 besteen möchten / wa er mit vns wolte zügericht geen/ sin|temal Gott allain
 das herz richt das doch böse vnnnd vn|erforschlich ist. 10

So geben wir gott vnserm schöpffer die Eere vnd steen | im glauben seines
 sonß Ihesu Christi/ durch wölchs blütt | wir gerechtfertiget sein.

Derhalb wo jr kein werd⁹ der liebe durch vns geschicht / | schreiben wirs
 alles Got vnserm Herzen zü/ der der sollich¹⁰ | durch vns wirkt/ als durch seinen
 werd¹¹ geheügt / damitt | wir auch erkennen/ das wir ainen genebigen got vnd 15
 lieben | vatter im hymel haben

Wissen auch weyl wir im glauben steen/ das dasjenige | so in gütten werden/
 sündlich mit vnder leufft (wie denn | geschriben steet/ das der gerecht selb syben-
 mal im tag) soffer wir täglich/ darwider streyten/ will es gott durch den | glau-
 ben in Christum nicht zü rechnen. 20

In summa / wir wissen nichts denn Iesum Christum / | vnd das der ge-
 creüiget ist/ vnd das wir durch seyn gött|liche barmherzigkait erlöst vnd ge-
 fället seyn / Den hymel | haben wir schon/ können wir in nur behalten/ das
 bringt | vns allain der glaub/ wölcher gleich so wenig mag on güte werd¹² sein/
 als ain gütt baum one frucht. 25

Diß haben wir E. G. im besten / als vnserm verordenten | Bischoff ange-
 zaygt/ vnserm Christlichen namen zü erret|ten/ wöllen auch so ferz wir mit
 hayliger schrifft bessers vn|berriht würben gerne volgen.

Es ist ye ain gewyß Regel/ wölcher sücht lauter die eere | Gottes/ den
 nuß seynes nächsten/ vnd die errettung der ar|men gefangen gewissen/ der muß 30
 auß Gott seyn.

Wölcher aber sücht seyne aygene eere/ liebet seynen aygen|nuß/ vnd will
 das völd/ So durch dz blüt Christi gefreyt ist | auff menschen gehorsam/ seyne
 geseze vnd Tyranny wider | götlichs wort füren/ vnd also den hymel vor in
 züschließen / | vnd den umbgelt wider auffsperrzen/ der ist warlich nit auß | got/ 35
 wir wissen ye das got der mißbrauch nit gefallen mag. (B iij)

1. 2. oder misreading of aber = aber. 1. 4/5. das auch cf. A 5. 1. 7. dasin =
 das in. 1. 27. vnserm cf. A 27. 1. 35. umbgelt = umb gelt.

of sinful things. ³ Note the pertinency of this test. ⁴ The perverted use of the keys.

a. Ps. 143². b. Jer. 17^{9,10}. c. Rom. 5⁹. d. Prov. 24¹⁶; Lk. 17⁴. e. 1 Cor. 2².

Nu reden wir hnn gottis namenn / hm sey / allein lob | vnnd eher / das
 wir auß gottlicher gobe biß hie her hnn | außbreitung euangelischer leh / so
 vil vns von gott ver-¹lihen / nichts des vnsern gesucht han / biten auch vnsern |
 Herren / wolde solchs vber vns nicht vorhengen / Sonst | wir wollen vnser gutt /
 5 so viel vnser arm vormogen er-²tregt / selbst nich sparen / damit eine Christliche
 euan-³gelische ordenung¹ noch aussprechenn gottlichs worts / | nicht mit auffzur
 aber vorziagen der priester / Sonst hnn | aller gebult vnd senfftmütigkeit ha² auffß
 wenigste hnn | vnsern doffern auffgericht werdt / Solchs wollen wir | durch
 vnsern hernn Christum trewlich wunschenn vnnd | mitt stethem vleiß bitt'henn.

10 Nu sprechenn ehliche / Ja wir wollenn freilich auch | das Euangelion habenn /
 aber nicht noch ewr deütung / | sonder wie es vorlangest gedeüth ist / Danc habt
 hñ | liebenn freunde / wenn ewr deüthen hett lenger sollenn | weren / So wer
 vns wol kein pfennig³ hm bewtel bly-⁴ben / sch weigen der vnghelichen vorfurung
 Biiij der gewissen. (Biiij Wir sollenn)

15 Wir sollen vnsern vorstand⁴ liegen lassen / vnd keine | ander deuttung ahn-
 nemen / denn so viel das Euangelion | mitt schrift auß dem alden Testament
 gedeüth wirt / | wie Christus selbs bevilte hm Joanne / Erforſchet die | schrift /
 die geben zeugnis von mir⁴ / Also lesen wir auch | hnn geschichten der aposteln /
 das die von Thessalonich / | den Paulus predigte / begunden hym in der schrift
 20 noch | zu suchen / befundens dermoſſen wie ehr sagte⁵ / Item aber-mals so
 Christus den zweien Jungern die kein Emaus | gingen / erschein / weist er sie
 auff die schrift⁶.

Dorumb ist es vorfurisch / so menschen durch ihren vor-⁴stand⁴ das Euan-
 gelion wollen auslegen / es muß eine | schrift durch die ander außgelegt wer-
 25 denn⁵ / vnnd wie | Paulus saget / Alle vnser vorſtentnis gedanden vnnd | er-
 finden / sollen noch dem willenn vnd diñst gottis ge-⁴fangen werden⁴ / Exempel
 den spruch Christi / gebt dem | leiser das des leisers ist / vnnd gott was gottis
 ist⁶ / | Gegen ehliche priester auß das man ihn sol hinß geben / | wie woll wir
 nicht dor wider sein / So bringt doch sol-⁴lichen vorstandt dieser worde vnser
 30 geist nicht / dorumb | müssen wir den Herrn anruffen mit dem Dauid psal. 84. |
 vnnd sprechen / Ich will horen / was hnn mir der Herr | gott reden wolle⁷ /

l. 1. The / after sey seems incorrect. l. 5. nich is a current form for nicht. l. 7. senfft-
 mütigkeit should be followed by /. l. 13. sch weigen = schweigen. l. 21. kein con-
 tracted from legen = gegen. cf. 270¹⁶ where it is legen. B has gen. l. 25. vorſtentnis
 should be followed by /. l. 26. ge has / instead of hyphen.

¹ A Christian evangelical order would require a revolution in worship and polity
 based upon reconstructed doctrine. The usage here is more comprehensive than the
 mediaeval *Ordo*, and includes *Agenda*. ² ha goes with auffß wenigste, giving it the
 force of entreaty. ³ The standing grievance of the Reichstag and of the cities was
 the abstraction of money from Germany by Rome: the Silesian pfennig of 1524 =

Nun reden wir in Gottes namen / im sey / allain lob vnd | eer / das wir
 auß Götlicher gabe biß hieber in außbraytung | Euangelischer leer / so vil vns
 von Gott verlyhen / nichts | des vnsern gesücht hon / bitten auch vnsern herren /
 wölle | sollichß vber vns nicht verhängen / Sonder wir wölle vnser güt / so
 vil vnser arm vermögen ertregt / selbst nicht spairen / damitt ain Christliche Euan- 5
 gelische ordenung nach | aussprechen götlichß worts / nicht mit auffrüt oder ver-
 ja-gen der Priester / Sonder in aller gedult vnd senfftmutig-keit / ja auffß wenigste
 in vnsern bößfern aufgericht werdt | Sollichß wölle wir durch vnsern herren
 Christum trew-lich wünsch / vnd mit stättem fleiß bitten.

Nun sprechen etliche / Ja wir wölle frehlich auch das | Euangelion haben / 10
 aber nicht nach ewer beütung / Son-der wie es vor langest gebüt ist. Danc
 habt jr lieben freilnße / wenn ewer beütten het lenger sollen weren / So wer
 vns | wol kahn Pfening im bewtel blyben / schweygen der vngehlichen verfürung
 der gewissen.

Wir sollen vnsern verstand ligen lassen / vnd kahn an-der beütung an- 15
 nemen / denn so vil das Euangelion mitt | schrift / auß dem alten Testament
 gebüt wirdt / wie Christus selbs beulcht im Johanne / Erforschet die schrift /
 die | geben zeigknus von mir. Also lesen wir auch in geschich-ten der Aposteln /
 das die von Thessalonich / den Paulus predigte / begunden jm in der schrift
 nach züsüchen / befundenß | dermassen / wie er sagte. Item / abermals so 20
 Christus den | zwahen Jungern die gen Emauß giengen / erschein / wehst | er sy
 auff die schrift.

Darumb ist es verfürisch / so menschen durch iren ver-standt das Euangelion
 wölle außlegen / es muß ain schrift | durch die ander anßgelegt werden / vnd
 wie Paulus saget / | Alle vnser verstentnus gedanden vnd erfinden / sollen nach | 25
 dem willen vnd dienst Gottes gefangen werden / Exempel | den spruch Christi /
 gebt dem Kayser das des Kayfers ist / | vnd Gott was Gottes ist / Legen et-
 liche Priester auß / das | (Wijß) man in soll zins geben / wiewol wir nicht darwider Wijß
 sein / So | bringt doch sollichen verstand diser worte vnser gahst nicht | darumb
 müssen wir den herren anruffen mitt dem Dauid | Psal. 84. vnd sprechen / Ich 30
 will hören / was in mir der herr | gott reden wölle / Die wehl dann Christus

l. 2. hieber mistake for hie her.
 is inverted = aufgelegt.

l. 21. gen cf. A 21.

l. 24. anßgelegt the u

1.4 pf. of present German currency = .35 U. S. cts.
 use of reason in theology. cf. p. 256¹¹.²⁰ vornunft.
 principle.

⁴ These passages illustrate the
⁵ The hermeneutical

a. Jo. 8²⁰. *ἐκavväre, scrutamini.* b. Acts 17¹¹. Cod. Tep. and Koburger: zu Thessalo-
 nicam; Mental: zu thessaloniam; Luth.: gen Thessalonich; cf. p. 123. It was the Bereans and
 not the Thessalonians. c. Lk. 24²⁶⁻²⁷. Luth.: Emmauß; other German versions: Emauß.
 d. 2 Cor. 10⁵. e. Matt. 22²¹. f. Ps. 86⁹. Schwenckfeld follow V. 84⁹.

Die weil dann Christus spricht/ Das | reich gottis ist inwendig ynn euch^a vnnb
S. Paul legts | auß was es sey/ Nemlich gerechtikeit/ friede/ fride ym | heyl-
ligen geist^b/ Ist gewislich leicht zuuoesthen/ womit | gott sein schuldiger dinst
soll gegeben werden/ So muß | yhe der spruch Christi bedeuten/ das eyrige
5 gutt von | gotte nach seynem eben bild geschaffen/ das ist die seel | des christ-
glaubigen menschen.

Weitther sagen sie/ Ja die schrift ist finster/ vnd die | sprach sein tunkell vnnb
widereinander/ wir mussenn | einen richter haben/ Antwort/ Die schrift vnd das
8 iiij^b wort | (Wiiij^b gottis ist) gottis ist ein gantz helles licht/ das die klarheit selb | selbst/
10 dem glaubigen herzen mit brenge wie der Dauid | spricht/ dein wort ist ein lucern
meinen fuessenn^c/ Item | ynn deinem licht werden wir sehen das licht^d/
Christo | ist freylich das wore licht/ das do erleucht alle glaubi-ge menschen^e/
wie ehz sagt ym Joanne/ Ich nym kein | clarheit von den menschen^f.

Dorumb ist es nicht der schrift scholdt/ dz wirs nicht | vorstehn/ sonder vnser
15 vorfinsterten herzens/ welchs | mit eigener lieb/ geiz/ harn/ vnreinigkeit vnd Tiran-
ney behafft ist/ do durch solch licht/ nicht leuchten mag/ | wir müssen zuuo die
fehl von den augen reissen/ sollen | wir solch licht ersehen/ sunst werden wir gleich
wie dy | Egipcier ym finsternis taffen^g/ der geist muß es thuen/ | der wirt alle
sprache sein auff die ehre gottis reymen/ | das fleisch vormag es nicht.

20 Also sol allein das wort gottis vnser richter sein/ wer | macht vns sunst
gewieß/ das der richter nicht irre/ die | weil alle menschen lügner sein^h/ Soll
wir denn zu einem | menschen lauffen/ so woll wir lieber zu gott/ der nicht |
irren kan/ vnd ihn in aller demut vmb sein gnob bitten/ | das ehz vns sein
gotlich wort wolt eröffnenn.

25 Sprechen sie fort an solt die Christliche kirche nichts | vnd die Concilia
nymmer gelden/ es muß ye ein ordenung | sein/ Bey der schrift vnnoestendigen
ist solch furgebenn | hoch geacht/ Doch wolten wir auch alls leihenⁱ mit gottis
hülff dorauff antworthen/ Erstlich auß dem namen | Kirche (welchs doch auff
vnser deutch heist eine ge-mein)^j ist aller ithumb erhört/ Die einfeltigen
30 haben | die Christliche kirch/ fur ein gepew/ als stein vnd holz | gehalten/ Die
welt weisen fur den Papt/ Cardinal/ | Bischoff/ vnd prelathenn.

35 So halten wir das die Christliche kirche in 8 schrift | (E heist die) heist die ge-
mein ader versamlung/ aller ader viel Christ | gleubiger herzen vnd seelenn/ Der
heupt Christus vn-ser Herr ist/ wie S. Paul zu den Epheß.^k vnnb anders |
wo schreibt^l/ Solche wirt alleinn durch gottis wort ge-born/ durch gottis wort
ernerth vnd regirt/ kurz vmb | Sie orden alle ding auß dem Euangelio/ vnd

1. 3. zuuoesthen misprint for zuuoestehen.

1. 8. After Antwort the original has

a curved line.

1. 9. selb selbst same reading in B.

1. 11. fuessenn note the c

after u.

1. 12. Christus the us is expressed by 9.

1. 21. Soll a frequent apocope

for sollen.

1. 22. woll a frequent apocope for wollen.

1. 26. | ein = sein.

¹ The doctrine of the Christian priesthood.

² Not etymologically but as translation.

spricht/ Das reich | Gottes ist inwendig in euch/ vnd sant Paul legt auß
was | es sey/ Nemlich gerechtigkeit/ fride/ fröde im hailigen gahst | Ist ge-
wislich leicht zuuerstehen/ wamit gott sein schulbiger | dienst soll gegeben werden/
So muß ye der spruch Christi | bedeuten/ das ainige güt von gott nach seynem
ebenbild geschaffen/ das ist die seel des Christglaubigen menschen. 5

Weytter sagen sy/ Ja die schrift ist finster/ vnd die spruch | seyn tuncel
vnd wider ainander/ wir müssen ayen richter | haben/ Antwort/ Die schrift
vnd das wort Gottes ist ain | ganz helles licht/ das die klarheit selb selbst/
dem glaubigen hertzen mittbringet wie der David spricht/ Dein wort | ist ain
lucern meynen fassen. Item in deinem licht werden wir sehen das licht/ 10
Christus ist freylich dz ware licht | das da erleucht alle glaubige menschen/ wie
er sagt im Jo-hanne/ Ich nymme kein klarheit von den menschen. |

Darumb ist es nicht der schrift schuld/ das wirs nicht | verstecken/ sonder
unser verfinsterten hertzens/ welches mit | aygener lieb/ gehß/ zorn/ vnraynig-
keit vnd Tiranny behaft | ist/ dadurch solch licht/ nicht leichten mag/ wir 15
müssen zuvor die seel von den augen reysen/ sollen wir solch licht erse-
hen/ sunst werden wir gleich wie die Egipcier im finsternuß | täuffen/ der gahst muß
es thun/ der wirdt alle sprüche seyn | auff die eer gottes reynen/ das flayßch
vermag es nicht.

Also soll allain das wort Gottes unser richter seyn/ wer | macht vns sunst 20
gewiß/ das der richter nicht irze/ bieweyl | alle menschen lugner seyn/ Soll
wir denn zu ainem menschen lauffen/ so wöll wir lieber zu Gott/ der nicht
irren kan/ | vnd in in aller demüt umb seyn gnad bitten/ das er vnns | seyn
Göttlich wort wöll eröffnen.

Sprechen sy fort an/ sollt die Christliche Kirche nichts | (Biiij) vnd die Con- 25 Biiij
cilia nimmer gelten/ es muß ye ain ordenung | seyn/ bey der schrift vnuerstendigen
ist solch fürgeben hoch | geacht/ Doch wolten wir auch als layen mitt Gottes
hilff | darauff antwortten/ Erstlich auß dem namen Kirche/ | (wölchs doch auff
unser Teitsch hayst ain gemayn) ist aller irrtumb erbört. Die ainseltigen haben
die Christliche kirch | für ain gebew/ als steyn vnd holz gehalten/ Die welt- 30
weyßen für den Papt/ Cardinál/ Bischoff/ vnd Prelaten.

So halten wir das die Christliche kirche in der schrift | hayst die gemain
oder versamlung/ aller oder vil Christgleubiger hertzen vnd seelen/ Der haupt
Christus unser herr ist/ | wie sant Paul zu den Ephesiern/ vnd anderßwa
schreybt/ | Solche wirt allain durch Gottes wort geborn/ durch Gottes wort 35
ernödt vnd regiert/ kurzumb Sy orden alle ding | auß dem Euangelio/ vnd

l. 17. täuffen unjustifiably substituted for taffen = tappen. l. 33. verlamung misprint
for versamlung; corrected in Bb.

a. Lk. 17²¹. b. Rom. 14¹⁷. c. Ps. 119¹⁰⁶ V. 118¹⁰⁶; lucern = *lucerna*. d. Ps. 96⁹
V. 36¹⁰. e. Jo. 19. f. Jo. 5⁴¹ *δόξα*; V.: *claritas*; Cod. Tep., and Mentel: lauter; Ko-
burger: clarheit; Luth.: prehß. g. Ex. 10²²; Deut. 28²⁹. Koburger: egiptier. h. Ps. 116¹¹
V. 116¹¹. i. Eph. 5²³. k. Eph. 1²²; 4¹⁵; Col. 1¹⁰; 2¹⁹.

richtenn | vonn allen sachen durchs Euangelium/ vnnnd wider die | einige/ vor-
mogen die pforten der hellen lauther nichts^a/ | Von der lauthet vnser articel
des glaubens/ Ich glaub | eine heylige Christliche kirchen¹.

Die menschen so do haben eine tauff/ einen glauben/ | einen geist/ wo sie
5 auch ymer sein/ zu Rom oder anders | wo/ sein alle glibmoß der selben/ vnd
Christus ir heupt^b/ | Das ist die häll der außserwelthenn fründe gottis/ sein |
die rechtshaffene Christliche kirche/ Wenn man aber | den bapst mit seinenn
Cardinalenn solt die Christliche | Kirch heissen/ So mochten auch wol die wel-
schen trige | vnd das grosse blutvorgiessen vnd Thirannei Julij des | bapsts²/ die
10 Christliche kirch genant werden/ Do vnnß | gott vor behät. Amen.

Die Concilia wollen wir gerne halben/ wenn sie nicht | wider gottis wort
schliessenn/ Wo das aber geschicht/ | so sein wir gott mehr schuldig^c gehorsam
zu sein/ denn | den menschen/ Christus spricht ynn Ioanne ich neme | mein
zeugniß nicht von den menschen^c/ Wenn wir den | Concilijs glauben/ so vor-
15 trawen wir auff menschen/ das | vns ynn propheten vorbotten ist^d/ vnd vnser
gewissenn | werden nymer rewig/ wenn wir aber auff gottis wort | trawen/ so
können wir nicht fehlen/ nymands^e kan vns | ym hertzen vorgewissen/ wenn
man gleich ihmols ein | Concilium helt/ das dasselb nicht irre/ Sintemal sie
zu-|vor vorn mehren teils geirret haben/ vnd eins durchs | ander widerrufft ist/
20 wir schweigen das wir villeicht | (E^b des Conciliums) des Conciliums heit kaum
erleben möchten/ wes hiel-|tenn wir vns denn ynn des/ vnd ym sterben/ So
wir | nicht gottes wort hetten.

Also wolthen wir auch auff die ordnung antworten/ | Ist sie auß dem
Euangelio vnd durch den bevehl got-|tis ader seiner apostelnn auffgericht/ So
25 wolenn wirs | halben/ denn wir seind gewiß das durch den heyligen | geist
geschehen ist/ wo sie aber dem wort gottis entle-|genn/ sol es vnnß ein vnord-
nung sein/ Christus spricht | ym Luca wer nicht mit mir samlet der zu strewth/
wer | nicht mit mir ist/ der ist widder mich^e/ Exempel dz wir | das Sacrament
nemen vnther beyder gestalt/ das ist/ | den leichnam essen vnnnd dz blutt Christi
30 trincken^f/ Ist | Christus ordnung vnnnd vornach wie es S. Paul vonn | Christo
entpfangen/ hatt ehrs auch auffgericht^g/ Wenn | nue hehenn tausent Concilia/
so es möglich/ do wider | werenn/ So sein wir durch Christus wort vnd ord-
nung | (do ehz spricht trindt alle vorauß^h) ganz ynn vnßern | hertzen vorgewist/
Das kein mensch noch die gannze | welt/ solch ordnung wider gottis wort macht
35 habe zu | vorandern/ Was wer sunst vnser glaub/ wenn wir wolten | zweiffeln/
an den worten vnnnd auffagung Christi⁴. Es | spricht S. Paulus/ wenn

1. 12. schuldig^c misprint for schuldig^c; corrected in B. 1. 22. The period after hetten
should be interrogation. 1. 25. After das is sic omitted?

¹ Mark the change from *καθολικη* to Christliche which was quite general among the
reformers. ² Julius II 1503—1513. cf. Hutten: *Vadiscus S. trias Romana* Bücking
IV, 215—217. Luther paid his visit to Rome during this pontificate. ³ The gen.

richten von allen sachen durchs | Euangelium/ vnd wider die aynige/ vermögen die pforten | der hellen lautter nichts/ Von der lauttet vnser Artickel des | glaubens/ Ich glaube aine hailige Christliche kirchen.

Die menschen so da haben ainen tauff/ ainen glauben / | ainen gayst/ wa sy auch ymmer seyn / zû Rom oder anderß/|wa / sein alle glydmaß derselben / 5 vnd Christus jr haupt/ Das | ist die zall der aussertwelten freünde gottes/ seyn die recht-/schaffene Christliche kirche / Wenn man aber den bapst mit | seynen Cardinâlen solt die Christliche kirch hassen/ So | möchten auch wol die welschen kriege vnd das grosse blût/vergießen vnd Tiranny Julij des Bapsts / die Christliche | kirch genannt werden/ Da vns Gott vor behält. Amen. 10

Die Concilia wöllen wir gerne halten/ wenn sy nicht wider | Gottes wort schließen/ Wa das aber geschicht/ so sein wir | Got mer schuldig gehorsam zû sein/ denn den menschen/ Christus spricht in Johanne/ Ich neme mein zeigk- 15 nus nit von | den menschen/ Wenn wir den Concilijs glauben/ so vertrauen | wir auff menschen/ das vns in Propheten verboten ist/ vnd | vnser gewissen werden nymmer råwig / wenn wir aber auff | gottes wort trauen/ so können wir nit falschen/ nyemants kan | (Viiiij^b) vns im herzen vorgewissen/ wenn man gleich Viiiij^b 20 heymals ain | Concilium heist/ das dasselb nicht irre/ Syntemal sy zûuor | den meern tagl geirret haben/ vnd ains durchs ander wi-|derrufft ist/ wir schweigen das wir villeycht des Conciliums | zeyt kaum erleben möchten/ wes hielten wir 20 vns denn in des | vnd im sterben/ So wir nicht Gottes wort hetten.

Also wolten wir auch auff die ordnung antwurten/ Ist | sy auß dem Euangelio vnd durch den beuelch gottes oder seynrer Aposteln aufgericht/ So wöllen wirs halten/ denn wir | seind gewiß das durch den hailigen gayst geschehen ist/ wa sy | aber dem wort gottes entgegen/ soll es vns ain vnordnung | sein/ Christus 25 spricht im Luca wer nicht mit mir samlet der | zerstreut/ wer nicht mit mir ist/ 8 ist wider mich / Exempel | das wir das Sacrament nemen vnder beyder gestalt/ das | ist/ den leichnam essen vnd das blût Christi trincken / Ist | Christus ordnung vnd darnach wie es Sant Paulus von | Christo empfangen/ hat ers auch auff gericht/ Wenn nun | hehünd Tausent Concilia/ so es möglich/ 30 da wider wern/ so | sein wir durch Christus wort vnnd ordnung (da er spricht | trinckt alle darauff) ganz in vnsern herzen vergewist/ das | kein mensch noch die ganze Welt/ solch ordnung wider got-|tes wort macht habe zû verändern/ Was wer sunst vnnsrer | Glaub/ wenn wir wolten zweyfelan/ an den Worten vnd aufffassung Christi. Es spricht Sant Paulus wenn ain 35

1. 16. råwig represents rewig = ruhig. 1. 30. auff gericht = auffgericht. hehünd misprint for hehenn. 1. 36. auffassung misprint for auffassung.

functions as nom. 4 A sure proof that Communion in both kinds had been introduced in their own churches.

a. Matt. 16¹⁸. b. Eph. 4⁴, 5, 15, 16. c. Jo. 5³⁴. d. Ps. 118⁸, 9 V. 117⁸, 9; Jer. 9⁴; Mic. 7⁵. e. Lk. 11²³ inverted. f. Matt. 26²⁶⁻²⁸; leichnam = leib. g. 1 Cor. 11²³⁻²⁵. h. Matt. 26²⁷.

wir alle/ wie wir iht vom Euangelio Christi reden/ | auch ein recht Euangelisch
Christlich leben furethen.

Also wurden als denn/ alle gleißnerische werd/ ynn | rechtshaffene werd
vorwandelt/ Daher ikunder aller | haber kompt/ das sich die falschen geystlichen/
5 mit den | rechten geystlichen/ handen/ vber¹ dem dinst gottes vnd | gutten werdenn.

Der sachen sein wir beide parth eins/ das gott zu die-nen vnnnd gutte
werd zu thuen sein/ aber ym beuethenn | sein wir ganz vneins/ Sie sagenn
ihre eigene ertichte | weiß vnd menschen gesetz/ sei gottis dinst/ So sagenn | wir
nein dor zu/ Es sey viel mehr abgötterey vnd gleiß-neren/ Sunder Glaub vnd
10 was gott befohlenn hat/ sey | sein einiger dinst/ des wir viel sprach widder sie
vnd dor | vns/ ym alten vnd neuen testament haben/ es lernt auch | die vornunfft/
vnd wenn wir vns des allein vnderstän-den/ dz gott gebotten hatt/ wir hetten alle
augenblick | genugsam zuschaffenn/ yha wenn wirs nur mochtenn | aufrichtenn.

Thene wollens mit eüßerlichen werden vnd mensch-lichen gehorsam vor-
Bij^b 15 bringen/ vnd werden nyemer besser/ | (Bij^b Sunder) Sunder bleyben für vnd
für ynn ihem geiz/ hoffart/ | unreinigkeit/ zorn .xc. So wollen wir das
herz vnnnd | den götlichen gehorsam/ das ist/ des glaubens gehor-sam/ für wen-
den/ vnd das man stetiges mit den bösen | lüsten des fleischs streitten soll.

Der halb sollen wir lauffen ym glauben durch Christum | zu gott vnd
20 seiner barmhertzikeit/ ynn yhn trawen vnd | hoffen/ auch wie ein kindt/ den
lieben vatter forchten/ | So lauffen hene zu einem menschen/ dem sie mer traw-
en vnd forchten/ denn gott/ vnd lauffen vornach zu holz/stein/ speiß/ kleider/
tag vnd heit/ das alles von Chri-sto vnd seinem werckzeug Paulo vorbotten ist/
sie wollen | gott mit eüßerlichem schein hoffiren/ So ehz doch ein | geist ist/
25 vnd wil das inen seine diener ym geist vnd der | warheit anbetthen sollenn^a/
fragt noch eüßerlichem ge-prenge lauther nichts/ ya es ist ein grewell vor seynen |
gotlichen augenn^b.

Dorumb sicht man dz solche leutt frech sein/ vnd aller | vormessenheit vol/
sie vormeynen die gottis wege/ durch | ihre vornunfft vnnnd weißheit zuerforschenn/
30 das doch | Christus ym Matheo klar abschlecht/ danckt seinem | vatter/ das
ers den weissen der welt vorborgenn hatt/ | vnnnd den kleinen aber albern
offenbart^c.

Dorumb konnen die selben/ das einige wörtlein/ glau-benn/ nymer recht
vornemen/ Solchs macht alles das | sie vorlossen haben den born²/ des leben-
35 digen wassers/ | vnnnd habenn ihn zuriffene cisternn gegrabenn/ die das | wasser
nicht halben mögen^d.

Weitter damit wirs vollend heraus füren von sunden/ | tragen wir ynn
eüßerlichen lastern vnd gebrechen/ alls | ehebriuch/ morbt/ unreinheit vnd der

l. 14. menschlichen should be menschlichem.

l. 37. Weitter should be followed by /.

¹ Governs the dative.

² born = brunnen, B has brunnen.

man/ in Summa/ das wir alle/ | wie wir heyt vom Euangelio Christi reden/
auch ain recht | Euangelisch Christlich leben fñereten.

Also wurden alsdenn/ alle gleyßnerische werck/ in recht-schaffene werck ver-
wandelt/ Daher begund aller hader kumpt | das sich die falschen gaystlichen/
mit den rechten gaystlichen | zandten/ vber dem dienst Gottes vnd gñtten werden. 5

Der sachen sein wir beyde parth ains/ das got zñ dienen | vnd gñtte werck
zuthñn seyn/ aber im beñtzen sein wir ganz | vnains/ Sy sagen jre aygne er-
dichte weyß vnd menschen geseß/ sey gottes dienst/ So sagen wir nahn darzñ/
Es sey vilmer abgötterey vnd gleyßnerey/ Sonder glaub vnd was gott/beuo-
lhen hat/ sey sein ainiger dienst/ des wir vil sprñch wiß | sy vnd vor vns/ im 10
alten vnd neuen testament haben/ es lernt | auch die vernunft/ vnd wenn wir
vns des allain vnderstñnden/ das got gebotten hat/ wir hetten alle augenblick
genñg-sam zñschaffen/ ja wenn wirs nur mñchten aufrichten.

Ihene wñllens mit eñsserlichen werden vnnnd mensch-lichen gehorsam ver-
bringen/ vnnnd werden nymmer besser/ | Sonder bleyben für vnd für inn jrem 15
gehyß/ hochffart/ vn-raynigkait/ zorn/ zc. So wñllen wir das herz vnd den
Gñtlichen gehorsam/ das ist/ des glaubens gehorsam/ fürwen-den/ vnd das
man stñtigs mit den bößen lñsten des fleyßs | streyten soll. (B ij)

Derhalb sollen wir lauffen im glauben durch Christum | zñ Gott vnd seynen
barmherzigkait/ in jñ trawen vnd hof-fen/ auch wie ain kindt/ den lieben vater 20
fürchten/ So lauffen ihene zñ ainem menschen/ dem sy mer trawen vnd fürch-
ten/ denn Gott/ vnd lauffen darnach zñ holz/ stahn/ speyß | fleyder/ tag vnnnd
zeyt/ das alles von Christo vnnnd seynem | werckzeig Paulo verbotten ist/ sy
wñllen Gott mit eñsser-lichem seyn hoffñren/ So er doch ain gayst ist/ vnd
will | das jñ seyne diener im gayst vnd der warhait anbetten sol-len/ fragt 25
nach eñsserlichem geprengelauter nichts/ Ja es | ist ain grewel vor seynen gñt-
lichen augen.

Darumb sicht man das solche lewt frech sein/ vnd aller | vermessenhait
vol/ sy vermahnern die gottes wege/ durch jre | vernunft vnd weyßhait zñ er-
forschen/ das doch Christus | im Mattheo klar abschlecht/ dandt seinem vater/ 30
das ers | den weysen der welt verborzen hatt/ vnd den klaynen ober | albern
offenbart.

Darumb können die selben/ das aynige wñrtlein/ glauben | nymmer recht
vernemen/ Solchs macht alles das sy ver-laffen haben den brunnen/ des leben-
digen wassers/ vnd ha-ßen jñ zñrissen Cistern gegraben/ die das wasser nicht 35
hal-ten mögen.

Weytter damit wirs vollendt herauß fñren von sñnden/ | tragen wir inn
eñsserlichen lastern vnd gebrechen/ als Ge-bruch/ mordt/ vnrainigkait vnd der

l. 16. hochffahrt = hochfahrt; substituted for hoffart.

a. Jo. 4²⁴.

b. Lk. 16¹⁵.

c. Matt. 11²⁵. Cod. Top.: lugeln; Mentel: lugeln; Ko-
burger: kleinen; Luth.; vnmundigen.

d. Jer. 2¹³.

nehmen / sunder bey ihren Ab-göttern mögen bleiben / wo sie der gewonheit vnd alten | brauch hetten wollen noch folgenn.

Nu mussenn wir sollend brann/ Iha sagenn sie/ diese | Artickel sein zuuor langest außgefurt zu Costniz ym | Concilio¹/ do der Hus vorbrant ist / der-
5 halb man izt hir | in nicht viel disputirens bedarff.

Dorauff antworten wir aber maß auff vnser weiß/ | Es helt sich bey vns in schlesien ym ritterrecht²/ So ey-ner seinen adel außfurt/ bleiben die wap-
pen zum zeug-nis ihns fursten canzelei/ Also hielten wir / solt es auch | (wo Christliche vordammer do gewest) zu Costniz zu|gangen habenn.

10 Dorumb/ sein die artickel/ wie sie furgeben durch schrifft | außgefurt/ wo-
rumb heigt man vns die außfurng nicht | ahn/ worumb lest man nicht druckenn/
so wurd mann | villeicht die Lutheraner stillen/ Wir besorgen aber es | wirt
langsam gescheen/ wol wissen wir das Hus vor-|brant ist/ vnd die sch warzen
mönch³ mit irem Thoma⁴ | do selbst das Regiment gehalten/ haben/ wie aber
15 Hus | vberwunden sey/ frogen wir noch heutigs tags/ vnd kon-nens dennoch
nicht erfarnn

Es ist das letzte Argument auch des gemeinen man-nes bewegung vor-
handen Das man wenig besserung auß | der ihigen lere ermergkt/ vnd wie die
ienigen/ So sich | des euangelions am meisten rümen/ ein böß ergerlich | leben
20 furen/ Hirauß ist von nöthen zuantworten/ vnd | wenn wir bekennen sollen/
Es beweget vns auch nicht | wenig/ ya es gehet vns durch vnser hertz so wirs
erfaren⁵.

Nicht vnser halben/ denn wir haben nymer auff men-|schenn exempel/
Sonder auff das eynige wortt gottis/ | Aber von wegen der armen einfeldigen/
C iij 25 die also durch | (C iij) epliche böse) epliche böse Exempel schemen das Euange-
lion Christi | auff zu nemen/ wolt gott das solche gestrafft/ vnd ynn | Euange-
liſchen bann⁶ ein mol gethan wurden.

Wir reden von denen / so das heylig Euangelion vn-nützlich ynn mündt
nemen vnd gedenden sich nymer | zubessern/ Ja sie vormeinen ihr bößheit mit
30 dem Euan|gelio zu decken/ Sauffen sie zu halben/ vnnd vollenn/ | vnd leben
in aller wollust/ so heissenn sie es brüderliche | lieb/ bulenn sie so sagens die
lieb thuts/ sie dorffen auch | wol brüderliche lieb furwenden/ wenn sie yemand
vmb | das seyne bringen/ dorumb/ das sie solchs villeicht be-/dorffen/ Ja wenn
diese am freittag fleisch vnd am sonntag | fisch essen/ so heissen sie es Christliche
35 freihheit bestetiget

1. 2. alten should be altem. 1. 13. sch warzen = schwärzen. 1. 16. Period omitted
after erfarnn. 1. 17. auch is it misprint for auß? 1. 35. Period after bestetiget
omitted for of lack of space.

¹ Held 1414—1418. Hus was martyred July 6, 1415. ² See Schickfus, Bk. III,
c. 24 p. 295 sqq. and p. 361; Georg von Wenzky und Petersheyda von Schlesiſchen Ritter-
Rechte; (Rohler) Th. I c. XXX p. 342. ³ mönch = Dominicans. ⁴ Thoma = Aquina-
nas, the angelic Doctor 1224—1274, who was a Dominican. ⁵ Therefore this is not

iren Abgöttern mögen bleyben/ wa sy der | gewonhait vnd alten brauch hetten
wollen nachfolgen.

Nu müssen wir vollend dran/ Ja sagen sy/ dise Artikel sein | zuvor
langest außgefart zu Costnig im Concilio/ da der Fuß | verbrant ist/ derhalb
man hez nit vil disputierens bedarff. 5

Darauff antwurten wir abermals auff vnser weyß. Es | helt sich bey vns
in Schlesien im Ritterrecht/ So ainer sey/((C))nen Adel außfart/ bleyben die
wappen zum zeugnus ins | Fürsten Sangeley/ Also hielten wir/ solt es auch (wa
Christliche verdammer da gewest) zu Costnig zu gangen haben.

Darumb/ sein die Artikel/ wie sy fürgeben durch schrift | außgefart/ wa- 10
rumb jagt man vns die außfartung nicht an | warumb laßt man nicht drucken/
so wurd man vileicht die | Lutheraner stillen/ Wir besorgen aber/ es wirt lang-
sam gelschehen/ wol wissen wir dz Fuß verbrant ist/ vnd die schwarzen Münd
mit irem Thoma daselbst das Regiment gehalten/ haben/ wie aber Fuß ober-
wunden sey/ fragen wir | noch heitigs tags/ vnd könnens dennoch nicht er- 15
faren.

Es ist das letzte Argument auch des gemainen mannes | bewegung vor-
handen/ Das man wenig besserung auß der | hezigen leere ermerckt/ vnnb wie
die iherigen/ So sich des | Ewangelions am maysten räumen/ ain böß ergerlich
leben | führen/ Hierauff ist von nöthen zuantworten/ vnd wenn wir | bekennen 20
sollen/ Es beweget vns auch nicht wenig/ Ja es | geet vns durch vnser herz
so wirs erfahren.

Nicht vnserthalben/ denn wir haben nymmer auff menschen exempel/ son-
der auff das ainige wort gottes/ Aber von | wegen der armen ainfeltigen/ die
also durch ettliche böße | Exempel schemen das Ewangelion Christi auff zunemen | 25
Wolt Gott das solliche gestrafft vnnb in Ewangelisch-en Bann ain mal gethün
wurden

Wir reden von dienen/ so das heylig Ewangelion vnnützlich in mund
nemen vnd gebenden sich nimmer zü bessern/ ja | sy vermainen jr bößhait mit
dem Euangelio zü decken/ Sausen sy zü halben/ vnd vollen/ vnd leben in 30
aller wollust/ So | haissen sy es brüderliche lieb/ hülen sy so sagens die lieb
thäts | sy dürffen auch wol brüderliche lieb fürwenden/ wenn sy ye-|mand vmb
das seine bringen/ darumb/ das sy sollich vil-|leicht bedürffen/ Ja wenn dise
am freytag flaisch vnd am son|tag fisch essen/ so haissen sy es Christliche frey-
hait bestetigt 35

l. 5. hez nit the hir in of A is ignored. l. 8. ins = in des. l. 17. auch misprint
for auß? l. 25. auff zunemen = auffzunemen. l. 26. gethün misprint for gethan.
l. 27. Period after wurden omitted. l. 28. dienen substituted for denen. l. 35.
Period after bestetigt omitted for lack of space.

a modern argument. All the reformers deplored it as well as Schwenckfeld. The
Janssen School only revives an old story. ⁶ The restoration of discipline on the
basis of the Gospel.

Gebenn fur man sol nicht fastenn/ nicht betten/ nicht | almos geben¹/ so
 es doch alles der hohn gotlichen ma-liestet gebot sein/ es wirt bey vnsern ge-
 lerthenn nur der | mißbrauch solcher werck/ nicht die werck vorbottenn/ | Sie
 reden vom glauben/ vorstehens eben souil/ als vor | gehen iarn²/ vnd lossen
 5 sich bedünden/ wenn sie den papst | schelden können vnd den pfaffen nicht künß
 geben/ So | sein sie keine Euangelische leutt/ Christus der frome Her | muß
 vberall ihz schandt bedel sein/ es wirt aber ahm | iüngsten tag mit solchen erger
 zugehn/ bessern sie sich | nicht/ denn mit Sodoma vnd Gomorra³/ Die also
 Christlicher freyheit/ welchs ein freyheit des geistes ist/ miß-|brauchen zu
 10 fleischlicher wollust.

Nun wollen wir auff das Argument Antworthen/ | das die yenige/ so
 zuuor hnn rechter einfeltigkeit gestan-|denn/ eigentlich durchs Euangelion/ nicht
 erger wer-|denn/ ya viel mehr yhe lenger yhe trefftiger hm glauben | vnd rechtenn
 gutten werdenn.

15 Aber was ist das ehli che zuuor/ vor den menschen/ | hm eüßerlichen schein/
 fur from gehalten/ vnd sein doch | hm herzen legen gott/ buben in der haupt ge-
 C iij^b west³/ soll-|(C iij^b)che werden nu durchs Euangelion offenbart vnd erlanbt/ | wie
 sie lauther gleißner sein/ denn das Euangelion ist do-|hin gericht/ das es die
 heimlichkeit der herzen her fur | brengt⁴/ stößt alle menschliche gerechtigkeit zu
 20 pobem/ | vnd richt gotliche gerechtigkeit alleine auff.

Es kan aber ein fleischlich mensch/ nicht leicht/ rech-|the frümkeit erkennen/
 SOND dz wissen wir wie durchs | Euangelion vnghelich viel gefangner gewissen/
 Ja auch | vil vorzweiffelter menschen/ erredt sein⁴/ vnd teglich er-|ret werden/
 wie wir zum teil bey vnsern eygen pawm erfarn⁵

25 Kennen auch viel fromer leutt/ die sich meriglich auß | der Lutherischen leer
 (wie es ehliche nennen) gepessert | haben/ hoffen auch vonn tage zu tag/ vor-
 mittelft der | gaben gottis/ mehr besserung.

Doch wenn es gleich an das weh-| sol dennoch dz lau-|ter wort gotis nicht
 vor-|sch wigen bleiben/ Christus hat auch | drei iar zu Jerusalem vnd vmher ge-
 30 predigt/ es folgt aber | so viel besserung dorauf/ biß sie ihn an galgen hingen/
 vnd | alle seine iünger von ihm flöchtig wurdenn.

Es ist eigentlich igundt nymands irrer in gewissen/ | wenn⁶ die yenigenn
 so dem lauthern wort gottis nicht | wollen glauben geben/ vnd harren auff
 eine menschliche | bewerung ader Concilium/ wir reden von den fromen | gleiß-
 35 nern/ die gotlosen haben kein gewissenn.

1. 15. was the original might have had war? Such elliptical phrases however are common. ehli che = ehliche. 1. 24. Period after erfarn omitted for lack of space. 1. 28. nich cf. p. 260⁵. 1. 29. vor-|sch wigen = vor-|schwigen. Christus cf. p. 262¹².

¹ The tenets of the Libertines who organized themselves from 1530 on in favor of the liberty of the flesh. ² This brings us back to c. 1513. ³ In this proverb schall is sometimes substituted for buben. ⁴ cf. p. 60. ⁵ A light upon their mission work in their own village communities. ⁶ Equivalent to denn.

Geben für man soll nicht fasten / nicht betten / nicht al·müssen geben / so
es doch alles der hohen göttlichen majestat | (E ij) gebot seyn / es wirt bey E ij
vnsern geleerten nur der mißbrauch | solcher werdt / nicht die werdt verboten / sy reden
vom glau·ben / versteenß eben souil / als vor Zehen jaren / vnnd lassen | sich
bedunden / wenn sy den Papsst schelten können vnd den | Pfaffen nicht Zynß 5
geben / So sein sy seine Euangelische | leüt / Christus der fromme Herr muß
überal jr schandt bedel | sein / es wirt aber am jungsten tag mit solchen erger
zügeen | bessern sy sich nicht / denn mit Sodoma vnnd Gomorra / | Die also Christ-
licher freyhait / wöllichß ain Freyhaytt des | Gahstes ist / Mißbrauchen zu flayß-
licher wollust. 10

Nun wollen wir auff das Argument Antworten / Das | die jhenigen / so
züuoꝛ in rechter ainfeltigkait gestanden / aygentlich durchß Euangelion / nicht
erger werden / ja vil mer | ye lenger ye krefftiger im glauben vnd rechten güten
werden.

Aber was istß das etliche züuoꝛ / vor den menschen / im | eüsserlichen schein / 15
für fromm gehalten / vnd sein doch im herz·len gegen Gott / buben in der haubt
gewest / solche werden | nun durchß Euangelion offenbart vnd erkant wie sy
lauter | gleißner sein / denn das Euangelion ist dahin gericht dz es die | haim-
likait der herzen herfür bringt / stößt alle menschliche gerechtigkait züboden vnd
richt göttliche gerechtigkait allein auf 20

Es kan aber ain flayßlich mensch / nicht leucht / rechte | frümkait erkennen /
sonder das wissen wir wie durchß Euan·gelion vnkelich vil gefangner gewissen /
Ja auch vil ver·zweifelter menschen / erredt sein / vnd täglich erredt werden |
wie wir zum tahl bey vnsern aygen batvrn erfahren.

Kenner auch vilfrommer leüt / die sich mercklich auß 8 Lutherischen leer 25
(wie es etliche nennen) gebessert haben / hoffen | auch von tag zu tag / vormittelst
8 gaben gotes mer besserung.

Doch wenn es gleich on das wer / soll dennocht das lauter | wort gottes
nicht verschwigen bleiben / Christus hat auch | drey jar zu Iherusalem umbher
gepredigt / es folgtt aber | so vil besserung darauß / biß sy in an galgen hiengen 30
vnnd | alle seine Junger von jm flüchtig wurden.

Es ist aygentlich bezund nyemandts irrer in gewissen / | (E ij^b) wenn die jheni- E ij^b
gen so dem lauttern wort Gottes nit wollen | glauben geben / vnd harzen auff ain
menschliche bewerung | oder Concilium / wir reden von den frummen gleichßnern |
die Gotlosen haben kain gewissen. 35

1. 11. jhenigen an advanced inflectional form of *henig*. 1. 15. was cf. A 15.
1. 20. Period after *auff* omitted for lack of space. 1. 25. *vilfrommer* = *vil frommer*.
1. 29. vnd mistakenly omitted after *Iherusalem*. 1. 34. *gleichßnern* another form for
gleichern.

Vnd damit wirs ein endt machen / G. G. haben wir | G G allen grund
8 Euangelischen sachen / so viel vns gott | verliehen / erheben wollen / Nicht dz
von nöten wer G G | hirmit zu vnderweisen / Sondern dz wir vnserß glaubens |
ursache G G als vnserm vorordentem bischoff / vnd sunst | auch meniglich¹ an-
5 heigenn.

Wie wol sich ehliche Prelatenn haben hören lassen / | wir solten vns bil-
licher vmb vnser wirtschafft kömmern | denn vmb die narrheit / sie wolten ir
C iiii kirch / sonder vnser | zuthuen / wol wissen zu regiern .xc. (C iiii Ja gott)

Ja gott sey lob / wir wissen wol dz die weißheit gottis / | ein nartheit von der
10 welt genant wirt² / wir wissen auch | wol / wie Christus der Martha antwort /
do sie wolde | der Herr solt schaffen / das ihre Schwester Magdalena³ | mit vmb
die wirtschafft forgethe⁴ / Des wollen wir vns | hnn Christo halbenn

Wir haben auch mit ihren kirchen lauther nichts zu | schaffen / Doch wollen
wir vns vngern auß vnser prela-then vnd hirthen gehorsam geben / So ferr sie
15 sich doch | nicht mehr an moßen / denn ihn von Christo beuohlenn | ist / Paulus
zun Thozin. sagt von ihrem gewalbt⁵ / Der | mensch sol vns vor nichts anders
halten / denn als die-ner Christi vnnb ausspender der geheymnis gottis⁶ / Er |
spricht auch / vnns ist gewalbt gebenn zur besserung / | nicht zur zustrung⁷.

Dorumb bieten vnnb ermanen wir G G vmb der eh | Christi vnd her
20 selbst selikeit willen G G woll diß vnser | anzeigen zu herß nemen / Rymandes
denn allein gott | angesehen / nicht mit vngestümikeit / sonß aller senffte | vnd
Christlicher liebe hirin handlenn / Am ersten / das | gottis wort / vnd das heylig
Euangelion Christi lauther | geprediget werd / Es ist nicht weniger / die gutten
froh-men prediger seyn iß selßam / doch hoffen wir G G wirt | sich nichts
25 tewren lassen die selben zubestellen / Man | stille die vngelerthen in chd / vnd
neme die gelernten / | hnn des / zu predigern ader zu pfarrern / auff die dorffer⁸.

Ja gott sey es geclaget / wie die armen pawern mitt | priestern vorzorgt
sein / Es weren denn alle propheten | falsch / So muß ein bischoff ahm hängsten
tag schwere | rechenßchafft der halben thuen.

Item das G G gelerthe leütt / priester ader lehenn | öffentlich hnn der
30 bibel vorordne zu lesen / wie etwann | gescheen⁹ / damit die armen iungenn priester /
C iiii¹⁰ auch was / | lernen mögenn. (C iiii¹¹ Das G G)

Das G G den grossen mißbrauch der abgötterischen | bilde abthue / wie

1. 2. verliehen ver is expressed by v.

1. 12. Period after halbenn omitted.

1. 9. Ja Gott paragraph line not observed.

1. 20. zu herß an abbreviation for zu herßen.

¹ The appeal to the general public.

² Mary the sister of Martha was at this time generally identified with Mary of Magdala.

³ Here used as masc.

⁴ A forcible placing of culture where it should be against its own instinct of centralization.

⁵ Alluding to the old institution of lectors especially in the cathedrals and recently revived in Liegnitz and suggested to the Sisters at Naumburg p. 123.

Vnd damit wirs ain endt machen E. G. haben wir E. G. | allen grund
der Euangelischen sachen / so vil vns got verlyhen | erzölen wöllen / Mit das
von nöten wer E. G. hiemit zu vnderweyßen / sonder dz wir vnserß glaubens
vrsache E. G. als vnserm verordneten bischof / vnd sunst auch menigklich an-
zaygen

5

Wie wol sich etliche Prelaten haben hören lassen / wir solten vns billicher
vmb vnser wirtschafft kömern / denn vmb | die narzhait / sy wölten jr Kirch/
sonder vnser züthün / wol | wissen zu regieren u. Ja got sey lob / wir wissen
wol das die | weyßhait gotes / ain narzhait von der welt genant wirt / wir |
wissen auch wol / wie Christus der Martha antwort / da sy | wolt / der herz 10
solt schaffen / dz jr Schwester Magdalena nit | vmb die wirtschafft sorgete / Des
wöl wir vns in Christo halten

Wir haben auch mit jren kirchen lautter nichts zu schaffen / Doch wöllen
wir vns vngern auß vnser Prelaten vnd | herten gehorsam geben / So ferz sy
sich doch nicht meer anmassen / denn in von Christo beuolhen ist / Paulus zun 15
Chorinthern sagt / von jrem gewalbt / Der mensch soll vns vor | nichts anders
halten / denn als diener Christi vnd ausspender der gehaymuß gottes / Er
spricht auch / vns ist gewalt | geben zur besserung / nicht zur zürstörung.

Darumb bitten vnd ermanen wir E. G. vmb der eer Christi vnd jrer selbst
säligkeit willen E. G. wöl diß vnser an- | zaygen zu herz nemen / Niemandß 20
denn allain got angesehen | nit mit vngestümigkeit / sonder aller senfte vnd
Christlicher | liebe hierinn handeln / Am ersten / das gottes wort / vnd das
hailig Euangelion Christi lautter geprediget werd / Es ist nicht | weniger / die
güthen frummen prediger sein heß seltsam doch | hoffen wir E. G. wirt sich nichts
tawren lassen die selben zu | bestellen / Man stöle die vngelernten in Chör / vnd 25
neme die gelernten / in des / zu predigern / oß zu pfarrern / auff die dörffer. (D) D

Ja Gott sey es geklaget / wie die armen pawern mit priestern versorgt
seyn / Es weren denn alle Propheten falsch / | So muß ain Bischoff am Jung-
sten tag schwäre rechen- | schafft derhalben thün.

Item das E. G. geleerte lewt / priester ober layen / offentlich in der Bibel 30
verordne zu lesen / wie etwann geschehen / | damit die armen jungen priester /
auch was / lernen mögen.

Das E. G. den grossen myßbrauch der Abgötterischen | bilde abthün / wie

- l. 4/5. Period after an- | zaygen omitted for lack of space. l. 8. Ja Got paragraph
not observed. l. 11. nit misprint for mit. l. 12. Period after halten omitted for
lack of space. l. 25. tawren substituted for tewren.

a. 1 Cor. 12^b; 2¹⁴. b. Lk. 10⁴⁰, 41. c. 1 Cor. 4¹. Cod. Tep., and Mentel: ambeder,
taiter; Koburger: diener, aufsteyler; Luth.: diener, haußhalter. d. 2 Cor. 10⁸. Cod. Tep.:
pawung, veruustung; Mentel: bauung, veruustungen; Koburger: bauung, zerstörung; Luth.:
zubeßern, zuuerberben.

¶ Schon zu Ligenitz¹ angefangen/ vnd auch etwan zu Breslaw zu S. Dorotheen²
 furgeno-men wart/ Ja es ist ihundt mit eßlichen Christen/ be-sundern den ein-
 feldigenn auff den bößferren/ derhalbe³ | erger denn etwann mit den hei-
 denn / Das hinfurth den | Stacionarien⁴ nymer erlaub/ den gemeinen einfeldigen |
 5 man/ mit glatten worten/ zubetriegē werb/ gegeben/ Auch | sonst der
 vnseelige betthel⁵ gestillet/ damit der armen ge-mein haußleutt⁶ nicht vorgeßenn
 werde.

Das die priester nicht vmb gelbes willenn mehr messz | lesen/ sonder allein/
 so sie sich hungerig vnd begirig be-ffinden/ zu dem hoch würdigen sacrament
 10 Christi⁷.

Item nymands zu zwingen auff menschen gesetz/ | Sonder weil wir ynn
 Christliche freiheit berufft seinn/ | also vor in zustehen/ doch das wir die selb
 nicht vorke-renn/ ynn ein freyheit des fleisch⁸.

Vnnd beßhalb solt man widderumb den Euange-lischenn bann⁹/ der nicht
 15 vmb gelt/ sonder von wegen | der sund/ vnd gottlichs gebotts vbertretung
 eingesaht/ | auffrichtenn/ wie Christus ynn Matheo¹⁰/ Paulus zunn | Chorin.
 ankeigt/ das man auch mit solchen vorbanten | menschen/ widder essen noch
 trinden solt¹¹/ yha freilich/ | Also mocht man vnnder dem abell¹²/ das zu
 trindenn | weren vnd abbringen/ welchs ein anreizung vnd vrsach | aller sun-
 20 denn ist.

Das man den priestern sunst durch weltliche recht¹⁰/ | zu ihrer scholt vor-
 hulff/ Es wer denn das der schuldiger | von wegen groffes armuths den hinf
 zu geben nicht | vormöchte/ Als denn solt der gleübiger auch noch der | lieb/
 mit yhm gedult tragenn.

25 Doch begeren wir nicht alhie vonn zeitlichen vnnd | vorgenglichenn güttern zu
 D handeln/ Sonder auff das | (D noch den) noch den gewissen vnd dem ewigen guth
 mochte eine | besserung furgewant werden/ Wir wissen mit dem kein | Christlich
 wesen auff zurichtenn/ das man denn priest-ternn yhre hinf¹¹ nicht geben solt/
 radtens auch nyman-des¹²/ die priester werdens vnns derhalb ahn vrsache ny-
 30 mer beklagenn dorffenn.

Item das ist freylich der nötigstenn articell einner/ | Das ¶ frey losse
 den armenn priestern den eelichen | standt/ welchenn Christus ydermann frey

1. 9. hoch würdigen = hochwürdigem.

1. 26. den mistake for dem, or is dat. pl.

¹ This fact is not otherwise recorded.

² The wonderworking picture of Mary was removed by order of Bishop John V. ³ cf. der halben p. 278¹⁰, both forms were in use interchangeably.

⁴ This was the official title of the local indulgence peddlers

⁵ The Reformation diminished the revenues of the mendicant orders. ⁶ arme gemeine haußleute are probably identical with the class elsewhere called haußarme i. e. people of some property who have become impoverished through misfortune.

⁷ The usual title bestowed on the Lord's Supper.

⁸ The restoration of discipline according to the Gospel, especially the guarding of the Sacrament from participation by the un-

E. G. schon zu Eigenis angefangen/ vnd | auch etwann zu Breslaw zu s. Do-
 wtheen fürgenommen ward | Ja es ist hehnd mit etlichen Christen/ besonder
 den ainsel-tigen auff den dörfen/ derhalben erger denn etwann mit den | Hay-
 den/ Das hinfür den Stacionarien nymmer erlaub/ den | gemainen ainseltigen
 man/ mit glatten worten/ zübetriegen | werd/ gegeben/ Auch sunst der vn- 5
 sältige bettel gestillet / da-mit der armen gemain hauptlewt nicht vergessen
 werde.

Das die Priester nicht umb gelstes willen meer Messz | lesen/ sonder
 allain/ so sy sich hungerig vnd begirig befin-den/ zu dem hochwirdigen Sa-
 crament Christi. 10

Item nyemandts zu zwingen/ auff menschen gesetz/ Son/der weyl wir in
 Christliche freyhait berüfft seyn/ also darinn | züsteen/ doch das wir die selb
 nicht verkeren/ in ain freyhait | des flayisch.

Vnnd deßhalb solt man widerumb den Euangelischen | bann/ der nicht
 umb gelt/ sonder von wegen der sünd/ vnd | götliche gebotts vbertretung ein- 15
 gefacht/ auffrichten/ wie | Christus inn Mattheo/ Paulus zün Corinthern an-
 jagt/ | das man auch mit solchen verbannten menschen/ weder es-|sen noch trincken
 solt/ Ja freylich/ Also möcht man vnder | dem Abel/ das zütrincken weren vnnd
 abbringen/ wölches | ain anjagung vnd vrsach aller sünden ist.

Das man den priestern sunst durch weltliche recht/ zu irer | schuld verhuß/ 20
 Es wer denn dz der schulbiger von wegen grossen armüts den zynß zügeben
 nicht vermöchte/ Als denn solt | der gläubiger auch nach der lieb/ mit jm
 gedult tragen. (D^b) 25

Doch begeren wir nicht allhie von zeytlichen vnnd ver-genglichen güttern
 zu handeln/ Sonder auff das nach | den gewissen vnd dem ewigen güt möchte 25
 ain besserung für-gewandt werden. Wir wissen mit dem kein Christlich we-|sen
 auffzürichten/ das man den priestern ire zynß nicht ge-|ben solt/ radtens auch
 nyemandts/ die priester werdens vns | derhalb on vrsache nymmer beklagen döffen.

Item/ das ist freylich der nötigsten Artidel ayner/ Das | E. G. frey lasse
 den armen Priestern den Gelichen standt/ | wölchen Christus yederman frey 30

l. 17. *weber* substituted for *widder*. l. 19. *anjagung* misprint for *anreizung*. l. 25. *den*
 mistake for *dem*, or is dat. pl.

worthy. ⁹ Drunkenness was one of the worst vices of the nobility; the chief in-
 citement thereto was the social custom of drinking healths. The prohibition from
 coming to the Lord's table might effect a diminution of the habit. ¹⁰ The distinction
 between secular and canon law. The right of the clergy to appeal to the *Corpus*
Juris civilis and the *Schöffengericht*. ¹¹ He makes no direct allusion to the system of
 tithes *decimae*. The reference is to the incomes derived from properties, investments
 and foundations. ¹² Gen. functioning as dat.

a. Gal. 5¹, 13. b. Matt. 18¹⁷. c. 1 Cor. 5¹¹.

geloffen hat^a/ | vnnb sanct Paul klerlich anzeigt/ Das eh: vom teuffel | solt
vorbottenn werdenn^b/ D wie viel tausent seelen vnd | ganz vorstrickt gewissenn/
wurde E G durch aufflo-ßung solicher teuffels lehre/ wie sie sanct Paulus
nennt/ | freyenn vnd errettenn.

- 5 Es sind viel frohmer priester/ befinden doch nicht bey | sich die gobe der
keißeit/ vnd müssen also mit bößenn | gewissenn vnnb großem ergernis lebenn/
wissenn wol | das ynenn/ die weil sie das brennenn fülenn¹/ der eelich | standt
gebotten ist/ Doch forchtenn sie E G mehr dann | gott/ Solche redenn heimlich
vnnb offentlich/ das E. | G. ynen ein groß hindernis ahn yzer selen seligkeit
10 sey/ | Tha sie dorffenn redenn wie sie ahm yüngsten tag über | E G so ferr
ynen nicht geratten²/ schreyen mustenn.

- Wir wollenn von vnßern pawernn sagen/ wie sollen | die doch wol vnder-
weist werdenn/ von einem priester/ | der do ein ergerlich lebenn furth/ Tha
wie soll aber ein | armer dorffpfarrer seine wirtschafft an ein weib vorfor-ßgenn/
15 Mann weiß wol/ was E G etwann widder | das vnkeißeliche gesetz des babst
Calixti³ Christlicher | weiß geredt hatt.

- Item nymanß wil sich der obgedachten armen petw-lein annehmen/ sie werden
an vnderloß ganz Thiran-nisch mit vntreglichen gesetzen von ihzen vngelerthen |
D^b (D^b pfarrernn) pfarrernn vmbgetriebenn/ das es wol zu erbarmen ist/ | wie der
20 groste hauff yhme groste gewissen nympt⁴/ vnd | diß auß vnselegem vorwirren
der pfarrer/ das sie an ey-nem frehtag ader in der fasten/ solten eher teße
vnd putter | essen/ haben doch sunst kaum das brot zu essen⁵/ Erbarm | es
gott/ wir findt erger mit gesetzen vorstrickt/ denn die | Juden/ vnd nymandt
wil sich der einfeldigen erbarmen.

- 25 Wir bitten auch E G wolde nicht in hindernis seinn | auff das man dz
testament Christi⁶/ vnd die Sacrament/ | dem volck in yher vorstentlichen
sprache/ do durch ein | besserung folgen mochte/ mit zuteilen gerüche⁷/ welchs |
E. Paul zun Chor. tapffer gebeit/ vnd anzeigt^c.

- Was wollen wir mehr schreiben/ Es ist vnzulich vil | mißbrauch borein
30 man billich sehen muß/ E G wolde | solches nicht widerwendenn/ sonder noch
geburlichem | ampt fördern/ Ja vnangesehenn den papst sampt dem | ganzen
Römischen hoffe/ Sie werdenn nicht fur E G | antwortten ahm yüngstenn tag/
ein yder wirt rechen-schafft fur sich selbs geben/ mussenn.

1. 9. selen seligkeit of. p. 254²⁰.

¹ The argument for marriage from *ustio* 1 Cor. 7^o. ² sc. wird if they are not attended to. ³ Calixtus II 1119—1124. CJCen.: *Deer. P. I Dist. XXVII c. VIII.* ⁴ nympt = sich ein großes gewissen daraus macht considers it a great matter of conscience, sc. das sie zc. essen. ⁵ A picture of the poverty of the average villager. ⁶ testament Christi a synonym for Messe as in the title of a work attributed to Oecolampadius: Das Testamentum Jesu Christi || das man byßher geneit hat die Messe || verteiltscht durch

gelassen hatt / vnd Sant | Paul klärlich anzeigt / Das er vom Teuffel solt
verbotten | werden. D wie vil tausent seelen vnd ganz verstrickt gewis-
wurde E. G. durch auflösung sollicher Teuffels leere / | wie sy sant Paulus
nennt / freyen vnd erretten.

Es seind vil frummer priester / befinden doch nicht bey sich | die gabe der
teuschait / vnd müssen also mit bösen gewissen | vnd grossen ergernuß leben /
wissen wol das jnen / bieweyl sy | das brinnen fülen / der eelich stand gebotten
ist / Doch flüchten | sy E. G. mer / dann gott / Solche reden haymlich vnd
offentlich / das E. G. jnen ain groß hindernuß an irer seelen sätigkeit sey / Ja
sy dürffen reden / wie sy am Jungsten tag ober | E. G. so ferz jnen nicht ge- 10
ratten / schreyen müsten.

Wir wollen von vnsern pawern sagen / wie sollen die | doch wol vnderweyß
werden / von ainem priester / der da ain | ergerlich leben firt / Ja wie soll aber
ain armer dorff pfar-
rer seyne wirtschaft on ain weyb versorgen / Man wayß |
wol / das E. G. etwann wider das vnteuschliche gesetz des | Papst Calixti 15
Christlicher weyß geredt hatt.

Item niemandts will sich der obgedachten armen pewslein annemen / sy
werden on vnderlaß ganz Tyrannisch mit | vntrüglichen gesetzen von jren vn-
gelernten Pfarzern umgetryben / das es wol zu erbarmen ist / wie der größte
hauff jm | grosse gewissen nympt / vnd diß auß vnstättem verwirren | der pfarrer / 20
das sy an ainem freytag ober in der fasten / solten | aye / laß vnd butter
essen / haben doch sunst kaum das brott | (Dij) zu essen / Erbarm es Gott / wir Dij
seynd erger mit den gesetzen | verstrickt / denn die Juden / vnd nyemandt will
sich der ainseeltigen erbarmen.

Wir bitten auch E. G. wölle nicht in hindernuß sein auß | das man das 25
testament Christi / vnd die Sacrament / dem | volck in irer verstendlichen sprache /
dadurch ain besserung | volgen möchte / mit zütaylen gerüche / wölchs Sant Paul
zun Corinthern tapffer gebeit / vnd anzeigt.

Was wollen wir mer schreiben / Es ist vnzweifelich vil nutz / das man
billich sehen muß / E. G. wölle solches | nicht widerwenden / sonder nach gebür- 30
lichem ampt fordern | Ja vnangesehen den Papst sampt dem ganzen Römischen |
hoffe / Sy werden nit für E. G. antwurten am Jungsten tag | ain yeder wirt
rechnungschafft für sich selbst geben / müssen.

1. 8. flüchten misprint for fürchten. A has forchtenn. 1. 27. mit zütaylen — mitzütaylen.

JoanneS Decolampadion || Ecclesiasten zu Adelburg || zu haysallen Euangelischen An. M.D.XXIII.
Republished in Smend: Die ev. deutschen Messen bis zu Luthers deutscher Messe 1896
pp. 51—57. ⁷ A proof that the vernacular had already been introduced in their
churches.

a. Matt. 19³⁻⁶. b. 1 Tim. 4¹⁻³. c. 1 Cor. 14^{1-3, 26}; 2 Cor. 12¹⁹.

Doch haltthenn wirs bosur / weil E G ynn eigener eer | vnd nuß / als
E G zum bischoff erwelt wardt / sich nicht | kummerth vmb den babst / der doch
einem andern das | bistumb vorliehenn hatt¹ / E G wirt ynn der ehre Christi |
vnnb der lieb des nechstenn / widder gottis gebot / ynn | viel weniger ansehenn

5 Wir wolthenn von einem frohmen redlichen manne | der von gewissen ist/
gerne hören / wie man noch ergers | thun möchte widder Christum / denn wie es ahm
Ad-mischen hoffe zugehet² / Noch sollen wir den hymel vnd | das ewige lebenn
Dij vonn danne holenn. (Dij Ewer gnab)

Ewer gnab sol sich solchs Christlichs furnemens / auch | ehliche Prelaten
10 (die frohmen wol wir altweg auß ge-schlossenn habenn) nichts irren lossenn / Ja
so sie mitt | heyliger schrift / wider vnser Euangelion nichts wissen | auff zu-
bringen / Geben sie fur / es mach auffrur vnd empd-rung vnder dem völd /
vnd sagen / wie sich do durch der | gemeinn man legen der oberkeit setzen wurde/
do mitt | sie / Ja Könige fursten vnd hern an heßenn / das Euan-gelion vnd
15 die warheit Christi vnder zuden / Solchs | ist kein wunder / vnd vormals zu
den heitenn der Pro-phettenn auch gescheen³ / Tha ist es doch Christo selbst |
widderfarenn / Als die Iudenn ihm vor Pilato keine | schuldt wostenn zu finden /
Gobenn sie fur / ehr machte | auffrur vnder dem völd^b / S. Paul vnnb alle
aposteln | sein dorumb beschuldiget / auch der halben auffß lepte | getödt wordenn^c.

20 Sie geben auch fur die priester-schafft vnd diener got-tis wurdenn nu vor-
acht vnd vndergedruckt / Ach was | wollen wir besser denn vnser Herr Christus
sein / Sagt | her doch selbst / der knecht sol nicht mehr sein denn seyn | herr /
So sie mich vorfolget haben / sie werden euch auch | vorfolgen^d / wollen wir
diener Christi sein / vnd vns seine | vicarien^e rñhmen / so müssen wir vns der welt
25 genode | vnd gonst vorwegen / Heists doch Christus selig / so vns | die menschen
von wegen seines namens / vnd des heylig Euangelij vorfolgen^e / Wie wol zu
besorgen / das die | henigenn so sich hoch beklagen vñlleicht nicht Christi / | son-
der eines andern herrn diener sein / Dem sie auch zu | gefallen das Euangelion
vnd die warheit Christi weren / | dor zu den weg 8 seligkeit gemeinem mñne
30 vor-schließen | wellenn / dorauß sich denn ergernis begibt / Wir wissen | aber wie
die fromen vnd geleerten priester so das völd | recht Christlich vnderweisen /
Dij^b sunst vonn menniglich | ynn allen ehren gehalten werden. (Dij^b Es muß)

Es muß E G solche leut / die allein das ihre suchen / | nicht hören / wil
E G sich gotlichem wort vnnb seiner | geburlichen folge nicht entlegen legen /
35 weiß doch E. | G. wol / wie schwer es sey widder den stachel des herrn | auß
zuschloheenn^f / Sihet auch E G zu gutter moße / die | crafft vnnb sterck des

¹ Johann Albrecht son of Friedrich der Alte, Markgraf of Anspach and Bayreuth.

² At this time Clement VII a Medici had just been elected pope who undid the reforms inaugurated by Hadrian VI.

³ From the title of the pope as Vicar of Christ the vicariate system was adopted for all ecclesiastical offices.

Doch halten wirs dafür/ weyl E. G. in aygener eer vnd | nuß/ als E. G.
zum Bischoff erwolt ward/ sich nit kümert | vmb den bapst/ der doch ainem
andern das Bistumb verlihen | hat/ E. G. wirt in der eere Christi vnd der lieb
des nechsten | wider Gottes gebott/ in vil weniger ansehen.

Wir wölten von ahnem frommen reblichen manne der von | gewissen ist / 5
gerne hören/ wie man noch ergers thun möchte | wider Christum/ denn wie es
am Römischen hoff zugeet. Noch | sollen wir den hymel vnd das ewige leben
von danne holen.

Ewer Gnab soll sich solchs Christlichs fürnemens/ auch | etliche Prelaten
(die frommen wöll wir allweg außgeschlo-|ssen haben) nichts irren lassen/ Ja 10
so sy mit hailiger schrift | wider unser Euangelion nichts wissen auffzubringen/
Geben sy für/ es mach auffrür vnd empörung vnder dem völd | vnd sagen/
wie sich dadurch der gemayn man gegen der | oberkeit setzen wurde/ damit sy/ Ja
Künige/ Fürsten vnd | Herren an heßen/ das Euangelion vnd die warhait
Christi | vnder zübrucken/ Solchs ist kein wunder/ vnd vormals zu | den zeyten 15
der Propheten auch geschehen/ Ja ist es doch Christo selbs widerfahren/ Als
die Juden im vor Pilato kein schuld | wüsten zu finden/ Gaben sy für/ er
mächte auffrür vnder | (Dij^b) dem völd/ Sant Paul vnd alle Aposteln seyn Dij^b
darumb be-|schuldet/ auch verhalben auffz letzte getödt worden.

Sy geben auch für/ die Priesterschaft vnd diener Got-|tes wurden nu 20
veracht vnd vndergebrucht/ Ach was wöl-|len wir besser denn unser herr Christus
seyn/ Sagt er doch | selbs/ Der knecht soll nit mer seyn/ denn seyn herr. So
sy mich | verfolget haben/ sy werden euch auch verfolgen/ wöllen wir | diener
Christi seyn/ vnd vns seyne Vicarien rümen/ so müß-|sen wir vnns der welt.
genade vnd gunst verwegen. Hayfts | doch Christus sällig/ so vns die menschen 25
von wegen seines | namens/ vnd des hailig Ewangelij verfolgen/ Wiewol zu |
besorgen/ das die ihenigen so sich hoch beklagen/ villeicht | nicht Christi/ sonder
aines andern herrn diener seyn/ Dem | sy auch zugefallen das Euangelion vnd
die warhait Christi | weren/ darzu den weg der sälligkeit gemaynem manne ver-
schliessen wöllen/ darauß sich denn ergernuß begibt/ Wir | wissen aber wie die 30
frommen vnd gelerten Priester/ so das | völd recht Christlich vnderweyßen/ sunst
von menigklich | in allen eeren gehalten werden.

Es muß E. G. solche lewt/ die allain das ire sachen/ nit | hören/ will
E. G. sich götlichem wort vnd seiner gebürli-|chen folge nicht entgegen legen/
waist doch E. G. wol/ wie | schwär es sey wider den stachel des herten auß 35
zu schlahen/ | Syhet auch E. G. zu gütter masse/ die krafft vnd sterck des |

l. 18. möchte a notable umlaut form. l. 19. beschuldet substituted for beschuldiget, these two forms struggled side by side and the latter was gradually adopted. l. 33. sachen the pointing of it is cut into by the arm of the s.

a. 1 K. 18^{17, 18}; Jer. 26; 32. b. Lk. 23^{2, 14}. c. Acts 16²⁰; 24⁵. d. Jo. 15²⁰. e. Matt. 5^{10, 11}. f. Acts 9⁵ Text. Rec., and V. Cod. Top.: hert ist dir gestreiten wider den gart; Montel: Hert ist dir gestrehten wider den garten; Koburger: Schwer ist dir gestrehten wider dy ansechtung des fleyschs; Luth.: Es wirt dir schwer werden / widder den stachel leden.

wortt gottis / das auch die groffe | weißheit vernunft der ganzenn welt / nicht
ein harr | breit / do widder auffbrengen mag¹ / denn allein gewalt¹ / | fur wel-
cher die warheit wol sicher steet / vnd biß alles | geschicht noch der trewen zu-
sag Christi / Ich wil euch | einen mundt geben / dem alle künige vnd fursten /
5 nicht | widerstehenn sollem² / Es darff nymandt meynen das | vns Christus mit
seinem wort vorfuren wirt.

So wir also zu furderung seines gotlichen worts wie | wir hoffen / durch
sundern E G vleiß mit gutten hirth-ten vnd Euangelischen predigern vorgeset
werdenn / vnd | das wort gottis ynn der krafft gehen soll / dennoch / aller |
10 gottis dienst vnd Christliche vungen³ bey vns gericht | werden / gott geb es
gehe anders wo wie es kan.

Vnnb ap wes³ wider gottis wort aber die aussagun/gen Christi auß all
herkommen vnd mißbrauch wer auff-gericht / müssen wir noch erkentnis besel-
benn / als die | yhes lebens keine stunde sicher sein / schnell vnd ehlentz | bes-
15 fern / vnnb sollen vnns freilich nit umbsehen / wie | Christus spricht ym Luca
Behr seine handt ahn denn | phlug legt vnd sicht zurucke / der ist nicht geschickt
zum | reich gottes⁴.

Es sein viel frommer pfarrer / besorgen vn nd schewenn | sich noch wes vor
E G den mißbrauch abzustellen / vnd | noch dem Euangelio gannz zurichtenn /
20 Aber sie kön-nens ferner ynn gewissen nicht ertragen.

Wo sich dermassen E G noch dem worte gotis Christlicher Euangelischer weiß
Dij ynn die sachen vnd ihr ampt | (Dij richten wurden /) richtenn wurden / Solt es on zweif-
fel mit gottis hulff | E. G. vnd vns allen zur seligkeit helffenn / Es wurden | auch
wie wirs nicht anders gleuben / fursten herrnn / vnd | all gemeiniglich vom
25 abell vber E. G. als ihrem vor-ordenthem bischoff treulich stet vnnb vest haltthenn⁴.

Endtlich G. Herr wollenn wir beschliffenn mit dem | spruch Esaie am .55.
Sucht den herrn weil eh zu fin-den ist / rufft yhn an / so eh nahend ist / der
gotloße vor-loß seine wege / vnd der böße seine gedandenn / eh ler | zu dem
Herrn / vnd eh wirt sich sein erbarmen / Eh lerr | zu unserm gott / wenn er ist
30 groß in der vorgebung⁵.

Wir höreenn wie der vorige bischoff ynn seiner frand-heit / kurz vor seinem
end / solt S. Paulus epistel zu Ti-thon⁴ ynn die handt genohmen / vnd ge-
lesenn habenn / | dornach herzlich ersüffet vnd gesagt / Ach ewiger gott | was
bin ich fur ein bischoff gewest / wolahnn / hilfft mir | gott dieß legers auff / Ich
35 wil ein Christlicher bischoff | sein / ader will eh alles vbergebenn⁵.

Dorumb achtenn wirs dofur / das E G dieße vnns⁶ | einfelbige ermanung

1. 2. harr cf. p. 252²⁸ haer. 1. 10. Christliche misprint for Christliche; corrected in B.
1. 12/13 all herkommen possibly to be regarded as one word. 1. 18. vn nd = vnnb.

¹ A plea for religious freedom. ² cf. p. 61. ³ ap wes = ob etwas; as to gen. wes
cf. 1. 18 and nymandes p. 274²⁸. ⁴ Princes, lords and nobility were alike devoted
to the new movement. ⁵ Johann von Thurzo (John V) was bishop 1506—1520.

wort Gottes/ das auch die groffe weyßhait/ vernunft der | ganzen welt/ nicht
ain har brayt/ darwider auff bringen | mag/ denn allain gewalt/ vor wölcher
die warhait wol sich/er steet/ vnd diß alles geschicht nach der trewen zûsag
Christi/ Ich will euch ainen mundt geben/ dem alle Könige vnd | Fürsten/
nicht widersteen sollen. Es darff nyemant mahnen | das vns Christus mit sey- 5
nem wort verführen werdt.

So wir also zû fürderung seynes Göttlichen worts/ wie | wir hoffen/ durch
funbern E. G. fleiß/ mitt gütten hyrten | vnd Euangelischen prebigern versorget
werden/ vnd das | wort Gottes in der krafft geen soll/ demnach/ aller Gottes |
(D iij) dienst vnd Christliche übungen bey vnns gericht werden/ | Gott geb es gee 10 Diiij
anderßwa wie es kan.

Vnd ob wes wider gottes wort ober die auffsayungen | Christi auß alt
herkommen vnd mißbrauch wer auffgericht | müssen wir nach erkantnuß desselben/
alls die jres lebens | kayn stund sicher sein/ schnell vnd eylendts bessern/ vnd
sol-|len vns frehlich nit umbsehen/ wie Christus spricht im Luca/ Wer seyn 15
handt an den pflug legt vnd sieht zû rucke/ der | ist nicht geschickt zum reych
Gottes.

Es sein vil frummer pfarrer / besorgen vnnb schewen sich | noch wes vor
E. G. den mißbrauch abzûstellen/ vnd nach | dem Euangelio ganz zûrichten/
Aber sy könnens ferner in | gewissen nicht ertragen. 20

Wa sich dermassen E. G. nach dem wort gottes Christlicher Euangelischer
weyß in die sachen vnd jr ampt rich-|ten wurden/ Solt es on zweyfel mit
gottes hilff E. G. vnd | vns allen zur sâligkait helfen/ Es wurden auch wie
wirß | nicht anders glauben/ Fürsten/ herren/ vnd all gemahnig-|lich vom
Abel vber E. G. als jrem verordneten Bischoff|treulich steet vnd fest halten. 25

Endtlich gnädiger herr/ wölle wir beschliessen mitt | dem spruch Esaie
am .55. Sâcht den herren wehl er zû fin-|den ist/ rûfft in an/ so er nahend
ist/ der gotlose verlasse sey-|ne wege/ vnd der böse seyne gedanden/ er lör zû
dem herren | vnd er wirdt sich sein erbarmen/ Er lör zû vnnserm Gott/ | wenn
er ist groß in der vergebung. 30

Wir hören wie der vorige Bischoff in seiner krankhait/ | kurz vor seinem
endt/ solt E. Paulus Epistel zû Titthon in | die handt genommen/ vnd ge-
lesen haben/ darnach herhlich | erselffht vnd gesagt/ Ach ewiger gott/ was bin
ich für ain | bischof geweest/ wolan/ hilft mir got diß legers auf/ Ich will | ain
Christlicher Bischoff sein/ ober will eer alles vbergeben. 35

Darumb achten wirß dafür / das E. G. dise vnser ainfel-|tige ermanung

l. 6. werdt subj. substituted for wirt indic. l. 12. auffsayungen substituted for aus-
sayungen.

(welche dann auß rechter liebe | vnd trew geschicht) nicht vorachtenn wirth/ Doch
 ob | E G derhalb kornenn wolb/ do gott fur sey/ Ezo must | E G zuuor mit
 yhren eigenn gewissen kornen/ denn wo | es E G bey yher seele seligkeit be-
 kennen solt/ So weiß | E G das dis vnser zuschreibenn die lauther warheit ist/ |
 5 wie wir wissen/ das der mißbrauch vormals E G nyhe | wollgefallenn hatt/ Tha
 wir haltenn/ Sollt E G das | bistumb noch annehmen/ besondern in diesen fer-
 lichenn | zeitten/ es wurd sich E G weidt vmb sehenn

Es seindt ya kleiner hwey sprächlein ym Euangelio / | Mein reich/ spricht
 Christus ym Ioanne/ ist nicht von | dieser welt^a/ Item ym Luca/ Das do vor
 10 diij^b den menschen | hochgeacht/ ist ein greuß aber vorwerffung vor gott^b/ | (D iij^b
 wir wissenn) wir wissen eigentlich nicht zu reymen den grossen pracht | vnnb
 weltlich geprenge/ mit dem Euangelio vnd creuß | Christi/ woltenß doch gerne
 güttlich vnnb brüderlich | vnderweist werdenn/ wie sichß reymen mag.

Hiemit wollenn wir Ewz Gnob / vnnßerm liebenn | Herren Ihesu Christo
 15 bevehlenn/ welcher Ewz Gnob | seinen geist zu gebenn gerüch/ All das yenige
 was ym | löblich/ ehlich/ vnnb vnns allenn seligklich ist/ zuuor- | endenn.
 ¶ Datum D ffig ahn des newen iars tage¹.

Ihm iar. M. D. XXXij.

20 Gott erleuchte ewz gnob mit seinem
 erkentnis vnd alle die es begerenn.

A M E N

Gedruckt in der koniglichen stadt

Breslaw. durch Caspar Zhibisch.³ ym iar

Tausent funffhundert vnd vier-

25 . . vnd hwenzig¹ . .



1. 3. yhren should read yheren; in B jren.

1. 8. kleiner hwey metathesis of hwey kleiner.
 the periods used parenthetically.

1. 7. Period after sehenn omitted.

1. 17. D ffig = Dffig.

1. 23. Note

¹ Friday. ² Breslau was not a free imperial city, but royal, and at present held its
 charters and privileges under the king of Bohemia etc. ³ Scheibel, Geschichte der . . .
 in Breslau . . . Stadtbuchbruderen, Breslau 1804. pp. 11—14. cf. Heyer.

a. Jo. 18³⁶.

b. Lk. 16¹⁵.

(wölche dann auß rechter liebe vnnb trew | geschicht) nicht verachten wirdt/
 Doch ob E. G. derhalb | (Diiij^b) zürnen wolt/ da got vor sey/ So müß E. G. zuuor Diiij^b
 mit iren | ahgen gewissen zürnen / denn wa es E. G. bey irer seele sältigkait
 bekennen solt/ So wayß E. G. das diß vnser züschrey-|ben die lautter warhait
 ist/ wie wir wissen/ das der myß-|brauch vormals E. G. nye wolgefallen hat/ 5
 Ja wir halten | Solt E. G. das Bistumb noch annemen / besonder in disen |
 ferlichen zeiten/ es wurd sich E. G. weyt vmbsehen.

Es seyndt ja klainer zway sprüchlein im Euangelio / | Mein reich/ spricht
 Christus im Ioanne / ist nicht von diser | welt. Item im Luca/ Das da vor
 den menschen hochgeacht | ist ain greuel oder verwerffung vor got/ wir wissen 10
 augentlich nicht zü reymen den grossen bracht vnd weltlich gebrenge / mit dem
 Euangelio vnd Creiß Christi/ woltenß doch | gerne gütlich vnd brüderlich vnder-
 weyßt werden/ wie sich | reymen mag.

Hiemitt wöllen wir Ewer Gnab / vnserm lieben herren | Ihesu Christo be-
 uelhen/ wölcher Ewer Gnab / seynen gahst | zü geben gerüche/ All das ihenige 15
 was jm löblich/ eerlich / | vnd vns allen sältiglich ist/ zü volenden. ¶ Datum
 Dffig | an des Newen Jars tag/ Im jar. M.D.XXiiij.

Gott erleuchte Ewer Gnab mit seynem
 erkantnuß vnnb alle die es begeren.

A M E N.

20

1. 3. iren misprint for irem.

1. 16. zü volenden substituted for zuuorendenn.

C.

A Christian Exhortation for the furtherance of the Word of God, addressed to the Lord Bishop of Breslau.

By the noble and honorable Hans Magnus von Langenwaldau and Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig.

Unto the right reverend Father in God, to Jacob, Lord Bishop of Breslau etc., we, Hans Magnus von Langenwaldau and Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig, send our salutations and invoke grace and peace from God our Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Right reverend Father, gracious Lord: St. Paul says to the Corinthians that genuine love suffereth long, and is kind; it envieth not; it vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, it doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth.

We take it for granted that your Grace, as a Christian Bishop, who is set forth before us all as an example, is rich and abounding in such love. And it is this very quality which interprets and judges every thing with the best possible explanation and decision. It is on these grounds that we have undertaken to address your Grace with a fraternal admonition, and we would fortify ourselves at the outset with the conviction that your Grace will receive our letter in the same degree of Christian consideration and brotherly love with which we have sent it; because it is our Christian duty and obligation to do one another all the good we can; and this is particularly your Grace's own province toward us just as much as it is ours toward you. This Epistle therefore should not vex you, nor can it fill you with disdain of us.

There are manifold causes which compel us to take this initiative; indeed the Spirit seems to impel us from the very fact that we as members of Christ fully recognize how many the people are whose spiritual health and salvation at this very moment are laid upon you, after God. Hence we deem it necessary to remind your Grace loyally and fraternally of what

your office signifies. From the nature of things it is the most responsible of any that exists. Indeed if we may at once state the ultimate point, it is that your own ulterior happiness depends upon an accurate use of its functions.

We desire then in the name of the Lord to exhort and beseech your Grace to bring about in your entire diocese the preaching of the pure Word of God and the Gospel of Christ without any human additions, for the simple and sufficient reason that the Word of God is the one only food for the soul, whereby it is to be nourished and sustained eternally. Moreover every Christian undertaking must be built thereon as upon a constant rock.

To make provision for this is of the utmost moment for your Grace, if you would escape the severe declarations of our earnest Judge at the last day. You well know with what condemnation God has threatened the impious bishops and the lazy shepherds.

Through the prophet Ezekiel chapter 3 God says: Son of man, I have made thee a watchman (that is a bishop) unto the house of Israel: in order that thou declare my word to it. But if thou wilt refrain from doing this, I will require its blood from thy hand. Similarly Jeremiah chapter 23: Woe unto the shepherds that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture! saith Jehovah. Therefore thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, against the shepherds that feed my people: Ye have scattered my flock, and driven them away, and have not visited them; behold, I will visit upon you the evil of your doings, saith Jehovah. And I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all the countries whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their folds; and they shall be fruitful and multiply. And I will set up shepherds over them, who shall feed them; and they shall fear no more, nor be dismayed, neither shall any be lacking, saith Jehovah. Again in Isaiah chapter 56: The watchmen of my people are blind, they are all without knowledge; they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, the dogs are greedy, they can never have enough; and these are shepherds that cannot understand (by this is meant the Word of God): they have all turned to their own way (that is to human commandments), each one to his gain, from every quarter, from the highest to the lowest. And a little further on: The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart.

In every prophet God has indicated the severe and heavy punishments which should befall those who assume the care of souls, where they do not satisfy the demands of their office according to the command and order of God. Surely every such pastor should take these threatenings to heart, all the more if he has even once paused to think that he must die, and that he surely cannot desire his soul to undergo an eternal condemnation.

In Matthew our Lord says: For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? The time will surely eventually come, when we shall have to give a very searching account of ourselves.

In the intercourse of courts it is the custom to use much dissimulation in speech and manners. And we could make use now of such exaggerated language and forms were they Christian. But in this matter obviously we must avoid sham of any kind, and we therefore have faithfully warned your Grace in an honorable way and one suited to our Christian profession. Nor have we been unmindful of the brotherly love due you in our exhortation. Moreover we do not forget that by virtue of your ancestry you are in the same station of life as we, and that you have whilom been our gracious and dear friend; all of which emboldens us to urge that you will henceforth, for the rest of your life, practice and apply yourself to the Word of God and the things of the Spirit with the same degree of ardor that you previously displayed in the sphere of human words and in secular transactions. As St. Paul lovingly admonished his sons Titus and Timothy so your Grace will do that which befits and alone beseems a Christian bishop. Indeed we hear that your Grace has the epistles of that eminent apostle daily in your hands.

We shall pass by the fact that your canonical law requires a bishop not to inveigle himself in secular business of any form whatsoever, but to be occupied with the Bible and the holy Gospel, to comfort the fettered and troubled conscience, to nourish the poor wheresoever they may be, and to manifest the whole range of the works of love to everyone.

Therefore we do beseech and hope that your Grace according to the duty of your office will issue a Christian mandate and in addition thereto give studious attention to its observance agreeably to the requirements of your station; so that in your diocese henceforth, nothing else than the pure Gospel of Christ in consonance with the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, may be preached and read for the comfort of your flock.

And further, that you will command all those who introduce fables and human teachings into this body of truth to be punished in accord with the laws of evangelical discipline. Paul indicated these perverts to Titus in these apt words: For there are many unruly men, vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision who are the adherents of the works of the law, and not of the works of faith, whose mouths must be stopped; men who overthrow whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake. Not long after this there follows the passage: For which cause reprove them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith, not giving heed to Jewish fables, and commandments of men who turn away from the truth.

Again to Timothy: I charge thee in the sight of God, and of Christ Jesus, who shall judge the living and the dead, and by his appearing and his kingdom: preach the word; be urgent in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and teaching. For the time will come when they will not endure the sound doctrine; but, having itching ears, will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts; and will turn away their ears from the truth, and turn aside unto fables. But be thou sober in all things, suffer hardship, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil thy ministry.

All these words are addressed to the bishops to stimulate them to the sedulous oversight of their flock, so that nothing but the Word of God be preached. Now we maintain without fear of contradiction that you have been long of the mind to further this very Pauline scheme, had your Grace not been hindered by certain prelates; and when we speak of prelates, we are anxious to except those who do really fear God and who have been at the same time sufficiently educated. The prelates we designate as your opponents are such as St. Paul characterizes to Timothy in these sentences: But know this, that in the last days grievous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of self, lovers of money, boastful, haughty, railers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, implacable, slanderers, without self-control, fierce, no lovers of good, traitors, headstrong, puffed up, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God; holding a form of godliness, but having denied the power thereof: from these also turn away.

And even as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also withstand the truth; men corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further: for their folly shall be evident unto all men, says St. Paul.

Consequently your Grace sees not only that no one should listen to these persons who are of no service to God or to the world, and are least of all worthy of attention in matters which pertain to the Word of God and the faith; on the contrary, when they continuously come with their petitions and writings in which they urgently order and instigate your Grace to establish a tyrannical administration, so that they may find a shield for their godless conduct: your Grace as a faithful bishop, armed with the Word of God, should set yourself determinately against them, and punish them in such wise that they will hereafter remain at home rather than essay a second mission.

Of such the prophet Isaiah well says: that they are vexed with the spirit of perverseness so that they may not discern the way of truth; they are smitten with blindness and hardness of heart.

Indeed if any one endows a lot of foundations and the liturgical

mummery connected therewith, albeit the celebration be quite apart from heart and faith and solely for the sake of money, these prelates call it a service rendered to God; they have also led the pitiable humbler classes to believe that such a work contributes to their salvation; although it may more correctly be called a service of their belly than a worship of God and is nothing but a complete misleading of the poor and the simple-minded; it seems to us that it would be right for your Grace to examine into this matter thoroughly.

Everybody observes perfectly well how the monks especially can snuff death just as far as a vulture can track carrion. If a rich man is about to die, they come and offer to sell their good works to the sufferer. It is well known how ready they are to sponge on an aged grandam for three months before she dies. They dare affirm even at this day that they take alms in order to make satisfaction for the sins of men. What else can they allege that would in appearance at least justify their lazy life? Let it be understood that we insist on excepting those who preach the Word of God.

Although the matter of money and property of course would be of little account were it not that innumerable souls are misled thereby, because they imagine that they can really enter heaven through such external works. Whereas indeed, even our own works cannot justify us, as Paul says; how much less can the works of another, especially such as are bought with money, secure our salvation?

But what result do we see? These poor miserable creatures remain perpetually stationary in their sinful course of life, so that they never reform nor attain any correct knowledge of themselves. But they purpose at the last hour, just when they can no longer use their property, to make it all right with heaven by means of a will and by paying enough to have many masses read; although, it must be confessed, that during their lifetime they are utterly compassionless and entirely neglect the necessities of their own relatives and neighbors. It happens also with some of these hard-hearted folks that while they have established the reading of a mass, or have granted a bushel of corn to some monk, or have paid for candles, or have made pilgrimages to this and that church, and have done similar things, they have at the same time allowed their poor relation to suffer in distress and in want of the necessities of life. Yet these Church benefactors strut back and forth secure in their hypocrisy, as confidently and cock-sure as if they had behaved righteously and meritoriously. Our aforementioned clergy contribute to this corrupt state of religion with all their might, and declare that everything must remain in this old rut.

There is no doubt about it, dear brethren, we too had rather hear a votive-mass sung, or give a monk a bushel of corn, or make a present of candles, or go on a pilgrimage to some accredited church, and do such

like perfunctory things, than to struggle daily with our evil lusts and desires of the flesh as Christ wants us to do, and as St. Paul teaches, namely: that through the Spirit of Christ and his divine Word we are to overcome the vices, impurity, pride, drunkenness, revenge, anger, avarice, greed, despoiling of the poor, and other vices which are congenital from Adam. Particularly ought we to contend with our self-love because it is the chief source of all vices, although very few are cognizant of it. But there is nothing that avails: if Christ is to enter, Adam must go out. Just as the Lord says in John: Unless a man be born anew, he cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Nicodemus, shrewd and strenuous a man as he was, could not understand that saying. We will here pass by that spiritual deceitfulness with which our hearts are quite choked up; yet it is well for him who perceives that fundamental fact of sin. It is in view thereof that Jeremiah rightly says: the heart of man is evil, and unsearchable. The light of divine grace must shine into it if we want to discern our frailties correctly.

But how shall we recognize this vital fact, if the divine grace is not preached about and so many false guides stand in the way who lead people astray to embrace their own self-devised methods, of which God knows nothing nor will know?

About all this the Lord Christ has spoken in the fifteenth of Matt. in such a clear way, that if another had said it, he would actually be stigmatized as a heretic by our present clergy. For Christ in that passage rejects completely and entirely all works which are done without the spirit; but what is the spirit else than faith in Christ? Indeed further on he rejects all human commandments and calls them a vain worship.

Ah! but what would he say to those who celebrate mass and go to the choir for the sake of money? We are persuaded, were he not so merciful, that he would drive them all out of the temple so that they might no longer be an offence to Christian people. But he waits until his good time; in due course he will find them.

In brief, to use the words of Tauler, the Christian teacher: Every work which does not have God for its beginning, its middle, and its end, cannot find the slightest degree of acceptance with him.

As we have said before, these conditions result from the fact that the Word of God has remained buried in silence. Is it not true that for many centuries among a hundred priests hardly one possessed a Bible for himself? And yet from this source alone can we attain the true foundation of happiness. How could these priests then have been correct and good teachers?

Although it is true, that a section of the Gospel is repeated from the service-book, yet it is uttered without any spirit and without proof from the Scriptures; then too their erroneous, heathen teaching is mixed up

with it. This is quite apart from the falsehoods and fables whereby selfishness sought to prevent any improvement from even the lection; nor indeed was it allowed to have any such profitable issue. And yet they impudently dare to affirm that the Gospel had always been regularly proclaimed in spite of the fact that they have preached themselves rather than Christ. They have sermonized much more about hell and purgatory in order to frighten the ordinary hearer, than about heaven and about trusting his promises as well as the goodness of God, through which the hearers might be incited to love him.

But how could a reformation result where the priests and preachers are called to their office neither by God nor by the congregation? Even in case they have an outward call, it has been accomplished through their own agency; and woe to such as are not themselves conscious of their wrongful ambition! Self-love has rather called them than God the Lord. By self-love we mean the desire to luxuriate in high honors, temporal advantage, and even indolence and the enjoyment of a good time.

It is much as in the day of Jeroboam 3. Kgs. 13, when any one who wanted to, could become a priest. But the outcome of such looseness one finds also narrated in that connection. To such evil effects our bishops have contributed in quite a masterly way by the ordinations they have so frivolously made. Nor have princes and lords and nobles failed to add their share of folly! It has come to such a pitch that no one considers whether the candidate is fitted to preside over the people to instruct them in sound doctrine and by a Christian example. Much to the contrary, everyone in this matter has sought his own honor, and not the honor of God and the love of his neighbor.

But it is now time, our gracious Lord, not to forget ourselves, for we want to apologize in our own behalf to your Grace, yet in a manner befitting Christians. Indeed this is not the least of the reasons for this letter.

We assume that certain zealous folks have frequently denounced us to your Grace as being Lutherans and as aiding in the introduction of innovations. They represent us further as seducing our friends through erroneous doctrines and as not rendering obedience to the prelates, with other similar charges. Hereby we would reply to your Grace and to all people that according to the clearest testimony of our conscience and by our soul's salvation, we are Christians; and as truly as God is our Lord who knoweth all hearts, we desire nothing more highly, and pray for nothing more ardently than that the name of God and of Jesus Christ our Redeemer alone be praised and extolled with a right worship, and that his divine Word be proclaimed to all troubled souls in the whole world for their comfort. We affirm also that we zealously desire all men to win

a genuine faith and a hearty trust in God; we also exercise ourselves in all works of love toward every man; in brief: just as we now speak about this Gospel of Christ, so should we all lead a sincere evangelical Christian life in accordance therewith.

Consequently since such a change of view would transform all hypocritical works into righteous works, it naturally becomes a cause of quarrel at present, so that the false clergy dispute hotly with the sincere clergy about the worship of God and good works.

As to the matter itself we are both agreed that God should be served and good works should be done, but in the explanation of these duties we disagree utterly. They aver that their own inventions and their human commandments are legitimate conditions of God's service. To which we say: no, such things are rather superstition and hypocrisy. Very much to the contrary we avow faith and what God has commanded to be the only elements whereby we can render God an acceptable service. And in favor of this we have many passages in the Old and the New Testament which make against them and for us. Moreover, reason teaches us precisely the same thing, and if we were to undertake solely what God has enacted, we should have enough to do every moment in the effort to fulfill his behests; would indeed that we could come any where near performing them!

Our opponents would accomplish this end by external works and human obedience, and they never improve; on the contrary, they continue in their avarice, pride, impurity, anger, etc. Therefore we would put into the foreground the heart and the divine obedience: that is the obedience of faith; and there remains also the obligation of contending regularly with the evil lusts of the flesh.

To attain these superior ends we must recur to God and to his compassion through Christ in faith; we must trust and hope in him. We must also reverence the beloved Father just as a child fears its parent. But these prelates resort to man whom they trust and fear more than God; and consequently they have recourse to wood, stone, meats, clothing, day and season, just the things, all of them, that Christ and his instrument, Paul, have forbidden. They will pay court to God with the external appearances, although he is a Spirit and wills his servants to worship him in spirit and in truth. He does not require outward pomp in the least, it is rather an abomination before his divine eyes.

One sees therefore, that such insistent people are impudent and full of every sort of presumption. They purpose to explore the ways of God by their reason and wisdom. Now this very thing Christ emphatically rejects in Matthew, where he thanks his Father for hiding the truth from the wise of this world and for revealing it unto babes or the foolish.

On this account these same men can never rightly apprehend the little word faith. This is due to their having forsaken the fountain of living waters and having hewn out for themselves broken cisterns which can hold no water.

Further, in order that we may come out plumply and entirely concerning the subject-matter of sin: we also agree with our opponents as to external vices and crimes, such as adultery, murder, impurity and the like; we too say in consonance with them that these are all in opposition to God. But as to the internal sins of the heart we stand wide apart from them, because they so inflate the freedom of the will that presumption and spiritual pride naturally result, or self-love grows up; and that is far the deepest of all the spiritual vices; moreover, no human being is wholly free therefrom. True indeed as this deplorable state is, our gainsayers do not recognize it, and credit good works in some degree to themselves presuming to earn heaven thereby. But we know by the Word of God that there is nothing good in our nature nor in our native powers; and that all our life and our best works cannot stand before God's eyes were he to go into judgment with us; and since it is God alone who judges that heart which is certainly evil and unsearchable.

Therefore we give God our Creator the honor and stand fast in the faith of his Son Jesus Christ, through whose blood we are justified.

On this account, whenever we are enabled to do any work of love, we ascribe it wholly to God the Lord who has wrought it through us as his instruments, in order that we may also know that we have a gracious God and dear Father in heaven.

Moreover we are certified that as long as we are steadfast in the faith, whatever sinful admixtures may secretly accompany our good works, such defects will not be reckoned to us, if we strive daily to overcome the same; and this is mercifully effected through our faith in Christ, for it is the Scripture itself that says the righteous fall seven times a day.

In a word, we know nothing save Christ and him crucified, also that we are redeemed and saved by his divine compassion. We already have heaven, if only we can retain it; that power is conveyed to us by faith only. And faith could as little exist without good works as a good tree without fruit.

We have advised your Grace as our ordained Bishop of these convictions of ours as considerately as we were able, in order to rescue our Christian name. Moreover we are gladly ready to follow any better instruction providing however, that it be demonstrated by the holy Scriptures.

There remains a certain inflexible rule, that he who seeks the honor of God wholly, the welfare of his neighbor and the rescue of poor, fettered consciences must be of God.

But he who seeks his own honor, he who loves his own interest and he who desires to lead the people whom the blood of Christ has made free back again into obedience to men and traditional laws as well as into the tyranny which is built upon them so totally at variance with the Word of God; and he who in addition shuts heaven against a soul and then unlocks it for money; — surely such persons are not of God, for we know that God can have no pleasure in an abuse so heinous as this.

Of a truth we may avow in God's name, to whom alone be praise and honor, that we by the grace of God up to this time have not sought our own, in the spread of the evangelical doctrine, so far as God has vouchsafed us strength. We also beseech our Lord that he will not allow such a perversion to befall us. On the contrary, we are ready to sacrifice our own property so far as our limited means may reach, if thereby a Christian evangelical order conformable to the declaration of the divine Word can be enacted, at least in our own farming communities. We desire that such a change shall be accompanied with no tumult or driving out of the priests, but be wrought in all patience and gentleness. This type of reformation we do faithfully long for through our Lord Christ, and with continued diligence we do pray for its accomplishment.

But some at this point say: yes of course, we too would have the Gospel, but not according to your explanation of it, but we want the explanation which has from time immemorial been given it. Thank you, dear friends, if your interpretation were to have continued much longer there would remain no penny in our purses, to say nothing of the innumerable cases of misled consciences.

We must put our own understanding on the shelf and accept no other interpretation than as much as can be derived from the exposition of the Gospel through the medium of the Old Testament, just as Christ himself commands in John: Search the scriptures for these are they which bear witness of me. We read too in the Acts of the Apostles that those of Thessalonica (Beroea) to whom Paul preached received the word with all readiness of mind, examining the scriptures daily, whether these things were so, and finding the statements to be true, many of them believed. Once more, when Christ appeared to the two disciples who were going to Emmaus, he pointed them to the scriptures.

Therefore, it is misleading when men want to interpret those scriptures through their own understanding. One passage must be interpreted by another, and as Paul says, all our intelligence, thought and imagination should be made captive to the will and service of God. Let us take, for example, the text: Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's. Some priests exegete this as commanding us to pay tribute-money to them; and we for our part are not

opposed to such a contribution to their necessities; but our spiritual apprehension does not discover such a meaning in these words; therefore, we must cry to the Lord with David, Psalm 84 (85), and say: I will hear what God Jehovah will speak in me. Now since Christ says that the Kingdom of God is within you, and St. Paul interprets its contents as consisting of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, it is certainly easy to apprehend in what sphere we should render to God the service which is due him; and hence this saying of Christ must surely signify that the unique property which we have received from God, namely that part of our constitution which was made in his own image, the soul of the man who believes in Christ, — that is the thing of God that we are to render to him.

But they object further: yes, but the scriptures are obscure, and the sayings are dark and contradictory, we must have a judge who has authority to decide the meaning. Our answer is this: the Scriptures and the Word of God are wholly a bright light which brings its own clarity with it to the believing heart. As David says: thy word is a lamp to my feet; again, in thy light we shall see light. Christ is of course the true light, which lighteth every believing man. As he says in John: I receive no clarity from men.

Therefore, it is not the fault of the scriptures if we do not understand them, but our own darkened hearts are to blame because they are subject to self-love, avarice, anger, impurity and tyranny; under these conditions the light cannot enlighten. We must first remove the scales from our eyes, if we expect to see so strong a light; otherwise we shall be like the Egyptians who groped in darkness. The Spirit must do this. He will harmonize beautifully all passages to the glory of God; for this inward task the flesh has no capacity.

Consequently, the Word of God alone shall be our judge. What else can give us a guarantee that the judge does not err, seeing that all men are liars? Are we then to have recourse to a man? But we had rather go to God, who cannot err, and beseech him in all humility for his grace to reveal to us his divine Word.

They continue: are then the Christian Church and the councils henceforth to count for nothing? There has to be a regulative system somewhere. Such a specious proposition is highly esteemed by those who are ignorant of the Scriptures; and although we are but laymen, we will respond to it with God's help as follows: First, all these errors spring from the word Church, which in German means only a religious community. The simple-minded have regarded the Church as a building of stone or wood. The worldly-wise have considered it as consisting of pope, cardinals, bishops and prelates.

But we maintain that the Christian Church according to the usage of the Scriptures is the congregation or assembly of all or of many who with heart and soul are believers in Christ. Their Head is Christ our Lord, as St. Paul writes to the Ephesians and elsewhere. They are born of God's Word alone; they are nourished and ruled by God's Word. Briefly, they regulate everything by the Gospel and judge of all matters by that standard, and against these particular ones thus associated the gates of Hell cannot prevail. Concerning this institution, one article of our faith confesses: I believe in a holy, Christian Church.

Those who have one baptism, one faith, and one spirit, no matter too where they are whether in Rome or elsewhere, are all members of the same, and Christ is their Head. That is, the whole number of the elect friends of God constitute the Christian Church. But if we were to call the pope with his cardinals the Christian Church, then the Italian wars and the great bloodshedding and tyranny of Pope Julius II, might just as well be called the Christian Church; from such a misconception may God protect us. Amen.

We would gladly convene councils, if they would not make definitions contrary to the Word of God. But when they do that, then we must obey God rather than men. Christ says in John: I receive not my witness from men. If we believe the council then we trust in men which is forbidden us in the prophets and our conscience can never attain rest. But if we trust in God's Word, we can make no mistake. Were we to hold a council just now no one can assure our heart that the council would not err, seeing that previously they have for the greater part gone astray, and one has revoked what the other decreed. We say nothing of the fact that we are likely not to live to see the time of such a convocation. Had we not God's word to what could we adhere in the interval, and in death?

Moreover as to the question of government we would reply: If it is established according to the Gospel and by the command of God or his apostles, we are ready to maintain it; for then we are sure that it has occurred through the Holy Ghost; but if it contravene the Word of God, it is for us a system of disorder. Christ says in Luke: he who does not gather with me scattereth abroad; he who is not for me is against me. Let us take an example: for us to participate in the Sacrament under both forms, that is, to eat the broken body and drink the blood of Christ, is Christ's own order and St. Paul also instituted it according as he received it from Christ. Now if it were possible for ten thousand councils to oppose it, yet are we entirely assured in our hearts through Christ's Word and regulation, in that he says: Drink ye all of it, — that no man nor indeed the whole world, has any power to change such an ordinance in opposition to the Word of God. For Christ's Word and injunction declare: Drink ye

all of it. What could otherwise our faith be worth, if we should doubt the words and ordainment of Christ? St. Paul says: If an angel from heaven were to teach any other doctrine, let him be anathema; after that denunciation we need not discuss the authority of councils or men.

They further argue: But there were many holy fathers assembled in these councils. To which we reply: The holy fathers could err, and often indeed have done so, hence they themselves, as fully aware of their peccability, plead that we are not to believe in them any further than they really speak God's Word, and interpret scripture by scripture. Augustine and Jerome distinctly write in this wise about themselves. If our opponents assert that there were more than forty books which laid claim to the title of Gospel, and yet only four were accepted by the Church, therefore, we should simply adhere to the judgment of the Church, we reply: Although we do not have so many in our list, we need not concern ourselves about the number of the claimants; it is enough that the rejected ones did not write a gospel at all, but only fables, as appears clearly to this day in the Gospel of Nicodemus. They were rejected, not as if the Gospel acquired its power or confirmation from men, but because it was recognized through the Word of God itself that these alleged gospels were totally contrary to the Scriptures.

Indeed we ourselves previously regarded the Gospel of Nicodemus as genuine, because it contained very entertaining material for reading. Now however we perceive through the Word of God itself, that it does not at all harmonize with the Scriptures and is wholly fictitious.

As laymen we inquire also: Whence did this very Church spring that rejected such writers? Undoubtedly she was born of the Gospel. On that account she recognized and judged these books by the Gospel and God's Word. And so should it always be; the Word of God should remain our sole judge.

As to custom and long use, we would say with the holy bishop and martyr Cyprian: Custom must always and in every way yield to Christian truth. This is quite a strong utterance; although in secular transactions custom and usage play a very different role from that subordination which is their place in the sphere of God's Word. And this is as it should be.

The lord Annas and Caiaphas also had an old usage and custom; indeed they had a regularly transmitted and organized system. They considered their method to be the correct way of serving God and held themselves and their prelates to be the Church. Yet the Spirit of Christ soon destroyed the entire structure. Indeed our own ancestors would not have dared to accept Christ, but might have continued in their superstitions had they wanted to follow their original custom and ancient usage.

But now we must meet the full brunt of their argument. Yes indeed, say they, these articles were previously settled at the council a long while ago in Constance, where Hus was burned. Therefore, there is now no need for much discussion about them.

We respond to this in our fashion once more. It is a prescription of the law of knighthood in Silesia that when a nobleman desires to complete his title to nobility, he place his coat-of-arms in the prince's chancery as a testimony thereof. Now we maintain that a similar system should have prevailed in the transactions at Constance, had real Christian judges been present who claimed the right of condemnation.

On this account they allege that the articles were committed to writing. But we ask why do they not show us these completed articles? Why are they not printed? In that way probably they could put the Lutherans to silence. We apprehend however, that it will be a slow business. We know well enough that Hus was burned and that the black monks with their great authority, Thomas, had the control of the council; but how Hus was overcome we keep on asking today, and yet cannot get any satisfactory reply.

There is a final argument current and one that is moreover agitated by the common people, to wit: One marks but little improvement as a result of the now prevalent teaching; and those who boast most about the Gospel lead a bad and offensive life. It is very necessary to reply to this reproachful objection; we confess that it moves us also not a little; to tell the truth, it goes through our hearts like a knife to find by experience that the charge is only too true.

But our anxiety is not for ourselves, because we never build on human examples but upon the sole Word of God. We are concerned however about the poor and simple folk who are ashamed to assume the Gospel of Christ on account of some bad specimens among those who profess it. Would God that such unworthy hypocrites could for once be punished and put under evangelical discipline at last.

We speak of those who take the Gospel unprofitably on their lips and have no purpose whatever to actually better their conduct. Indeed they intend to cover their wickedness with the Gospel cloak. Do they drink to more or less excess, do they spend their time and energies in every sort of voluptuousness, they call it brotherly love. Do they pursue licentious indulgences, they claim that love prompts the wickedness. They even have the audacity to allege brotherly love, when they deprive somebody of his rights because they may possibly want the malappropriation for their own use. These are the sort of reformers who eat meat on Friday and fish on Sunday and call this a confirmation of Christian liberty.

They declare that we are not to fast, to pray or to bestow alms, in the teeth of the fact that all these are commands of the high Majesty of God. Among our erudite men it is only the abuse of such works and not the work itself which is forbidden. These fellows prate about faith, and understand it about just as much as they did ten years ago. They consider themselves to be evangelicals of the first water, if they can blackguard the pope and refuse to pay their financial obligations to the parsons. Christ, the good Lord, has to serve everywhere as the cover for their scandalous behavior. But unless they repent it will go worse with these miscreants in the last day than with Sodom and Gomorrah, seeing that they prostitute Christian liberty which is a liberty of the Spirit, to carnal indulgence.

But after this preliminary confession and reflection let us reply to the argument itself. We affirm that those who previously were steadfast in a true simplicity do not in reality become worse through the Gospel, but far rather, the longer they really become familiar with the content and spirit of that Gospel, the stronger they grow in faith and the more fruitfully do they fall into the habit of doing what are actually good works.

But the fact really is that some who previously by reason of their outward appearance were accounted pious before men were after all in their hearts thorough going rascals in their attitude toward God. These sanctimonious pretenders are now exposed by the Gospel, and one recognizes that they have been altogether impostors, for the Gospel is directed to that very end to bring to light the secrets of the heart; it casts down all merely human righteousness to the earth and rears aloft the divine righteousness alone.

But a carnal man cannot easily discern true piety. Yet we do know for a certainty that numberless persons whose consciences were held captive, and indeed many whose souls were driven to desperation have been rescued through the Gospel and are daily being rescued, as we have experienced in part at least among our own peasants.

We are acquainted too with many pious folk who have grown greatly in character through the medium of the Lutheran teaching, as some persist in calling it; and we have also the hope of still greater improvement from day to day through the agency of the gifts of God.

But suppose it were true that the preaching of the Word has not been accompanied with such good results as its advocates expected, it does not follow that the pure Word of God should remain silent. Christ also preached three years in Jerusalem and its neighborhood, and there resulted just this much good out of it that the religionists finally hung him upon a tree, and his own disciples deserted him.

Strictly speaking, there is no one more astray in conscience than those

who refuse to credit the pure Word of God and wait persistently for some human way of confirmation or for a Council. We speak only of pious dissemblers, the godless have no conscience.

And now to bring the discussion to a conclusion, gracious Lord, we set out with the desire to narrate to your Grace the entire foundation of the evangelical cause, just so far as God would vouchsafe us the ability. Not that there was any necessity to instruct your Grace by such a declaration, but that we might state the reasons for our faith to your Grace as our ordained bishop and also to the general public.

Although certain prelates have let it be heard as their opinion that we had better concern ourselves about the management of our estates than about such foolery; they would know well enough how to regulate their churches without our help etc.

Ah, yes! praise God, we know very well indeed that the wisdom of God is called foolishness by the world; we know too how Christ answered Martha when she wanted the Lord to direct her sister Magdalene to help in the care of the house. Just that attitude of our Lord in that dramatic incident we are going to maintain in Christ.

Moreover we do have nothing whatever to do with their churches. Yet we are unwilling to renounce all due obedience to our prelates and shepherds, providing they do not assume more authority than Christ has commanded them to exercise. Paul to the Corinthians prescribes the sphere of their power: men should not regard us as anything other than the servants of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. He avers too that the power is given to us for the betterment and not for the destruction of men.

We therefore beseech and exhort your Grace to take this our communication to heart for the honor of Christ and for your own personal salvation. Have respect to no one save God, but handle herein with all meekness and Christian love and do nothing with impetuosity. See to it, first of all, that God's Word and the holy Gospel be preached exclusively; nothing else will suffice. Really good and pious preachers are just now quite scarce, and yet we hope that your Grace will spare no expense to appoint only such a clergy as is qualified. Let the unlearned be stalled in the choir and take the educated meanwhile as preachers or pastors for the various villages.

Let the complaint reach thine ears O God! For it is a crying shame to see with what priests the poor peasants are provided. All the prophets must indeed be liars, if the bishops do not have to give a serious and exact account at the last day for the existence of such a standing neglect.

In the next place, let your Grace appoint educated persons, whether

priests or laymen, to read the Bible publicly, as has already been done in some localities, so that ill-informed young priests may also have the chance to learn something.

Let your Grace everywhere remove the great abuse which comes through the superstitious pictures and images as your Grace has begun to do in Liegnitz, and as was also undertaken some time ago in Breslau at St. Dorothea's. Indeed in this regard the practices at present are even more offensive among a class of Christians, particularly the simple-minded folk in the villages, than once they were amidst the heathen themselves. The stationers should no longer be allowed to deceive the ordinary, simple people with smooth words; and further, the fatal system of mendicancy should have a quietus put upon it so that the poor and common but deserving householder may not be forgotten.

Let the priests be no longer permitted to read masses for money: that service should be celebrated only when there exists an actual hungering and desire for the most venerable sacrament of Christ.

Another and weighty subject of reform do we now propose: let no one in matters of conscience be compelled to render obedience to merely human precepts. On the contrary, since we are called into Christian liberty, we are therefore urged to stand fast therein; nevertheless we have no right to pervert this into a liberty of the flesh.

And on this account the evangelical discipline should be reestablished. It was instaurated not for money but for a restraint upon our sins and the transgression of the divine law. This should be restored after the indications given by Christ in Matthew and by Paul to the Corinthians so that one should neither eat nor drink with any who are thus under condemnation. Through this system one could perhaps expect to control and abrogate the drinking of healths among the nobility, for this social custom is the incitement and occasion of every other kind of sin.

Ordinarily it would be right to use the secular law for the collection of the salaries due to the priests; but if a debtor is unable to meet his obligations because of his exceeding poverty, the creditor should have further patience with him according to the law of love.

But we do not want to treat of temporal and transitory property as such in a connection like this; we had rather that an improvement in conscience and a desire for the eternal good might be promoted. And yet we cannot but affirm, that we are not party to any system calling itself Christian which denies to the priests their income. Nor do we advise any one to do such a wrong; therefore, the priests cannot find any cause of complaint in us on that score at least.

The next leading article, and one that is of the highest urgency, concerns the marriage of the clergy. We beseech your Grace to leave it open

to your priests to enter the state of wedlock or not, as they may choose. Christ left it free to all; and St. Paul plainly indicates that the devil would be the cause of its prohibition. O how many thousand souls and wholly ensnared consciences you would free and rescue by the abolition of required celibacy, a doctrine of devils as St. Paul calls it.

There are many pious priests who do not have the gift of chastity, and consequently they live with a bad conscience and in great offense. They know very well that the state of matrimony is commanded by the Scriptures, and they feel the sexual impulse; and yet they fear your Grace more than they do God. They affirm secretly and openly that your Grace is a great hindrance to their soul's salvation. Yes, they venture to state that they will have to cry out against your Grace on the Judgment-day for not having provided relief for them.

We must also express our opinion concerning the effect of celibacy in the village communities. How can the peasants be worthily instructed by a priest who leads a scandalous life among them? And yet how can a poor village pastor administer his household affairs without a wife? Everybody knows very well that your Grace formerly spoke against the unchaste law of pope Calixtus, and that in a very Christian way.

No one seems ready to advocate the cause of the aforesaid poor peasants. They are harassed without cessation by their uneducated pastors in an outrageous and tyrannical way through the unbearable regulations imposed upon them. One cannot but be filled with pity at the spectacle of this great crowd of peasants as they labor under an access of conscientiousness, mainly due to the unhappy bewilderment which the pastor produces by his impossible injunctions; they are to eat eggs, cheese and butter on Friday or in Lent while they have actually hardly any bread on their tables. God be merciful to us, we are entangled in commandments more than were the Jews; and nobody will compassionate the simple, country folk.

We also pray your Grace not to be a hindrance but rather generously to permit the testament of Christ and the Sacraments to be imparted to the people in their own language which alone is intelligible to them, for thereby an improvement is likely to follow. St. Paul has enjoined and proclaimed this duty strenuously in his epistle to the Corinthians.

What more need we write? There are innumerable abuses whose shortcomings certainly require investigation. Do not let your Grace oppose such inquiry but rather according to the requirements of your office further every step of reform; yes, without regard to the pope or the entire Roman curia. They cannot answer for you in the day of Judgment; each one will then have to give account for himself.

We indeed maintain that just as your Grace when elected to the

bishopric did not concern yourself about the pope in the defense of your own prerogative and advantage against his grant of the see to another, so should you have still less regard for him in the realm of Christ's honor and in the love of one's neighbor when he bids you act against the commandment of God.

We would like to hear from some pious and honorable gentleman with a conscience how any body could behave more offensively against Christ than is done at the court of Rome? And yet we are to fetch heaven and eternal life from such a quarter!

Let not your Grace allow certain prelates to divert you from such Christian undertakings. Of course we always desire to except the pious clergy. When these bumptious curialists do not know of anything further to allege against our Gospel from the holy Scriptures, then they assert that such innovation excites tumult and rebellion among the people. They aver that the common man is arrayed against the ruling powers thereby. By such charges they incite princes and lords to suppress the Gospel and the truth of Christ. These results are not surprising; they also happened formerly in the times of the prophets. Indeed Christ himself experienced just such contradiction. When the Jews could find nothing wherewith to accuse him before Pilate they alleged that he organized revolt among the people. St. Paul and all the apostles were charged with the same treasonable offence, and indeed were finally put to death on the pretext of such a shameless libel.

Moreover, these anti-reforming prelates profess that the whole body of priests and ministers of God are now being subjected to contumely and oppression. But why do we want to be better than our Lord Christ? Does he not himself say, the servant ought not to be greater than his master; if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also? If we want to be ministers of Christ, and if we boast of being his vicars, then we ought to ignore the grace and favor of the world. Surely Christ calls it blessed, if men persecute us for his sake and the Gospel's. It would be better to have a care, lest those who make such complaints may probably not be ministers of Christ after all but of some other master, for whose pleasure they would ward us off from the Gospel and the truth of Christ, and in addition would bar the way to salvation against the ordinary man. It is assuredly out of such procedures that the offense springs. We know however, that the pious and educated priests who instruct the people in a truly Christian way are held by the multitude in all honor.

Your Grace must not listen to such people who seek only their own, if your Grace would not be an opponent of the divine Word and the legitimate result thereof. For your Grace well knows how hard it is to kick against the pricks of the Lord. Moreover, your Grace is in large

measure aware of the power and strength of God's Word. We are persuaded that the greatest wisdom and reasoning of the whole world cannot set up anything against that truth so as to move it a hair's breadth; force may be used but that only, and yet before force the truth stands fast with immovable security. And all this is according to the sure promise of Christ: I will give you a mouth which all kings and princes cannot withstand. No one need flatter himself with the thought that Christ will mislead us by his Word.

If therefore, we may hope that we shall be provided with good shepherds and evangelical preachers through the particular assiduity of your Grace, and thus the divine Word be allowed to go forward in its strength, then all worship and all Christian exercises would be regulated according to it alone. God grant this in your diocese, no matter what may be done elsewhere.

And although whatever is contrary to God's Word or the institutions of Christ may have been established from hoary traditions and abuses, when once that error is discovered it must be quickly and promptly reformed because we are not sure of life for a single hour. Of course we must not turn and look back, for Christ says in Luke: No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God.

There are many pastors who are timorous and they dread your Grace, and on this account do not lay aside certain abuses. But they cannot endure the reproach of their consciences any longer.

Were your Grace to direct these matters and your office even in some measure according to the Word of God, with his help it would undoubtedly be advantageous to the salvation of your Grace and of us all; and we confidently expect nothing else than that princes, lords, and the entire body of the nobility would cleave to your Grace as their ordained Bishop with all loyalty and steadfastness.

Finally, gracious Lord, we will close with the saying of Isaiah 55: Seek ye Jehovah while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto Jehovah, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

We hear how the former bishop in his last illness, just before the end, took the epistle of St. Paul to Titus into his hands and read it; how he thereupon sighed deeply and said: O eternal God! what a poor bishop I have been. Ah! well, if God will help me from this sick bed I will be a real Christian bishop or I will give up the office entirely.

Therefore, we do think that your Grace will not condemn our simple exhortation which has sprung from genuine love and loyalty. And yet,

should your Grace be angered thereby, which may God forbid, then your Grace would have to be angry with your own conscience. For if your Grace were to acknowledge it on your soul's salvation, then your Grace would conscientiously have to say, that our message to you is the pure truth. For we know that formerly these abuses were very displeasing to your Grace. Indeed we are convinced that had your Grace still to decide about accepting the bishopric in these perilous days, your Grace would take a very comprehensive and circumspect view of the actual situation before undertaking the service.

There are indeed two brief sentences in the Gospel: My Kingdom is not of this world, says Christ in John. The second is in Luke: That which is highly exalted among men is an abomination and a thing to be rejected before God. We do not know exactly how to reconcile this immense splendor and worldly pomp with the Gospel and cross of Christ. We would be glad to be instructed in a kindly and fraternal way how such a contradiction can be harmonized.

Herewith we desire to commend your Grace to our dear Lord Jesus Christ; may he condescend to grant his Spirit to your Grace for the purpose of accomplishing everything which is praiseworthy and honorable to him and whatever is salvatory for us all.

Dated Ossig, on New Year's Day in the year 1524.

May God illuminate your Grace with his knowledge together with all who crave the same. Amen.

Printed in the royal city of Breslau by Caspar Lybisch in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty four.

D.

IN a period teeming with a fresh, wholesome, aroused literature there are few writings so vital, energetic and noble as this. It turns its back on the stale and affected methods and reproductions of humanism; its roots are not planted in the fantastic rule that antiquity alone is the gauge of the beautiful and the true, or that the secret of genuine art lies in classic form. It breaks loose from the trammels of a past that would have enslaved its quickened impulses and seeks affiliation with the well-springs of an endless life, full of courage for the present and hope for the future. There is not a breath of that sickly and heavily perfumed air in which the unnatural cultivators of the renaissance lived. There is no sympathy with those who burnt incense daily before the ancients as the sole gods of wisdom and style. The men who strutted in stole and toga and chlamys and golden sandals, who narrowed their being into old mythologies and hoary speculations were no models to follow in a time when the tides of fresh oceans were setting in and the gates of undreamed continents lay open. The classic pantheons surely could bring no adequate and enduring revival when masses of primitive religions were coming into the ken of research while in the same opportune moment scholarship and the historic simplicity of the Christian faith were challenging Roman institutions. Nor do our authors yield to the seductive but poisonous fashion of the schools; the manifold operations of the Spirit could not be compressed into the humid culture and linguistic grooves of the universities; neither Cicero nor Vergil were adequate sponsors for the candidates of modern enterprise; their terms and syntax were insufficient for even swaddling the infant in his first taste of the exhilarating, novel impulses that surrounded him. Classicism was not the natural language for the regenerated faith. It must have many tongues, as many tongues as there were dialects of the people. These authors would not dishonor their own energetic, broad-browed German. Could the Bishop have had a choice, he might well have wished such an appeal to have been swathed in Latin bands that the discussion might have been removed from popular agitation and have contributed no new fuel to the crackling Silesian fire. But questions of supreme moment in which the welfare of the people was involved — and

very fundamentally at that — were not to be academic alone; the neglected masses must think and be moved to consider their rights and opportunities. That retracy and sequestration of themes to the *aulae* was no longer a possibility, as indeed it never should have been. Delusions are no more becoming to the peasant than to the king or to the professor. The essence of things is not the exclusive property of the educated classes. Publicity is vital to moral well-being whether of corporations or individuals. The humblest private man should live in the day as in the eye of God. Truth cannot be put under big or little bushels. The sun must shine on the smallest alley of the city and the filthiest tenement house as well as in the court of the palace or on the halls and squares of the university. The people will have hold of the biggest logs and no obstacle of priest or king can hinder them for long. Let the yule-log burn on the humblest hearth as well as in the huge fire-place of the castle. That was precisely a germinal and an unresting idea of these petitioners. They plead for the resurrection of the vernacular, and their own prayer for that and other vital issues they clothed in the native speech and thus reflected the universal genius of the people whom they sought to benefit. They shook off the chains which bound the humanists and so many university professors to old civilizations and to closed literatures; and what a handicap to rational progress these long prevalent canons of training proved to be, the next centuries painfully illustrated. It is a protracted and exhausting struggle before the towers of separatistic and conceited culture can be stormed and dismantled, and be converted into an open ground free to the people.

This letter is one of the fine precursors of that noble language which has become one of the choicest media for the expression of much that is most exalted in thought and in knowledge. It should be viewed in that initiative light and restored to its just place; its significance philologically, historically, psychologically and theologically should be once more avowed. Further it should stand by itself and be judged independently and not in the ever-lastingly oppressive and egregiously false rule that everything must be approved or condemned according to its relation to Luther and Lutheranism. That may be a subordinate question in the history of doctrine, after the main subject has been settled. The real inquiry is, what is this that Schwenckfeld and his friend Axleben have written apart by themselves? Are there sufficient attributes of independence and originality in this their joint production to warrant a weightier, a more searching, a more untrammelled and a less fore-dooming criticism? Can the spirit of Salig and Planck be revived and maintained as Kadelbach and Schneider and Hampe and Hoffmann have endeavored to do? It is not too much to say that here is a bit of literature of which Germany should be proud for the

intrepid way in which it faces social and religious problems; for its efforts at mordant and advanced solutions of them; for its determined and hopeful tone; for its clear-cut statement of evils and their remedies; for its breath of individualism and mountain air of freedom; for its strong taking of authority by the beard and shaking it until its teeth chatter while the challengers demand the verification or surrender of its huge pretensions; for its sweet-tempered and yet scourging charity; for its kindliness and its satire; for all its splendid Silesian qualities of humor and reasonableness, of good fellowship and earnestness, of plain dealing and deep, moral seriousness. Must one always suppress his individuality and measure himself by the greatness or smallness of another? This sort of reduction of the self to the arbitrary standard of another is not equality nor yet justice; nor indeed does it contribute to the greatness of the whole. Each one must be himself to the largest extent, if he would really yield the quota due to the mass. It should not be forgotten that there were men of greater learning and keener sagacity and sweeter piety than Luther, and their independent value should not be underrated or passed over with resolute neglect because they do not enhance the worship of the central hero. History should stop sizing up every cotemporary by the exaltation, accidental or actual, of his more prominent fellow; that institutes and seeks to perpetuate an unjust overshadowing. The single figures must not be lost sight of, much less must they be dismembered and decapitated in order to intensify the dominance of the one, with whom indeed they may have had the least possible to do. Individual ranking personalities did not mean to serve as holocausts for the altars of one personality however inspiring and magnetic, especially when their point of outlook was radically different. All these merits and estimates should be restored and readjusted by the new science in its effort to rehabilitate those times according to more accurate proportions. Some men refuse to get at the real Erasmus, others at the real Luther, others at the real Melancthon, and all have united to disregard the real Schwenckfeld. Now here is a letter which insists upon consideration and which will compel a reopening of the career and quality of its chief author. Any man or woman who can rise from the earnest study of this epistle without being moved to admiration of its many qualities literary and character-wise, must be made of curious stuff or so enveloped and befogged in traditional prejudices that there is little hope of any charity or justice from his or her second nature. The thorough manliness of it will stir any one who has in him any aspiration for a pure and simple humanity. It is in us to aver that this is one of the finest monuments of Reformation literature. The belles-lettres man is always set on putting what he calls theological writings in a compartment by themselves; to his

shrunken view nothing that is not of a certain form for art's sake in poetry or prose can have any merit of taste or of beauty or be flavored with richness of style or abound in any exquisite use of words. This is a ghastly ghost and not a real embodiment of truth. Spiritual aesthetics should be the parent of all principles of beauty and taste. Hooker and Jeremy Taylor and Luther and Ginsburg have as much claim to be entitled men of letters as the best dramatist or the best novel writer; all the more since they uttered life-facts and colored them with a pulsating art or artlessness. The old notion of the formalists is a fiction of literature just like the fictions of science, philosophy and law; they are all alike survivals of their long struggle against the tyrannies of Establishments and Hierarchy. There ought to be no room for the exploitation of such an error at this late hour when Jove himself cannot afford to nod, lest he forget how to orient himself. It is identical with the illiberality which excluded the prophets from the poetical House or Temple of Fame, and with that materialistic tendency which has dethroned theology from its normal headship over all knowledge. Whatever is intrinsically beautiful, no matter what the category of knowledge in which it may be linguistically expressed, is worthy of being classed as literature and should be criticised accordingly. We say that this letter has a distinct claim to be so regarded and treated although not a single history of the German language seems to know of its existence. Nor has philological science done any better by the entire body of Schwenckfeld's works. No hand has as yet opened the treasure house for the German speech contained in these manifold epistles and treatises, and vast dictionaries are constructed all of which have practically ignored this author, or have been unaware of even his existence; and many another worthy has fallen among thieves whom no Samaritan has yet rescued from his unjustifiable fate. It used to be the fashion to despise the philological value of the Church fathers; but that sort of purism has finally been abandoned and Latin and Greek lexicographers and grammarians, within arbitrary limits to be sure, peck gently at the once despised bones. There are men who think today that they can learn nothing of philology from Denck or Hetzer because they differed from Luther. If they should by chance dip into Franck it is rather because of his tenets than his significance as a founder of German speech. The theological thunder has deterred many from ploughing in these dangerous fields. Few have had the courage to stake out homesteads in these anathematized regions. But the fulminating roar is harmless and the acres are rich for him who will till. There are many far more fertile soils than those which Melancthon or Bugenhagen or Justus Jonas yield. Many questions that now seem so intractable, or are solved by foolhardy hypotheses, would have an easy resolution were there a vigorous

push for the shelves of despised and rejected outsiders. There are mines of philological lore in Crautwald, Bader, Reussner, Schwenckfeld and a multitude of other fathers of the religious revival and no one has washed out the nuggets or has sunk a shaft in the imbedded veins. We affirm then: here is a letter abounding in a large and varied vocabulary, many expressive words occur in its palpitating insistence on spiritual progress. Nor are its syntactical qualities of less import as the sentences rise from their local peculiarities into an effort to reach a universal, native speech. Viewed from a psychological side here are signs of a robust mentality, of a high spiritual level, of a nervous but powerfully regulated and sustained temperament; there is a conspicuous absence of moods although it abounds in utterances of profound feeling as stirred and uplifted on the wings of a great desire for human welfare, for the betterment of the lowliest and for the breaking of chains of ignorance and vice. Here you discern an indignation over palpable wrongs which is born of righteousness. No less do a resolute will, a gathered-up determination, an unflinching eagerness of purpose radiate from the well-beaten words. The speech of these laymen seems forged by an enlightened common-sense philosophy too that does not indulge in theosophic dreams or melt into the hazes of neo-Platonism, but takes hold realistically of this thing and that and correlates them from the standpoint of a divine revelation with its lofty, ethical precepts. In forming a theological estimate we can honestly reaffirm what a donor's hand in a contemporary script has written on the title-page of a presentation copy: this little book contains in itself a summary statement of a complete Christian life; but that does not say that such a scheme is formally set forth, for that was not the purpose of the writers; the very confession contained in it is undogmatic in cast and is more like a garden of the soul's life than a syllabus; but the grand bones of the faith are there; the creative and formative elements of the inner life have been at their buried toil while the mature fruit stands invitingly before you; it is not a plucked fruit already sorted and dried, but a real product of the tree of life with all the signs of an active spirit in it; the whole style of the creed is to be commended as a model for the expression of one's faith so far as one may pattern after others in such properties of the soul; certainly this summary may be safely imitated in one point: we ought to make our *Credo* as this is the exhibition of an intelligent, experiential belief within us, and not a mere series of intellectual propositions. Nor ought the pedagogic quality of the letter to be passed by. The whole is purposeful; there is an abounding parennetic vein in it, not of mere instruction, that in some respects might be unnecessary in the case of so high an ecclesiastic and broadly educated a dignitary as their friend was; and yet, as it turned out, he did seem

to be ignorant of the true gist and marrow of the Gospel; but to impart knowledge was not the first intention of the writers, they were bent rather on moving the springs of power so that beneficent streams now locked up might water the whole land; they sought to persuade the central forces which could so comprehensively improve the present and the future to the adoption of humane reforms. They plead for that early planting of seed which should yield such luxurious harvests during the years to come; they wanted to arouse a seasonable interest which would also be pervasive and far-reaching for education, for a simple, spiritual ministry, for social betterment, for the salvation of humanity through its direct contact with God and with the divine adjuncts. The missive has a world redemptive value in that it enforces the application of the two rules of love; it sought to do at first-hand what was immediately practicable and along such lines as would at the same time serve to illustrate the principles as always and everywhere applicable. And if now you look for purely artistic qualities, you discover a dignified simplicity, a vigorous, well-trained and moulded terseness, a clarity of ideas and the cloaking of them in various form. There is little of the analytic method apparent and when at all manifest it is a part of the framework of construction. It is full of repressed fire and a progressive energy that in parts places mountain upon mountain of cumulative argument. There is not an oppressive, tedious mass of detail, but what there is of minuter statement is all well in hand and is hammered into the mainsprings of the general movement. The entire setting is cool, collected, ungloved, fearless, but of a refined courtesy. It is flexible and polished, yet it preserves the cohesive tenacity of tempered steel. It calls things by their right names, but it is neither clownish nor abusive in its plain dealing. It specifically and intentionally lays aside the flattering and pompous speech of the courts to which all alike, the Bishop and his two noble petitioners as well, were thoroughly used, and it will acknowledge no rank but that of fraternal equality and yet it adopts no underbred jargon; nor does it indulge in the rough epithets, which were supposed to be essential, did you want to deluge your opponent with satire or to wallop him with contemptuous abuse. Here is quite another method of manly blows straight out from the shoulder with no dodges, and with none of the brutal tricks of the slugging pugilist. We cannot but feel that this is a masterpiece of persuasion and equally of philippic, the like of which is not so easily found in that originative, vehement, searching time.

The language of this letter in both editions is the same as in the previous documents, i. e. the Gemeindeutsch of the period, tinged with the unmistakable peculiarities of the md. author. We shall advert to such special features only as call for larger comment.

I. Special features in A.

1. Vowels.

1) The vowel a. a) The umlaut of mhd. a as well as â is invariably expressed by e: genebiger, leſt, vorechtiglic, wechter, henden, vnuorſchempte, gefetiget, gebedt, hendeln, widderſpenſtige, ſchweher, ſchentlichs, genſlich, ferlichſt, leſterer, Elbern, ſchenber, verretter, abſchlecht, nehme, wer, wehr. The only exceptions would seem to be wirt waits 252²⁴, haer hair 252²⁸, voranbern 264.³⁵ = vorändern, langſt 248¹², langeſt 268⁴ = längſt, vorlangeſt 260¹¹ = vorlängſt. As to haer one might be inclined to consider it as an instance like that of oß were it not for the spelling hârr 280² and for the fact that in mhd. there is already a by-form hær along side of hâr. Diefenbach in his *Novum Glossarium* p. 120a quotes the forms hâr hair from nd.-lat. vocabularies, and possibly both haer and hârr in our document are due to nd. influence. b) Mhd. â is broadened into o in a large number of instances: aldo, anmoſſen, aufbloſſen, bemnoch, bermoffen, zu gutter moſſe, frogen wir, froß, glidmoß, gnob, gobe, goben fur, loſſe, loſſen, vnderloß, vorloß, ſchoff, ſtroff, ein moß, ißmoß, vormoß, wore, worheit; noch = after occurs four times while nach = only once; also do (vor) and its combinations with -ahn, -auff, -auß, -ein, -in, -durch, -fur, -her, -heim, -hin, -mit, -neben, -nach, -ſelbſt, -vor, -wider, -zu are far in the majority over da. A peculiar and specially noteworthy case is that of oßß 250¹⁰ mhd. âs. What the function of y in this spelling is seems doubtful, but we may venture the guess that it serves the same purpose which it apparently has in a md. vocabulary of 1420, published by Schröer, where we find such forms as ſpoyn splinter, toyt dirt, toyt death, halptoyt half-dead, toyt deed, cloyß clod, taylor dale, toyr door, roßſten rust for which the corresponding mhd. standard forms are spân = nhd. spân, kât = nhd. fût, tôt = nhd. töt, halp tôt = nhd. halbtöt, tât = nhd. tât, klöz = nhd. klöz, tal = nhd. täl, tor = nhd. tür, rosten = nhd. rosten. In all these words y evidently serves to indicate the length of the preceding vowel either primarily long or lengthened from an originally short one. Observe that in this very same vocabulary there are spellings also without the y, among them ein oß cadaver 327. In a number of instances o appears in our document not only for mhd. â but also for a; thus we have rochung = radung 252², ſall 244⁸, ſal = ſoll 250¹⁰. Vice versa we find a for mhd., nhd. o: of ap = ob = if there are three instances against one of ob; of aber = ober = or there are eighteen instances while of ober there are but two, and this is a very significant fact since aber interchangeably with ober is predominant in the modern Silesian dialect also, aber = or stands invariably for ober in Valentine Crautwald's von berechtunge zum ſterbē, Breslau 1524. The preservation of mhd.

â in the preposition *ane*, *an* = without stands out as quite an exception to this tendency. It is only in the phrase *Oneßweiffel* 266²¹, on *ßweiffel* 280^{22/23} that we meet with *o*. Apparently *a* stands for *e* in the *baß* of the sentence: *laßter / baß auch kein mensch ganz einig ist* a vice from which not one man is free 258⁵. It is quite evident that *einig* mhd. *enic*, a derivative of *ân* = without requires the genitive and that consequently the *baß* here must serve for *beß*. So also *stalle* seems to stand for *stelle*: *Man stalle die vngelerthen in chû* 272²⁵, though it must be conceded that in mhd. there is a *stallen* already in use alongside of *stellen*, seemingly restricted in meaning however to the stalling of animals. c) Short *a* is usually indicated by the doubling of the following consonant, it is so regularly in *gall*, *gall*, *batter*. d) As to the lengthening of short mhd. *a* see later under *h*.

2) The vowel *e*. a) In the first place it perpetuates the *e* of the ahd. and mhd. periods. We draw especial attention to instances like *þeren*, *weren* last, *weren* fence off, obstruct, *erþelen*, *außerwelthenn*, *ernerren*, *hell*, *schuppen*, *schopper*, *wellenn* where modern German either shows a lengthened vowel (*eh* or *äh*) or has substituted an etymologically wrong *ö*. The corresponding mhd. forms are *zern*, *wörn*, *wern*, *erzeln*, *ûzerwelten*, *ernerren*, *helle*, *schepfen*, *schepfære*, *wellen*; but in the present nhd. we have *geþren*, *wehren*, *währen*, *erzählen*, *außerwählen*, *ernähren*, *hölle*, *schöpfen*, *schöpfer*. As to *wellenn*, it ought to be said that the form appears only once 278³⁰ as 3^d pl. present. Usually our document prefers the by-form *wollen*. But the infinitive *wellen* in the function of the past participle is twice met with in the remarkable spelling *wollen* 268², 272², provided *ö* represents *ē* there. As to that see sub *o*. b) The constant function of *e* as umlaut of *a* we have already spoken of sub *a*. We want to add here that in so far as it stands for the umlaut of *a* which corresponds to short mhd. *a*, it continues the mhd. practice; but it clearly goes beyond that in appearing also regularly as the representative of long *a* umlaut, thus usurping the functions of mhd. *æ* and modern *ä*. As a consequence there is often ambiguity; e. g. no distinction is made between *weren* last and *weren* were. c) Again — and this is quite a peculiar feature of our document — *e* appears for gd. *i* as in *bringen* with its compounds. Over against three instances of the regular *i* in *mitbringt*, *bringt*, *aufzubringen* there are altogether eight which have *e*; see the vocabulary under the words *bringen*, *vorbbringen*, *brengt*, *mitbrengt*, *abbbringen*, *auffbringen*. This peculiarity is also characteristic of the modern Silesian dialect. On the other hand an *i* occurs occasionally for gd. *e* in *wibber* = *weber* and almost regularly in the gen. sg. *gottis*. For fifty-five instances of *gottis* there are but six of *gotteß*. In the isolated superlative form *kleinisten* the *i* may be due to the retention of the mhd. vowel of the ending; the regular *e* of the gd. occurs

in *langeſt*, *vorlangeſt*. d) The ſuppreſſion of terminal *e* is noteworthy. Though md. is ſaid to be rather conſervative of the inflexional *e* and in ſtrong contrast in that reſpect with od. we find quite a number of inſtances where terminal *e* is dropped. It is accordant with modern uſage to ſuppreſs the *e* of masculines in the dat. ſing.: *biſchoff*, *brauch*, *cardinal*, *dinſt*, *geiſt*, *geiſ*, *gott*, *mönch*, *ſchein*, *ſtein*, *troſt*, *vleiſſ*, *widerpart*, *wort*; of neuters: *eben bild*, *erkenntniſ*, *guth*, *herz*, *holz*, *reich*, *ritterrecht*, *ſacrament*, *vold*, *zeugniſ*. In the nominative ſingular of the masculine *herr* and the neuter *herz* this neglect is quite in agreement with modern uſage too. But this is not the caſe in the following masculines: *glaub*, *hauff*, *nahm*, *gerecht* and the neuter *end*, *endt*; ſtill leſs with regard to the feminines *eher*, *gnob*, *hell*, *kirch*, *lieb*, *ſeel*, *urſach*, *weiſſ*; of the genitive of feminines we note the following inſtances: *eher*, *leher*, *lieb*, *weiſſ*. Of the dative *gemein*, *gnob*, *hülff* *hülff*, *kirch*, *leer lehr*, *lieb*, *ſeel*, *ſorg*, *ſpeiſſ*; of the accuſative: *gnob*, *kirch*, *lieb*, *meß* *meßſſ*, *ſeel*, *ſtraff*, *tauff*, *weiſſ*. In the plural of masculines, feminines and neuters we find the nominatives or accuſatives *augenblick*, *biſchoff*, *bing*, *ſehl* *ſilms*, *freund*, *gebott*, *glibmoß*, *iar*, *leut* with the compounds *ebelleut* and *hauppleut*, *mönch*, *parth*, *recht*, *ſprüch*, *zeitung*. *Leut* and *werd* are particularly prominent; of the former there are ſix inſtances, of the latter as many as ten; *leutt* occurs twice alſo as genitive plural. It ought to be remarked here that Franke in his monograph on the language of Luther p. 170 conſiders the dropping of terminal *e* by that reformer als anfänglich geradezu die Regel, and on p. 183 he directly aſcribes to him an inclination to drop the terminal *e*. The *e* of the feminine indefinite article *eine* has alſo a tendency to fall away; againſt eleven inſtances of *eine* there are as many of *ein*. We find *eine einige ſpeiſſ* 244^{6/7}, *eine votiva* 250³², *der urſachen eine* 254^{23/24}, *eine Chriſtliche ordnung* 260^{5/6}, *eine ſchriſt* 260²⁴, *eine gemein* 262²⁹, *eine . . . kirchen* 264³, *eine tauff* 264⁴, *eine ordnung* 266³⁰, *eine . . . bewerung* 270³⁴, *eine beſſerung* 274²⁷, *eyne zeit* 248⁵; but on the other hand *ein . . . vormanung* 242¹⁸, *ein lauther vorſurung* 250⁷, *ein meßſ* 250²⁶, *ein . . . regell* 258²⁹, *ein lucern* 262¹⁰, *ein ordnung* 262²⁶, *ein vnorordnung* 264^{26/27}, *ein freyheit* 270⁹, *ein nartheit* 272⁹, *ein anreizung* 274¹⁹, *ein beſſerung* 276²⁷, *ein harr breit* 280². The ſame bent is obſerved with regard to the feminine ſingular and plural forms of the poſſeſſive pronouns: note *ſein crafft* 266¹⁴, *unſer eygene werd* 250¹⁹, *unſer gnanthe geſtlichen* 250³⁰, *unſer ſeligkeit* 252³², *unſer freund* pl. 254²⁷, *unſer gewiſſenn* pl. 264^{15/16}, *unſer weiſſ* 268⁶, *unſer wirtſchafft* 272⁷, *vnnſer ſorſarhern* 266³², *vnnſer einfeldige ermanung* 280³⁶, *ewr deutung* 260¹¹, *Ewr gnob* 278⁹, *Ewr Gnob* 282¹⁴⁻¹⁵, *ewr gnob* 282¹⁹, *ihr eigen ertichte weiſſ* 252¹⁵, *ihr vormeinthern Euangelia* 266¹⁶, *ihr boßheit* 268²⁹, *ihz torheit* 248²⁴, *ir kirch* 272^{7/8}. Of ſelb we find *baßſelb* 264¹⁸, *die ſelb kirch* 266²⁰. To this dropping of final *e* the feminine ſingular and the plural forms of the adjective are alſo ſubject: *ein lauther*

vorfurung 250⁷, ein gewiß regell 258²⁹, das lauther gottis wort 244⁵, dz ferlichst sc. ampt 244², die ganz welt 246^{1/2}, der tapffer man 252⁸, ihz eigen . . . weiß 252¹⁵, keine ander beutung 260¹⁵, durch die ander 260²⁴, die lauther wozheit 282⁴, viel . . . iar 252³⁰, viel spruch 256¹⁰, solch Scribenten 266^{20/21}. The terminal e of verbal forms also disappears, especially in the third singular present and past subjunctive; so we have gebedt, wer, wehr, wolt, wollt, thet, mocht, solt, wurd mann, es mach. e) The elision of e within a word is as common, nay even more extended than in our modern language. It is not even avoided where the result is an awkward accumulation of consonants or the possibility of misunderstanding; accordingly we find solchs, heuchley, des gesetzs, schentlichs gewinns, des fleischs, des geists, dieß schreibens, welchs, gottlichs, des bapsts, als leihnn, der hohn maifestet. f) The elision of e in the ending of the past participle of verbs whose stem terminates in b or t is noteworthy as it usually results in the dropping of the entire ending et: geacht, geantwort, gebedt, gerebt, ertichte, unbberricht, erret, erret. g) The elision of e is accompanied by the suppression of n or r if en or er be preceding as in instances like ein ander 252¹⁷ = ein anderer, ein scheffel(I) 250^{27.33} = einen f., die gefangen . . . gewiffen 246^{18/19}, der . . . gefangen gewiffen 258³⁰ = gefangenen g., zueigen 246¹⁸ = zueigenen. This suppression is largely the rule. No less remarkable is the entire falling away of the ending en in Soll wir 262^{21/22}, woll wir 262²². Compare also almoß, almos with mhd. almuosen ahd. almuosan. Here too unwiffen = unwiffende may be mentioned. h) In the prefix ge- the e as a rule is preserved intact before a consonant except in gläube mhd. geloube, gläuben mhd. gelouben, gleich mhd. gelich, gleißner mhd. gelichsenære, glidmoß mhd. gelidemæze, gnab mhd. genade. It ought to be observed that in some of these instances there was already a tendency in mhd. to apocopation so that there is mhd. precedent for gläube and gnabe. As to the latter, our document has the full as well as the syncopated form; hence we find Gnab, Gnob, gnob, gnoben but also genode. Of the adjective only the full form occurs: genebiger, genebigen. The ge- of the past participle is invariably kept intact save in the solitary gnanthe. i) The combination ee is occasionally met with in modern spelling to express the length of e. A limited number of such instances are to be found, but only in one is there agreement with modern practice, viz. feel(e) mhd. sêle ahd. sêla, and its compound feel sorg. Wee ahd., mhd. wê spells with eh in our modern language. So do eer mhd. êre ahd. êra and leer mhd. lêre ahd. lêra. The modern spelling also occurs as to these two; in fact eer appears only once, ehre predominates, occasionally eher occurs. j) Double e also alternates with eh in the noun ee; hence we have ehe, ehebruch by the side of eelich, eelichen. Compare mhd. ê with the original form êwe which is also apparent in êwelich. We find further geſcheen and wiberſteen by the side of

geſchehen and widerſtehen. Whether ee in these instances was pronounced as a monosyllable or bisyllable may be doubtful. Certainly -ſteen in widerſteen mhd. widerſtēn, widerſtēn, eeſich mhd. ēwelich, geſcheen mhd. geſchēhen, must have been originally bisyllabic. As to ehr for mhd. er he and other instances of lengthening short mhd. e see sub h.

3) The vowel i appears a) for nhd. ü in hochwirdiger, hochwirdigen, and is etymologically correct, as it represents mhd. wirdec = ahd. wirdig. b) In correspondence with mhd. the i stands further for nhd. ie in begirben, begirig, bevilt, fribe, glibmoß, glibmoß, biß, biß, Eihet, zißen, vnderzißen, vil, verlißen, vorſchwigē, widder, widerumb; but whether the actual value was exactly the same as in mhd. is questionable in the face of by-forms showing the modern ie, as dieß, friede, vorliehenn. With regard to vil it must also be noticed that the ie spellings are quite in the majority. It is perhaps safe to say that fluctuation between short and long pronunciation was already in existence and the uncertainty may have been helped on by the bent of the author's dialect to prolong radically short vowels, note for example triefft = trifft, and gewieß together with gewiß. This uncertainty is fairly reflected by the varying representations of mhd. ie in our document. We find historically correct spellings like vordrieß, vordrießlich, betriegniß which correspond to mhd. verdriez, verdriezlich, betriegnia, though the latter is not recorded; cf. with this frige mhd. kriege, virdig mhd. vierzec, beſchlieffenn mhd. bescliezen. In others there is an interchange of i with ie. Of dienſt mhd. dienest, ahd. dionōst, there are only two examples, while dinſt occurs eight times; diener has ie invariably; the verb dienen occurs once. There are ten instances of priester mhd. priester, ahd. priestar as against one of priſter. Just so the original ie of mhd., nhd. lieb, lieben, ahd. liob, liobōn is preserved in thirty cases while only one example 258¹⁶ shows the spelling with i. Liecht mhd. lieht, ahd. lieht appears seven times; licht but twice. Of hie(r) mhd. hier, ahd. hiar there are five examples against four of hir. Mhd., nhd. nie, ahd. nio, mhd. nie mēr, niemer appear preserved in nhe, nhe, nhemer while there are ten instances of nymmer and one of nymmer from which again we may infer the fluctuating quality of the i in pronunciation. Mhd. ieder iewēder appears only once as heber while the spelling yber singly and in the compounds yber mann takes place eight times. Mhd. ie-zuo, iezuo, ietze, nhd. jezt we find represented only by ißt, the derivative ißigen and the compound ißmoß; mhd. ietund appears as ißunbt and in the enlarged form ißunber. According to Franke iber, ybermann, ißt are frequent with Luther too, up to 1531. He considers i, y as long, they being the result of md. contraction of mhd. ie. But, as said above, it seems doubtful whether this is in accord with the actual pronunciation then prevailing. Niemanb(s) mhd. nieman, ahd. nioman occurs only twice, whilst there are seven cases

of *nymanb(s)*. The confusion of *nhd.*, *mhd.*, *ahd.* *bitten* pray with *mhd.*, *nhd.* *bieten*, *ahd.* *biotan* offer, is emphatically striking; we find the correct *wir bitten*, *biten* in all four times, whereas we meet with *bieten* in the same sense three times; in 250¹⁰ we read *sie bitten* . . . an they offer, while we offer is *Enntbieten* *wir* 242⁵ and they offer *sie* . . . *juentbieten* 248²⁸. c) As we shall see later on, *y* may alternate with *i* in spelling. Vice versa *i* stands for *y* in *Thirannei*, *Tirannei*, *Tiranney*, *Thiranniſch*. In this connection we may mention another word borrowed from the Greek to wit: *merthrer* = *nhd.* *märtyrer* which is a more direct etymological spelling, whereas our form is the legitimate offspring of *mhd.* *merterer* in which *i* substituted for *y* in the unstressed syllable had become *e*, cf. *ahd.* *martirâri*.

4) In the treatment of the vowel *o* we consider a) the short *o* which stands for the *o* of the *mhd.* standard. Its shortness is occasionally indicated by the doubling of the next following consonant, e. g. in *Stollz*, *gebott*, *woll*, for *mhd.* *u* we have *o* in *ſon* *mhd.* *sun*; here the *o* is *gd.*, but it has a distinct *mhd.* peculiarity in the following: *gonſt* *mhd.* *gunst*, *fommer* *mhd.* *kummer*, *ſcholt*, *ſcholbt* *mhd.* *schult*. As to *gonſtiger* and *ſor-nenn*, see sub *ð*. b) Long *o* is α) the long *o* of the *mhd.* standard, as in *boſſheit*, *torheit*; sometimes the length is indicated by an immediately following *h* as in *ohren*; β) it is a lengthening of the short vowel of the *mhd.* standard, the length being emphasized by an *h* following as in *frohmen*, *frohmer*; that the pronunciation of this word was not established is evident from spellings like *from*, *fromen*, *frommer*; γ) it is a broadening of *mhd.* *â* on which see above sub *a*. c) A fluctuation between *o* and *u* is observable in *ſonſt* *mhd.* *sunst*, *ſonder* *mhd.* *sunder* and its compounds and derivatives; at one time the *o*, at another the *u* prevails. Of *ſonſt* there is only one instance while *ſunſt* appears nine times. Of *ſunder* on the other hand there are only six instances or seven, if we count in *ſun-bern*, while *ſonder*, *ſonder* occurs in twenty cases; *beſondern* and *beſundern* appear twice. Of *from* *mhd.* *vrum*, *vrom*, with its variety of spelling there are ten instances while *frume* has but one. As to *frûmifeit* see sub *ð*. *Md.*, *nd.* *o* for *od.* *u* we meet with in *born* *gd.* *brunn*, *modern* *brunnen*. d) Short *o* for *mhd.* *e* appears according to *md.* practice almost invariably in the prefix *vor* *mhd.* *ver*-; consequently there is no differentiation between stressed and unstressed *vor*. Against one hundred and twenty three instances of unstressed *vor* there are only eight of *ver*-, as G shows. The stressed *vor*- is found in *vorlangeſt*, *vormalſ*, *vormalſ*; the unstressed *vor*- in *vorhanden*; in *vorbringen* *mhd.* *verbringen* it is equivalent to the modern *voll*-; indeed in *mhd.* *verbringen* has already the sense of *vollbringen*. e) The umlaut of *o* is generally represented by *ö*, but in a large number of cases it is not indicated at all; it should be stated however, that the

umlaut sign c sometimes resembles an e to a degree because of the blurring with ink. In two instances, 262²⁰, 276³¹, the sign looks for the same reason like that we find usually over u. In the following table we give a survey of the usage:

aufflojung 276 ³ . bofen 250 ³⁴ .	Abgöttern 268 ¹ ; abgötterey 256 ⁹ ; abgötteri- fchen 272 ³³ .
bozffer 272 ³⁰ ; bozffern 260 ⁹ ; bozffen 254 ^{3/4} ; 266 ³³ ; 268 ³³ ; bozffenn 274 ³⁰ ; 276 ¹⁰ ; be- bozffenn 268 ³³ .	böfen 256 ¹⁰ ; böfenn 276 ⁶ ; böß 268 ¹⁰ ; böfe 258 ¹⁰ ; böße 280 ³⁰ . čb: 252 ³¹ ; 272 ³⁰ . bbozffern 274 ³ ; bbozffen 250 ¹³ .
erloferš 254 ³³ ; erloft 258 ³³ ; erloße 246 ³ .	empörung 278 ¹³ ; erbözt 262 ³⁰ .
fozchten 256 ³¹⁻³³ ; fozchtenn 276 ⁹ ; fozchtig 244 ³³ . forberlich 248 ³⁷ ; 250 ⁵ .	eröffnenn 262 ³⁴ . flöchtig 270 ³¹ .
gonftiger 246 ⁹ .	fözbern 248 ¹³ ; 276 ³¹ . föbde 262 ² .
gotlich 254 ³³ ; 262 ³⁴ ; gotliche 258 ³³ ; 270 ³⁰ ; gotlichem 278 ³⁴ ; gotlichen 256 ³⁷ ; 270 ³ ; 280 ⁷ ; gotlicher 260 ³ ; gotlichs 274 ¹⁵ ; got- lichs 252 ² ; 258 ³⁴ ; 260 ⁶ .	getöbt 278 ¹⁹ . göfliche 252 ¹³ ; göflichen 252 ¹³ ; 256 ¹⁷ .
große 276 ³⁰ . hochlich 244 ⁹ . hochften 254 ³⁰ . höfers 254 ³¹ .	hoffen 246 ⁵ . hözen 272 ⁶ ; 278 ⁶⁻³³ ; hözenn 280 ³¹ . hömmern 272 ⁷ ; hömmertš 278 ³ . hönige 278 ¹⁴ ; 280 ⁴ . hönnen 264 ¹⁷ ; hönnens 280 ³⁰ .
hözen 246 ¹⁵ ; 248 ³⁷ ; 260 ³¹ .	höblich 282 ¹⁰ . mögen 250 ¹⁻³⁴ ; 254 ³ ; 256 ³⁰ ; 268 ¹ ; mögenn 266 ⁴ ; 272 ³³ . möglich 264 ³² . möcht 274 ¹⁸ ; möchte 278 ⁶ ; möchten 264 ³¹ ; vormöchte 274 ³³ . möbč 250 ⁹⁻³⁷⁻³³ ; 268 ¹⁴ . nödigftenn 274 ³¹ . von nöten 272 ³ ; von nöften 268 ³⁰ . öberften 244 ³⁰ . öbmifchen 276 ³² ; 278 ⁷ . řöft 270 ¹⁰ .
königlichen 282 ²² . können 244 ³⁰⁻³⁷ ; 256 ³³ ; 258 ³³ ; 270 ⁵ ; ... könnens 268 ¹⁵ .	
mogen 250 ¹⁰ ; vormogen 260 ⁵ ; 264 ^{1/2} .	
möcht 250 ⁶ ; 254 ¹⁵⁻¹⁹ ; möchte 274 ³⁷ ; 276 ³⁷ ; möchtenn 256 ¹³ ; möchten 258 ⁹ ; 264 ⁵ .	
von nottenn 244 ¹ ; von notten 244 ⁹ .	
řorrigt 248 ¹⁰ .	

troßlich 242¹⁰.þornenn 282²; erþornenn 242¹³.woll 272²⁰; wolle 260²¹.woßten 246⁶; woßtenn 278¹⁷.tróßten 246¹⁰.þórnen 282².wól 266¹²; wóllen 268²; 272².

Some of the instances quoted call for special remark: The *ô* of *fôrdhtig* is umlaut of the regular *o* in mhd. *vorhtec*. The *ô* in *borffen*, *bedorffen*, *forchten*, *forderlich*, *gonstiger*, *fômmern*, *þórnen* (*þornenn*, *erþornenn*), is umlaut of md. *o* which, as we have seen, largely takes the place of mhd. *u*; consequently *ô* stands there for mhd. *ü* as it does for mhd. *u* in *fônige*, *fôniglichen*, *fônnen* *fônnen*, *mogen* *môglich*. For mhd. *öu* (*eu*) we meet with *ô* in *frôbe*, a distinctly md. phenomenon, still observable in the modern dialects; in the Silesian patois of to-day this *ô* appears as *ê* (*frêbe*) or *ei* (*freibe*). *Freb* occurs however also in an od. MS. letter of 1541; see ARG IV, 80¹⁸. Whether *ô* in *wóll*, *wóllen* is really umlaut of *o*, or as the *o* spellings might indicate, is meant for *o*, or stands for *ë* which was stated as a possible solution sub *e* and the Schwenckfeld autographs would suggest, we do not venture to decide. In mhd. both *o* and *ë* appear in the pres. subj. and infinitive. Also in *chor* = *chor* the umlaut *ô* is certainly remarkable. Does *ô* stand for *oe*, that is, lengthened *o*? Note further the md. *o* in *woßten* = modern *wüßten* 246⁶ and *woßtenn* = modern *wußten* 278¹⁷. According to Weinhold's mhd. Gramm. § 419, p. 455, *woße* appears in md. as early as the 12th century and rhymes with *trôste*. As to *frûmifeit* = modern *frömmigkeit* see sub *u*.

5) The vowel *u* is of three kinds: a) The *u* descended from mhd. *u* calls for no comment except perhaps that its shortness is in a number of cases indicated by the doubling of the next following consonant as in *vunn* and *vunn̄*. b) The *u* which resulted from mhd. *uo* should be long, and there seems to be an indication of this length by the spelling in the following instances: *armuth̄*, the forms of *guth̄* and *thun* *guthun*. Presumably *u* is also long in *auffrur*, the forms of *besuch̄en*, *bistumb*, *buben*, *bulenn*, *demut*, *fluch̄*, *fluge*. In some instances a trace of the original *uo* seems to be retained by the sign *û* as in *genûg* mhd. *genuoc*, *gerûche* mhd. *geruoche*, *gûlich̄* mhd. *guotlich*, *mûß* mhd. *muoz*, though as we shall see, considerable doubt attaches to that, because *û* also serves to indicate umlaut of *u*. That this long *u* tended to shortening is seen from spellings like *blutt* as contrasted with *blutuorgieffen*; so alongside of *genug* we have *genugt̄*; and the spelling *gutt* together with the forms *gutte*, *guten*, *guttenn*, *gutter*, is far in excess over *guth̄* (*gut*). The *u* in *ruffen* seems permanently short to judge by the regularity with which the following consonant is doubled: *anruffen*, *berufft*, *gerufft*, *rufft*, *widderufft*. The *u* in the preposition and prefix *zu* mhd. *zuo* ought to be long, but it seems short in the spelling *zunn* = *zu* *den* which occurs but once while *zun* occurs three times. Of a different

character from the *zu* just mentioned is the *zu* in *zuriffene*, *zururten* misprint for *zuruten*, *zurstrewen*, *zu strewth*, *zurstörets zurstörung* which stands for mhd. and modern *zer-* and for which in the solitary *zurstreuth* the fuller *zur* appears. Whether this *zu* for *zur* = *zer* was pronounced short or under the influence of *nd. tö* = *zer* long we must leave undecided. c) The *u* appears for mhd. *o* in *hinfurth* just as *o* takes the place of mhd. *u*; consequently a fluctuation between *o* and *u* in certain words arises therefrom. d) The umlaut of *u* is *ü*, but its expression is ambiguous and insufficient. In one solitary instance it is indicated by *ue*: *fueffen*; in fifty-six instances the sign employed is the same we noticed before for *û* = *uo*, namely *û*, in *betrüben*, *bedüncken*, *bemühet*, *behüt*, *brüder*, pl., *brüderlich*, *brüderliche*, *erfüßft*, *frümeit*, *fründe*, *fründt*, *fülenn*, *für vnd für*, *für wenden*, *gemüthes*, *gewünnen*, *güttern*, *gütigkeit*, *gütlich*, *herauß füren*, *hinfür*, *hülff*, *iünger*, *iüngsten*, *iüngsten*, *langmütigkeit*, *lügen*, *lügner*, *lüsten*, *lüsteun*, *nüchtern*, *mütterlein*, *rühen*, *rümen*, *senftmütigkeit*, *sprüch*, *sprüche*, *sprüchlein*, *vbel*, *über*, *vnderstünden*, *vngestümeit*, *vngütig*, *vnnütlich*, *vntüchtig*, *würdenn*, *zurstörung*. But by far the greater part of the examples lack any indication whatsoever of the umlaut. They are about one hundred and twelve in number under the words: *auffuren*, *auffesurt*, *auffurt*, *auffurung*, *bruderlicher*, *bofur*, *einn fuhren*, *frunde*, *funffhundert*, *fur*, *furen*, *furen*, *furth*, *furethen*, *furderung*, *furgeben*, *furgebenn*, *furgenomen*, *furgewant*, *furnemens*, *furnemlich*, *fursten*, *furstehen*, *furwenden*, *fur wendenn*, *Geben fur*, *geben ... fur*, *gebenn ... fur*, *Gobenn ... fur*, *geburen*, *geburlichem*, *geburlichen*, *gewunne* = *gewünne* *gd.* *gewönne*, *herfur*, *her fur*, *hinfur*, *hulff*, *Judische*, *Jungern*, *mussen*, *mussenn*, *mußt*, *mußenn*, *sunb*, *sunben*, *sunbenn*, *sunbtlichenn*, *sunbtlich*, *vben vbethen*, *vungen*, *vber*, *vberall*, *vberlein*, *vbergebenn*, *vbertretung*, *vberwunden*, *vnder gedruct*, *vnder zudrucken*, *vnnuße*, *vorfuren*, *vorfuren*, *vorfurer*, *vorfurisch*, *vorfurt*, *vorfurung*, *vorfurhulff*, *wunßhenn*, *wurb* (subj.), *wurde* (subj.), *wurden*, *wurdenn* (subj.), *zururten* which is misprint for *zuruten* = modern *zerrütteten*. A word of explanation is necessary for *frümeit*, *gewünnen* and *zurstörung* quoted above; *û* stands in the latter for *nhd. ö*, and it corresponds to mhd. *ü* in *frümeit* and *gewünnen*. The *û* for mhd. *œ* = *nhd. ö* in *zurstörung* is all the more noticeable as we find the regular *ö* in *zurstörets*. e) The appearance of *u* (*û*) for mhd. *iu* = *nhd. eu* is worthy of comment in *frunde*, *fründe*, *fründt* found along side of the regular *freund*, *freundt*, *freunde*. Also in *erfüßft* *û* stands for mhd. *iu* = *nhd. eu*. This is a peculiarity of *md.* met with occasionally in *Luther* also and it already characterizes the *md.* of the mhd. period. As to pronunciation, it is not clear whether *û* here has the value of long *u* or, as we incline to think, long *ü*. f) Initial *u* as a rule is represented by *v*; the only deviations we have observed are *ûbel*, *ûber*; an internal *u* is represented by *u* just as in modern usage; so we have *vmb*, but *widerumb*, *borumb*, *worumb*. On the other hand there

occur *kurz umb*, *kurz umb*, both printed as two words. Contrariwise *u* stands for the consonant *v*. This is very much the custom in the word *Euangelion*, *Euangelium* and its derivatives *euangelisch* and *euangelist*. Note the form *Euangelium* which occurs in only two instances while *Euangelion* in eighteen; the spelling *Euanglion* in 266¹² is a misprint. Was this preference for the Greek form due to Schwenckfeld's study of the Greek original of the New Testament? The genitive is either *euangelions* or *Euangelij*, the dative *Euangelio*; the plural is *Euangelia*. Observe that the word is almost invariably spelled with the capital. Even in the derivatives the capital prevails: *Euangelisch*, *Euangelische*, *Euangelischen*, *Euangelischenn*, *Euangelischer*, in a few cases *euangelischer*, *euangelische* and *euangelisten*. Further, *u* is substituted for *v* in *beuehl* 244³⁴, *beuehlen* 246²⁷, *beuehlenn* 272¹⁵; in all the other instances of this word *v* is employed. Just so *u* is found in *bauor*, *zuuorforren*, *vuuerfchempte*, *zuuor*, *zuuoreftthen* misprint for *zuuorftehn*, *vuuorftendigen*, *blutuorgieffen*; the use of *u* for *v* is here exceptional; *vor* is usually spelt with *v* and always so initially. In fact, the employment of *u* instead of *v* seems to be restricted to cases where *v* would appear within the word. So in the remaining instances: *freueler*, *Dauid*, *wieul*, *votiua*.

6) The letter *y* has no value apart from its interchange with *i*. It appears at the beginning of a word as well as within it. In some words its use prevails over that of *i*. Thus *hymel*, *hymell* occurs nine times invariably spelled with *y*. Of the preposition *in*, *inn* there are only about twenty instances against about sixty of *ynn*, *yn*. For one *die ienigen* there are eight of *baß* (*bie*) *yenige(n)*; for one *inen* there are four *ynen*. *Ihr*, *ir* is used only nine times while there are twenty-eight instances of *yhr*, *yr*. On the other hand the spelling *ia*, *iha* prevails by nearly one-half over that of *ya* *yha*.

2. Diphthongs.

1) The diphthong *au* has a twofold use: it either stands for mhd. *ou* or is the result of diphthongizing mhd. = ahd. *û*. a) It appears for mhd. *ou* in words like *auch*, *auge*, *baum*, *glaub*, *glauben*, *vorkauffen*, *vorkauden*, *lauffen*, *tauff*, *taug*. b) As a diphthongization of mhd. *û* it occurs in *auff*, *auff*, *bauchß*, *patern*, *patern*, *paternnn*, *bawen*, *erbarwet*, *gebrauchen*, *faulen*, *faulheit*, *hauff*, *laum*, *lauther*, *lauthet*, *mißbrauch*, *mauff*, *tauffent*, *trawen*, *vortrawen*. c) Again we find it used apparently for *eu* in *glaubigen*, *glaubige*, cf. *gleubiger*.

2) The diphthong *ei* is of a twofold nature: it is either a) the old *ei* of the ahd. and mhd. periods as in *auffbreitung*, *beyder*, *eyn*, *eygen*, *fleisch*, *fleischlich*, *boheim*, *geheimnis*, *geyst*, *heil*, *heylig*, *-heit*, *-leit*, *leyhen*, *meynen*,

mitteyllen, weybenn, or it is b) the result of diphthongizing ahd. mhd. *i* as in *bleiben*, *erscheynung*, *eylentz*, *frey*, *geyer*, *neybet*, *reich*, *reymen*, *schreiben*, *schreyen*, *schweigen*, *sein*, *vleyffig*, *zureyffen*. Traces of md. are found in *sein*, *seind* occurring almost exclusively for *find* as 1st and 3^d pl. of the present tense indicative. The regular gd. form *find* is met with three times only: *sie findt* 244²⁵, *wir findt* 276²³, *es find* 276⁵; but there are forty-four instances of *sein* spelt also *seinn*, *sehn*, *sehn*. Besides these there are eight instances of *seind*, *seindt*. These forms go back to md. *sīn*, *sint*, of the mhd. period. c) The *ei* in the solitary *sein* against, towards 260²¹ is a result of contraction. *Gegen* contracted to *gein* with its md. equivalent *sein* occurs already in mhd. In the modern language it is shortened to *gen*. An interchange takes place between *ei* and *ey*. Some words show a preference for the one spelling over the other. Unstressed *ei* has become *e* in *vitel* 266¹⁰, *viertel* 250¹¹.

3) The diphthong *eu* is either the umlaut of *au* which comes from mhd. *ou* or *û*, or it stands for mhd. *iu*, *iuw*. a) It is the umlaut of *au* in words like *bedrew*, *eûserlich*, *Christgleubiger*, *heuchley*, *heupt*, *heûßer*, *gewew*, *perwlein*, *seûfferey*, *teuren*, *trewme*, *underleufft*, *zûstreuth*. b) It represents mhd. *iu*, *iuw*, in words like *gebeût*, *bewtel*, *creuþ*, *beûthenn*, *beûtung*, *beuþsch*, *euch*, *Euwr*, *segefewr*, *freund*, *freûndlich*, *grewll*, *vnseûschliche*, *seuþheit*, *seuchten*, *erleucht*, *ebelleûtt*, *leutt*, *haupleutt*, *nemen*, *newerung*, *schewenn*, *teuffel*, *trew*, *trewlich*, *heugniß*, *werdzeug*, *-geþeugl*. c) The umlaut in *teuren* as compared with mhd. *tûren*, nhd. *bauern*, and *heupt* with mhd. *houpt*, nhd. *haupt*, is as remarkable as the lack of it in *vorlauden*, mhd. *verlûgnen*, nhd. *verleugnen*. This md. peculiarity is also encountered in Luther. d) *Reuig* quiet 264¹⁶ belongs in a category by itself. It presupposes a md. *raue* quietness answering to mhd. *râwe*, ahd. *râwa* which is a recognized by-form of the regular mhd. *ruowe*, ahd. *ruowa* = nhd. *Ruhe*.

4) The practice followed in the spelling of *au* and *eu* anticipates decidedly our modern usage. There are only fourteen instances of *aw* for *au* and twenty-nine of *ew* for *eu*, while *au* occurs two hundred and forty-two times and *eu* fifty times; among these eighteen have *eû* under the words *eûserlich*, *eûßerlichen*, *eûserlichen*, *beûtung*, *beûthen*, *beûthenn*, *gebeûth*, *gebeût*, *gleubiger*, *leûtt*, *ebelleûtt*, *vnseûschliche*, *heûßer*, *freûndlich*, *seûfferey*. Among the instances of *au* only one is written *aû*: *mißbraûch*. The examples of *aw* are these: *Breflaw*, *bawen*, *erbatwet*, *pawern*, *pawernn*, *pawrn*, *trawen*, *vortrawen*, *zuuortrawen*.

3. The Consonants.

1) The consonants *b* and *p*. a) Initial *b* as a rule agrees with the *b* of modern usage except in *Bapst*, *bapst*, twice *babst*; it is this latter

spelling which comes nearest the ahd., mhd. *bābes(t)*. Modern nhd. has reinstated the etymological *p*. In a few examples only is *p* used for the initial *b* of the mhd. and modern standard: *pobem*, *putter*, *gepeßert*, *pahn*, *pawrn*, *pawern*, *pawernn*, *pewrlein*, *gepew*. The latter has parallel with it the verbal forms *bawen*, *erhawet*. b) The terminal use of *p* for mhd., nhd. *b* occurs only in *ap* = *ob*, *ap gleich*, although *op* is found also in mhd. c) The old terminal *b* after *m* is preserved in *vmb* and its compounds; but that this *b* no longer was pronounced may be inferred from its lack in *vunher* and its erroneous occurrence in *bistumb* and *irthumb*. d) Insertional *b* is found after *m* in *frembbe*; for this *b* a *p* is substituted before *t* in *Nempt*, *nympt*, *fompt*, *fampt*, *vnuorſchempt*, *vnuorſchempte*, *vordampt*. Whether the *p* in *ampt*, *ampts* is insertional or the result of hardening the original *b* before *t*, cf. mhd. *ambt* from *ambet*, *ambeht* = ahd. *ambaht*, may be doubted. e) Initial and medial *p* agree with the modern *p*. f) In *ſcheppen*, *ſchepper* the *pp* appears for mhd., nhd. *pf* as a md., nd. characteristic; in *wappen* it is already mhd. g) We meet with *ph* in the foreign words *prophet*, *Epheſier*, *Cayphas* and in the native *phlug* which latter is a solitary instance of md. practice; everywhere else the regular hd. *pf* is employed initially as in *pfaffen*, *pfarrer*, *pfarrern*, *pfarrernn*, *pfennigt*, *pflicht*, *pforthenn*; medially as in *tapffer*, *ſtopffenn*.

2) The consonant *b* and *t*. a) Initial *b* in our document is for the greater part identical with that of our modern language; it differs only in *ertichte* = *erbichtete*, *tundel* = *bunfel*, *tewren* = *dauern*; in these instances however, the modern language is under nd. influence while our document preserves the mhd. tradition: mhd. *ertichten*, *tunkel*, *türen*. b) Medially *b* appears according to md. practice after *l* and *b* in *alben*, *albenn*, *einſelbideit*, *einſelbige*, *einſelbigen*, *einſelbigenn*, *Elbern*, *erhalben*, *gelben*, *halben*, *halbenn*, *halbens*, *gehalben*, *gehalbenn*, *fonde*, *ſchelden*, *geſcholden*, *vnder*, *vunnder*, *vndergedruet*, *vnderzubrueden*, *vnder leufft*, *vnderloß*, *vndberricht*, *vnderſcheiden*, *vnderzihen*, *vnder wegen*, *vnderweißen*, *vnderweißen*, *vnderweist*, *wolbe*, *wolb*. The modern *t* is less prominent medially; we have *alten* misprint for *altten*, *alten*, *althen*, *Enntbietenn*, *entlegen*, *entlegenn*, *entpfangen*, *entſprungen*, *halten*, *haltenn*, *haltens*, *halthen*, *haltthenn*, *hielten*, *hieltthenn*, *vnther*, *wolt*, *wollt*, *wolten*, *woltens*, *woltthen*, *woltthenn*. c) Terminal *b* for nhd. *t* appears in *gewalb* only; otherwise we have *t* in accordance with the well known mhd. *Anslautgesetz* in *furgewant*, *gebult*, *gelt*, *ſcholt*, *Schwendfelt*, *tauſent*, *wart*, and numerous instances of *wirt* = *wird*. This terminal *t* is even retained in the compounds: *blintheit*, *ſchentlichs*, *vorſtentnis*, *vorſtentlichen*. d) The compromise spelling *bt* is a curious feature: *blindt*, *endt*, *erlant*, *freundt*, *fründt*, *geſtalbt*, *gewalbt*, *grundt*, *handt*, *herbt*, *haubt*, *igundt*, *kindt*, *morbt*, *mundt*, *nymandt*, *ſchandt* *deckel*, *ſchulbt*, *ſcholdt*, *ſindt*, *ſeindt*, *ſtadt*, *ſtandt*, *vorſtandt*, *wardt*, *weib*, *werbt*. It appears also medially in *freundtlich*, *Endtlich*,

heidniſcher, radtenſ, ſundtlichen, tobtenn, vnfreundtlich. This dt spelling may have started from such forms as findt a contraction of findet, gerebt a contraction of gerebet, get ddt a contraction of getddet, vorgerebt a contraction of vorgerebet. A case worthy of special notice is errebt 270²³ for errett = errettet which appears as erret in the very same line. Here as well as in radtenſ dt seems to be a compromise of the md. with the od. spelling.

e) Terminal t is rarely suppressed; the modern Silesian dialect drops as a rule the terminal t of nicht, two instances of this nich occur in our document; they are all the more remarkable as they form quite a contrast to one hundred and twelve examples of nicht. f) The letter b after n has a tendency to become silent. It has disappeared altogether in vnwiſſen after terminal e had dropped. On the other hand b is added after n in vollenb, ſollenb = mhd. vollen. This is on a par with the nhd. addition of b in Ronb = mhd. mäne, ahd. māno. Vollenb is the precursor of the modern vollenbſ. g) Inorganic t is another interesting phenomenon. Corresponding to the b in vollenb is the t in allenthalben mhd. allen halben, eigentlich mhd. eigenliche, erentſteſten mhd. êrenvesten, offentlich mhd. offentliche, vnſert halben mhd. vnser halben, yrgenteſyn mhd. iergen ein. With the exception of erentſteſt and yrgenteſyn all these instances of inorganic t occur in our modern language; for yrgenteſyn it has irgenbein. h) The doubling of b after a short vowel is entirely contrary to present usage, but probably owing to nd. influence. It prevails in widder for which there are fifteen instances in the simple word and in its compounds: widder brengen, widderſarenn, widderufft, widderſpenſtige, widderſunden, widderumb; the spelling wider occurs thirteen times. Just the reverse is the case with regard to aber = ober: there are twenty-one instances showing the single b while double b is found twice only, once in abber and the other in obber. The double b in vnbberricht is unique. i) The doubling of t after a short vowel we have previously adverted to. Curiously enough tt appears also after diphthongs and after originally long vowels, probably indicating the shortening of the vowel in pronunciation as in blutt, geratten, gutt, vorretter, and after consonants. So remarkable is this usage that we give a synopsis of it, adverting also to the single t instances wherever both spellings occur side by side: Antwortt, Antwort, betten, bitten, blutt, blutuorgieſſen, deuttung, deütung, do mitt, domit, edelleütt, ein treten, erbórtt, fortt an, gebott, gebot, gebottſ, gebotten, gelertten, geratten, freittag, freytag, gutt guts, güttern, gutt gut, gutte, gutten, guttenn, gutter, guttigkeit, hatt hat, hartten, harthe, heuttigeſ, heutigs, hirtten, hirtſhen, leütt, leutt, leut, edelleütt, hauſleutt, mitt mit, nott, von notten, nóttten, Prophetenn Propheten, streitten streiten, treten, vngüttig, vatter, vetter, verbotten, vorbotten, vorretter, weitter, weittſher, wortt wort.

3) Initial f calls for no comment except as to its symbol. a) In the

ahd. period *v* already begins to make its appearance as a sign for *f* and the use of it increases according to Weinhold § 172 since the 10th century and is continued in the mhd. period, ohne daß selbst in sehr sorgfältigen HSS. eine geregelte Scheidung zwischen *f* und *v* aufzufinden wäre. We find *v* established in our document as the initial of the preposition *von*, the preposition and prefix *vor*, *ver*; it appears also regularly in the numeral *vier* and its derivatives *viertel*, *viertig*; in the nouns *Vatter* pl. *vetter*, *volc* in the adjectives *vest*, *vil*, *viel* and its compounds *vielleicht*, *viel mehr*; further in *vol*, *voll*; but in the adverb *vollenb* there is an interchange with *f*: *vollenb* 256³⁷, *follenb* 268³. The same interchange is to be observed in the verb *folgen*, although the use of *f* exceeds that of *v*: *volgt*, *volgte*, *folgt*, *verfolgen*, *vorfolget*. The *v* appears before a consonant in *vleiß*, but alongside of *vleißig* we find *fleißig* and *vnfleißig*. a) On the occasional use of *u* for *v* = *f* we have already spoken sub *u*. c) Medial *f* is doubled as a rule not only after short vowels as in *behaftt*, *bischoffenn*, *crafft*, *krafft*, *krefft*, *krefftiger*, *eröffnenn*, *hefftigers*, *hoffe*, *hoffen*, *hoffiren*, *hoffen*, *offenbar*, *offenbart*, *offentlich*, *offtmales*, *priesterſchafft*, *rechenſchafft*, *rechtſchaffene*, *ſchaffen*, *ſcheffel*, *ſchriſt*, *ſtiffunge*, *wirtſchafft*, but also after an originally long vowel as in *ſchlaffen*, *ſtraffen*, *zuſtraffen*, *berufft*, *gerufft*, *rufft*, *wibderufft*; after *ie* as in *tieffſte* and after diphthongs as in the preposition and prefix *auff*, in *gekauſſte*, *vorkauſſen*, *lauſſen*, *vnder leufft*, *ſauſſen*, *ſeufferey*, *erſeufft*, *teuffel*, *teuffels lehre*, *hweiffel*, *vorhweiffelter*. Here the doubling of *f* is no less remarkable than it is in the following instances where *ff* occurs after a consonant: *bedorffen*, *borffen*, *dorffen*, *beholffen*, *borffer*, *borffern*, *dorffern*, *borffparrer*, *funffhundert*, *funffzehend*, *heffenn*, *hilfft*, *hilffts*, *hulff*, *hulff*, *ſenffte*, *ſenfftmütigkeit*, *ſtopffenn*, *tapffer*, *vernunfft*, *vornunfft*, *vornunfftung*, *vornunfft*, *vornunfft*. An assimilation of *ch* with *f* takes place in the double *f* of *hoffart* and *hoffertig*. The use of *ff* for *gd. pp* is striking in the verb *taffen*. Is there any connection with the East Frisian *ſtaven* = *unbedachtſam auf etwas loſgehen*, *d'r hen ſtaven* walk along with uncertain steps, *ſtavern* = *ſtolpern*? d) According to Weinhold § 174 the letter *w* is used as an equivalent of *v* = *f* already in md. writings of the 13th century, and it is especially frequent in Silesian documents of the 14—15th century. In the Trebnitzer Psalmen we find *wolc* = *volc* *populus*, *wurſtu* = *vuorſtu* *recessisti*; *bi do wreghic* = *wreghic ſint* *qui exasperant*; *bevilen* = *bevilen* *placuerunt*; *wundin* = *vundin* *invenerunt*; *nibir wert* = *nibirvert* *descendit*. Nor are later instances of the 16th century wanting. Among them is *andertwert* = *andervert* in our document, the reprint has substituted for it the more common *anderweht*; cf. *Rüderſ-Pietſch*, *Entwurf* etc. *der Schlef. Mundart* p. 132 ff.

4) The consonant *h*. a) Initial *h* in our document calls for no comment. b) Medial *h* and terminal *h* are twofold: they are either organic

or mere devices of spelling. α) Organic *h* occurs medially in *aufzuſchloſen*, *beuehl*, *beuehlen*, *beuohlenn*, *geſchehen*, *hohe*, *hoherz*, *hojn*, *ſehen* with its compounds *angeſehen*, *auffſehen*, *umbſehen*, *verlihen*, *verliehen*, *vorliehenn*, *zehn* with its compound *funfzehn*, *weißen*. In *nähen*, *ſehen* and *verlihen* *h* represents mhd., ahd. *h* standing for the older *hw* = indogermanic *kw*; in the rest of the instances it is the legitimate descendant of ahd., mhd. *h* which is the regular shifting of indogermanic *k*. There is a use of *h* as a substitute for the older mhd., ahd. *w* in *eheſich* mhd. *êwelich* and *ehebruch*, similarly in *nuhr* mhd. *newære*. The letter *h* is also substituted for the older *j*, *g* as in *lanhen*, *leyhen*, *leiſun* mhd. *leien*, *leigen*, ahd. *leigon*, *leijon*. A word ought to be said about the place *h* occupies in *beuehl* and *beuehlen*; in the previous documents we found *h* usually after *l*, which is the place *h* takes in the mhd., ahd. forerunners of *beuehl* and *beuehlen*; this shifting of place seems to be an indication that *h* no longer was sounded as a guttural spirant, but had become a mere device of spelling. It is entirely discarded in *beuift*. In the other instances of organic *h* we have given it may also be doubted whether *h* was still pronounced; note *hojn* for *hojen* 270²; and by the side of *geſchehen* we have *geſcheen* thrice and *geſchenn* once; furthermore, the frequent recurrence of *h* in words where it has etymologically no legitimate place would be hard to account for otherwise. β) And this brings us to inorganic *h*. The numerous instances of this *h* fall into three classes: *h* before or after originally long vowels; *h* after originally short vowels; *h* after consonants. Inorganic *h* before or after originally long vowels is prominent in a number of instances where it seems to have no other function than that of indicating the length of the vowel; thus after long *e*: *ehe* mhd. *ê*, *ehr* mhd. *êr*, *ehre* mhd. *êre*, *ehren* mhd. *êren*, *ehrlîch* mhd. *êrlîch*, *ſehlen* mhd. *fêlen*, *gehen*, *gehn* with its forms *gehe*, *gehet* and its compounds *ergehn*, *zugehn*, *zugehet* mhd. *gên*; *lehre* shortened to *leher* and *lehr* mhd. *lêre*, *lehren* mhd. *lêren*, *mehr* mhd. *mêr* of which there are thirteen examples while *mer* occurs only once, *ſehen*, *ſehn* mhd. *stên*, *ſteht* and the compounds *vorſehn*, *widerſtehenn*, *zuſehn* occur eight times. In the four instances of *mehr* mhd. *wære* the *h* appears after long *e* which represents mhd. *æ*. Of *h* after long *o* there is only the word *ohren* in two places. After long *u* we have *h* in *ein fuhren* = mhd. *vûeren* ahd. *fuoren*, *rûmen* mhd. *rûemen*, *ruomen* ahd. *ruomen*. The same purpose of length-indication seems to have been served by *h* when it stands occasionally before the long vowel as in *ſha*, *ſha*, *ſheſu* and in the many instances of *thun*. The *h* after an originally short vowel is illustrated by the preposition *aſn*, *aſnn* mhd., ahd. *an* which is set forth in sixteen instances; similarly by the compound *aſnnemen* and by the phrase *wol aſn*; further by *naſm* mhd. *name* ahd. *namo* and in *paſn* mhd. *bane*. We meet with *h* after an originally short *i* in *iſm*,

mhd. ime, im, iñ mhd. inen, in acc. sg. m., iñ mhd. in dat. pl., iñr mhd. ire, ir gen. pl., and in the forms of the possessive pronoun iñr mhd. ir. Here belongs the *h* in *fihe*, mhd., nhd. *fiē* 242¹², and *nyhe* mhd., nhd. *nie*. After an originally short *o* the *h* follows in *angenohmen* mhd. *angenomen*, *frohmen*, *frohmen*, *frohmer* all of which are forms of *from* mhd. *from*, *frum*. The lengthening *h* also follows an originally short *e* in *feh* mhd., nhd. *felle* pl. and especially in the pronoun of the 3^d person masculine and neuter *ehr*, *ehs* mhd., nhd. *er*, *eß*; so in the verb *nehmen* mhd. *nemen*, ahd. *nēman* with its compound *annehmen*. There can hardly be any doubt that in all these instances *h* has the function of a modern *h* that is, to indicate lengthening. There must however have been considerable fluctuation between the new length and the old shortness of the vowel in certain instances; for example, while there are two cases of *nehmen* there are four of *nemen*; for one *nehme* we find two *neme* and for one *ehs* we have one hundred and one *eß*. On the other hand the masculine spelled *ehr* musters twenty-three instances while the spelling *er* occurs only five times. The use of *h* after a consonant is less clear as in *vorfarhern* and in the many instances where *h* stands after *t* as in the spellings of *althen*, *anbethe*, *Antwothen*, *antwothen*, *geanthwort*, *armuths*, *aufferwelthenn*, *betthel*, *deuthen*, *deuthenn*, *ernerth*, *furethen*, *furth*, *gebeuth*, *gelerthe*, *gelerthen*, *gelerthenn*, *gnanthe*, *haltthen*, *haltthenn*, *hielthenn*, *harthe*, *hinfurth*, *hirthen*, *hirtthen*, *kirchferthen*, *kirchferthen*, *kommerth*, *lauther*, *lauthern*, *lauthet*, *lereth*, *mertherer*, *parth*, *pforthen*, *prelathen*, *Prelathen*, *prelathenn*, *rechthe*, *solthenn*, *orgethe*, *Thirannei*, *Thirannis*, *vbethen*, *ungelethen*, *vnther*, *vormeintthen*, *vormeinthenn*, *vorordenthenn*, *vorordenthenn*, *weitther*, *wirth*, *wolthen*, *wolthenn*, *zuanthworten*, *zurstreuth*, *zu streuth*. With regard to a very few of these the suggestion has already been ventured that they may be cases of misplaced *h*, the *h* really belonging after the vowel; but no such explanation seems to apply to the greater part of the phenomena. c) Initial *ch* is found only in *Christ*, *Christus* and the compounds *Christlich*, *Christglaubig* where it has the value of *f*. Medial and terminal *ch* preserve the mhd. status even in those instances where our modern language has *h*. So we find *geschicht*, *geschach* = *geschiebt*, *geschach*, though in the infinitive the original guttural as we have seen, appears in its weakest form *h*, or entirely disappears. In the noun *geschichte* our document anticipates modern usage. Further, the word *geruchen* mhd. *geruochen* is the forerunner of the present form *geruhen*.

5) The consonant *f*. a) Initial *f* as a rule preserves the status of the mhd. period and so agrees with our modern language; *f* in *fegen* with its contracted form *fein* is a solitary example of the hardening of the *gd*. *g* which in this word is testified to already in the md. of the mhd. period. By composition this *fegen* = *gegen* appears medially in *entfegen*, once spelt

entlegenn. If irfeinn 258¹³ be a development of mhd. iergen ein, it too would belong to this category. b) Medial *f* appears as *df* not only after a short vowel as in mhd. and the modern nhd., but also as a rule after diphthongs and consonants. So we have besides artidel, auff steden, erweden, geschildt, gedruct &c. also vorlauden, bebunden, Dand, gebenden, franden, volds, werd, wirdt &c. This *df* sometimes permutes with *gf* as in ermergt. In the solitary merglich md. *g* stands for mhd., nhd. *f*. c) According to the mhd. Auslautgesetz *g* becomes *f* terminally. Of this terminal *f* for *g* we have several examples. Note in the first place wedt 250¹ which otherwise is spelt weg just as in modern usage; a further exemplification of this law is found in the following instances where *gf* appears as a variation of *df*: genugt, hoffertigt, magt, Dffigt, pfennigt, schulbigt, vntschigt, wenig, werdgezeugt, hwenigt. The modern spelling is foreshadowed in genug, mag, Dffig, schulbig, wenig, werdzeug. It is by composition that terminal *gf* for *g* occurs also medially in gemeiniglich, seliglich, menniglich; the modern spelling is prepared for in menniglich, meniglich.

6) A very peculiar feature of our document, but not confined to it, is the doubling of *n* in the unstressed syllables of declension and conjugation which contain short *e*. The chief reason for such duplications might perhaps be found in the exigencies of the line formations. Among other expedients this letter presented the least difficulty for the printer in that it conventionally at least affected the pronunciation in a degree less than any other letter, and it had sufficient breadth of type to fill up a vacancy expeditiously and neatly. However, no such explanation applies to the doubling, and even trebling of *n*, which is perfectly rampant in some Mss. of Luther and not absent from the Schwenckfeld autographs. As to the origin of the practice it may be that the duplication started from forms where there is some show of reason for the double *n* as the result of syncopating an intervening *e* e. g. in cistern 256³⁵ = cisternen. Hence the habit might have gradually developed of putting *nn* even where no *e* was eliminated. Color seems to be given to this assumption by the fluctuation between single and double *n* spellings. Frequently the two are found parallel with each other. In some words the single *n* spelling prevails over that of double *n*, in others just the reverse is the case; nevertheless there are certain words which uniformly present the double *n* such as the following some of which to be sure occur only once: abgewidhenn, augenn, außertwelthenn, außzuschlohen, bischoffenn, brennenn, brudenn, Eblenn, fueßenn, gobenn, gestandenn, geschweigenn, &c.; on the other hand for one achtenn there is correspondingly one achten; albenn is outstripped by alben, alten; allen prevails over allenn which occurs only twice; there is one armenn for ten armen; anzeigenn is also spelled anzeigen; apostelnn, begerenn, bestenn, bleibenn are also spelled with the single *n* &c. From the fact that of the

conjunction *benn* there are forty-four examples of double *n* while we find only four of the single *n* spelling, we might be inclined to think that *nn* was employed here as a sign of distinction to help the reader tell *ben* then from *ben* the, him or *ben* to them, whom. But if such was the intention it certainly is not carried out with consistency. For though the acc. sing. of the masculine definite article is spelled with a single *n* in seventy cases, yet there are six instances of the double *n*. Also the confusion with the dat. pl. of the demonstrative and relative *ben*, might have been avoided if the modern *benen* which appears twice, 252²¹, 268²⁸, had been persistently employed. To us the doubling of *n* in the stressed syllable after a long or lengthened vowel or a diphthong seems very strange, witness *ahnn*, *wolafnn*, and yet on the contrary we find *ahn* *gebenn* 254²⁶. The *e* of *geſchēn* ought to be long, being the result of contraction of *geſchehen*; but observe the spelling *geſchenn* 254¹¹. *Leihen* 262²⁷ is written *lehhenn* 272³⁰, and this spelling is kept up even after the syncope of *e* in *leiħnn* 266²⁰. Just as inexplicable orthographically seems to be the double *n* in *einn* while in *einner* the *nn* may be accounted for as many of the *ff*, *tt* and *bb* spellings, namely by the habit of pronouncing the consonant at the end of the first syllable as well as at the beginning of the second. On a par with *einn* are the spellings *irfeinn*, *feinn*, *einn* *furenn*, *gemeinn*, *feinn*, *fehnn*; the regular spelling *fein*, *gemein*, *fein*, *feh*n prevails however by a large majority of cases. There is a better show of reason for *nn* where it appears in the stressed syllable after a short vowel as in the following instances: *annderſ*, *anntwort*, *bann*, *brann*, *gannh*, *gannhe*, *ſannſ*, *hierinn*, *hnn*, *vnnb*, *vnnber*, *vnnſ*, *vnnſer*, *vnnſer*, *vnnſerm*, *vnnſerſ*, *vonn*, *wenn*, *Wenn*, *zunnn*, although the single *n* spelling is also in use and indeed with the exception of *vnnb* is either equal in frequency or in the ascendant. As to *vnnb* and *vnb*, the proportion of frequency is as seventy-three to fifty-four. With regard to *bann* and *Wenn*, *wenn*, the modern practice agrees with that of our document. In *gonnn* 262¹⁵ we should rather expect the doubling of *r* than that of *n*; in all the other cases this word is spelled with the single *n*.

7) On the whole the use of double *r* is the same as in the modern practice. In *ſer* only is there any deviation from the usual *ſerr*, and in the queer form *h rr* 280² with which compare *haer* 252²⁸. The doubling of *r* takes place in the optative form *  r* *ferr* and may perpetuate the *rr* of mhd. *kerren* = OE. *cerran*, while the single *r* met with in *fer* and *feren* preserves the regular mhd., ahd. *k ren* = modern *fehren*. A word ought to be said about *ferr*, *ferren* in the phrases in *ſo* (*ſo*) *ferr*, *ſo* *ferren*, and their relation to the modern *fern*; *ferr* answers to mhd. *v rre*; *ferren* is exactly mhd. *v rren*; *ferner* is the comparative of the mhd. form *v rne* which alone survives in our present-day speech.

8) The consonant *f*. a) As a rule initial *f* coincides with the mhd., nhd. initial *f*. A rather remarkable use of the ligature *ff* which is also printed separately *ff* is its substitution for single *f* as an initial in quite a number of instances of *fo*. For about fifty examples of *fo* we have thirty of *ffo* and four of *ffo*. The same is the case with *fonder*, it is spelled with *f* about twenty-four times and with *ff* five. In *folch* the *f* is the initial as a rule and *ff* is found but twice; in the equivalent of son it is spelled with *ff* *ff* in the only two instances of its occurrence cf. *zon* of the Trebnitzer Psalmen adverted to in Document VI. b) This irregular *ff*, *ff* for mhd., nhd. *f* is also medial and occurs in the forms of *unfer* mhd., nhd. *unfer*, in *felsen*, mhd. *velse*, nhd. *felsen*; in *erlöse* mhd. *erlöese*, nhd. *erlöse*; in *lesen*, *zulesen*, *gelesen* mhd., nhd. *lesen*; in *boße*, *böß*, *boßheit*, *boßheit* mhd. *boese*, *bösheit*, nhd. *böse*, *bösheit*; in *teße* mhd. *käse*, nhd. *fäse* from the Latin *caseus*, in *gehorsam* mhd. *gehörsame*, nhd. *Gehorsam*, in *teißer* with the gen. *teißers* mhd. *keiser*, nhd. *Kaiser* from the Latin *Caesar*; in *weszen* mhd., nhd. *wesen*; in *also* mhd. *alsô*, nhd. *also*, in *weißheit* mhd. *wisheit*, nhd. *Weisheit*; in *under weissen* mhd. *vnderwissen*, nhd. *unterweisen*, in *weltweissen* pl. mhd. *weltwissen*, nhd. *weltweisen*. The *ff* occurs in *den weissen der welt* 256³¹, *auffblößenn* mhd. *ufbläsen*, nhd. *aufbläsen*, in *gotlöse* mhd. *gotlöse*, nhd. *gottlöse*, in *beßhalb* nhd. *beßhalb* cf. mhd. *disehalp*. c) Terminal *ff* appears in *also* mhd. *also*, from *alsô*, nhd. *also*, in *speiß* mhd. *spise*, nhd. *Speise*, from the mediæval Latin *spensa*, *expensa*, in *hauf* with the pl. *heuffer* and the compound *haufleut* mhd. *hūs*, nhd. *Hauf*, in *almos* mhd. *almuosen*, nhd. *Almosen* from the Græco-Latin *æmosina* = *ἐλεημοσύνη*, in *zins* mhd., nhd. *zins*, from the Latin *census*, in *gewin* mhd., nhd. *gen. sg. gewinnes*. The *ff* spelling is the rule in the noun *weiß* mhd. *wise*, nhd. *Weise*. In the noun *gleißner* and its derivatives *gleißnerey* and *gleißnerisch* modern usage agrees with our document in the employment of *ff*, although it is mhd. *geltsenære*. The mhd. *z* = nd. *t* is represented by the terminal *ff* in the preposition and prefix *auf* in *auflegt*, *auflegung*, *richt* . . . *auf*, *aufgenommen*, *auffuren* &c. and in the derivative *eufferlich*, *eufferlichem*, *eufferlichen*, mhd. *ûz*, *ûzerlich*, and in *herauf*, *borauf* &c.; also in *biß*, *bieß* mhd. *diz*, *biß* mhd. *biz*, *vleiß* mhd. *vliz*, *muß* mhd. *muoz*, *glidmoß* mhd. *(ge) lidemâz*, *groß* mhd. *grôz*; further in the prefix of *mißbrauch*, in the noun *meß* and in the adj. *gewiß*, *gewieß* *ff* corresponding to mhd. *ss*, cf. mhd. *missebrûchen*, *messe*, *gewiss*. In modern usage a distinction is made between the neuter article *daß* and the conjunction *daß*; no such distinction appears in our document. Whether conjunction or neuter article, the spelling invariably is *daß*, abbreviated *bz*, although in mhd. it is *daz* = nd. *dat*; from the practice followed in the preceding cases we would have expected *daß*. d) Medially this *ff* becomes as a rule *ff* as in *an moffen*, *aufferwelthenn*, *bessern*, *gepeffert*, *besserung*, *bevlæssen*, *dermassen*, *der massen*,

fleissig, fueffen, gewissen, grossen, heissen, lassen, lossen, müssen, Dffig, Dffigt = Slavic Ozek *propugnaculum*, reissen, zuvorgeffen, vnfleissige, vnwissen, vormessenheit, vorschliessen, wassers, zureyssen, zuschliessen &c. e) The substitution of *sch* for an original *ss* in vorheischungen 254⁶ is to be noted. This is no doubt due to the mixing up of heischen ask and heissen-command for which we find instances at a very early period, see Grimm IV ² 897 sub heischen. In a quotation from the weisthümer 6,547 (Obermosel) the two forms occur side by side: siben robeffure, der irst ... heisset die Fylegrobe, der ander heisset ain Bermans groibe. Compare also wagschen for wachsen in Johann Locher's Eyn lieplicher Sermon Colligiert an dem heilige Chriftag &c. 1524.

9) The consonant *z*. a) Initial *z* answers to mhd. *z* = nd. *t* and calls for no comment except as to its representation in type. There are three kinds of type for it: *z*, *c* and the ligature *þ*, that is to say, a *t* lacking the top is closely united with *z*. A clear case of *c* is found only once 254¹⁶. As to the employment of the ligature, the number of instances where it occurs compares fairly well with that of simple *z*. In the many instances of the preposition and prefixes *zu* to and *dis-* *z* occurs almost exclusively; there are only eight instances of *þ* in þehen, þanden, þihen and its compounds; in þwey, þweiffel, þwenigst, þwingen, the ligature is used exclusively. The *z* in *zall* occurs only once, but there are five instances for the *þ* spelling of *hall* and its derivatives erþelen, vnþelich. For one example of *z* in *zeugnis* there are three of *þ* in þeugnis and beþeug. The simple *z* in *zeit* appears but once while there are twelve instances of *þ* in þeit, þeiten, þeittenn, þeitlichen, þeitlicher, þeitung. We have *z* once in *zorn* but *þ* five times in þorn, þornn, þornenn, þörnen and the compound erþornenn. The ligature is constant in the compound anþeigen with its forms anþeigenn, anþeiget, anþeigt, angeþeigt. The *þ* in *þins*, *þinß* is noteworthy as representing the Latin *c* of *census* which curiously enough is transcribed from hd. into nd. as *tins* as though the hd. initial here was a genuinely German *z* answering to nd. *t*. b) Medial *z* is usually represented by *þ*: anreißung, außsagung, barmherzigkeit, ersüßst, gannþe, ganþen, ganþenn, genþlich, gereißt, gecreußiget, geseþß, geseþe, herþen, heþen, iþigen, iþt, iþmolß, iþunder, iþundt, leþte leþten, schagung, schwarzþen, seþen, vnnuþe, vnnuþlich. Medial *þ* stands for mhd. *ts* in *eplich* with its forms *epliche*, *eplicher*, *eplichen*; it is contraction of mhd. *eteslich*. Also in the compound selþam *þ* represents mhd. *ts*, selþam being a transformation of mhd. *seltsæne* = ahd. *seltsâni*. In canþelei medial *þ* represents mhd. *z* = ahd. *c* and is derived from the Latin *cancelli*. c) Terminal *z* throughout appears as *þ*: Costniß, Eigeniþ, creuþ, ganþ, gannþ, geiþ, geseþ, herþ, holtz furtþ, nuþ, schuþ, Stoltþ, zusaþ.

II. Special features in B.

It has already been pointed out that B is a print made from A in a South German printing-office. The argument in favor of this view is strongly reinforced by proofs drawn from its language. Everywhere we perceive an effort, more or less consistent or persistent, to remove the md. peculiarities of the original and to make its phonetics and spelling conform to the accepted od. standard; everywhere also there are traces, more or less conspicuous, of the haste which rendered it impossible to carry out this intention with any degree of thoroughness.

1) Among the successful attempts to give our md. document an od. appearance we count the introduction of the od. *ai* for the *ei* (*ey*) of the original wherever *ei* perpetuates the old ahd., mhd. diphthongs corresponding to OE. *ā* = NE. *ō*. Hence B makes a clear distinction between *ei* the old diphthong and *ei* which is a diphthongisation of the old ahd., mhd., OE. *i*. The former is invariably represented by *ai* (*ay*), the latter by *ei* (*ey*). The only detected exceptions to this strict observance of the rule are *anderweht*, *warheit* and *überein* which should be *anderwayb*, *warhait* and *überain*. The following instances will suffice to illustrate the rule: *ayer* mhd., ahd. *eier*, OE. *ægru*; *aygen* mhd., ahd. *eigen*, OE. *āgen*, *haym* in *bahaym* mhd., ahd. *heim*, OE. *hām*; *brayt* mhd., ahd. *breit*, OE. *brād*; *haylig* mhd., ahd. *heilig*, OE. *hālig*; *hayffen* mhd. *heizen*, ahd. *heizzan*, OE. *hātan*; *klayn* mhd. *kleine*, ahd. *kleini*, OE. *clāne*; *ayn* mhd., ahd. *ein*, OE. *ān*.

2) Another remarkable feature of B is the consistency with which the *vor* of A has been turned into *ver*. Only three instances were overlooked: *vorächtiglich* 243²³, *vorgewissen* 265¹⁷ and *vormitelt* 271²⁶. In the rest, one hundred and thirteen in number, *ver* invariably takes the place of the *vor* of A.

3) We found in A a uniform application of *e* to designate the umlaut of *ā* as well as of *a*; B retains this *e* largely, even in *wer*, *weren* = *wäre*, *wären*, but we find *ā* introduced in the following instances: *fālen*, *gebācht*, *geſāliget*, *gnābiger*, *gottſāligen*, *kāß*, *kārlīch*, *nāchſten*, *fālig*, *fāligſait*, *fāligſayt*, *fāligſlich*, *ſchwär*, *ſchwäre*, *ſeelfāligſait*, *ſtātem*, *tāglich*, *thāten*, *vnſālige*, *vnſāligem*, *vntrāglichē*, *Wātter*, *vātter*, *vorāchtiglich*, *wāchter*. B makes use of this *ā* also in those cases where A has exceptionally substituted *ā* for *e* as in *Carbināl*, *Carbinālen*, *verāndern*. In *māchte* the umlaut takes the place of the usual *machte*. For *ſtalle*, which is itself infrequent, B substitutes the od. *ſtölle*. This od. *ō* appears in B also in quite a number of cases where A has the traditional mhd. *e*: thus in *ernōren*, *ernōrt*, *er-*

wölt, erzölen, hör, lör, schöpffer; but with remarkable inconsistency the e of A's scheppen is retained in scheppen 253³¹, verkören, Wölche, wölche, wölchen, wölcher, wölches, wölchs, wölliches, wöllichs, wöllen. Here in all probability belong also the other forms of the verb wöllen, although their representation in A by ö or o would seem to indicate that they are rather genuine cases of o umlaut than of irrational ö = mhd. e: these additional forms are wöllen, wöll, wöl, wölle, wöllens, wölten.

4) The use of ö to designate an authentic o umlaut is far more extended and consistent in B than in A. In fact B retains all the cases of ö in A and adds others.

5) In A only a few scattering instances were found that might be considered as an attempt to designate by û the u which comes from mhd. uo. In B however there is quite a determined employment of this sign. Note it in the first place in alnûfen which exactly represents mhd. almuosen ahd. almuosan and replaces almoß of A. Again -ûit, -mût mhd. -uot, -muot in armûts and bemûit. Similarly in blûit, blûitt, blûituergieffen, bâben, bûlen, flûch, genûg, genûgsam, gerûche, gût and its forms, mûß, mûssen, pflûg, jûchen with its forms and compounds besûchen, nach zûsûchen, thûn with its forms, zû as preposition and prefix. Unfortunately this consistency is marred by the occasional use of the sign û where no modification is intended. Thus we have abthû, anrûffen, berûfft, rûfft, rûwig, thûn, wider-rûfft, zû. In the following instances however this same û represents the genuine umlaut of u: außfûren, außfûrt, außfûrung, behûtt, bemûhet, betrûben, brûder, brûderlich, brûderliche, brûderlicher, einfûren, eingefûrt, fûren, fûrt, fûssen, gemûtheß, genûgen, gûttern, gûtigkait, gûtlich, herauß fûren, hoffûren, langtmûtigkait, mûssen, mûst, mûsten, mûtterlein, nûchtern, rûmen, senftmûtigkait, ûben, ûbeten, ûbungen, vnderstûnden, vngestûmigkait, vngûttig, verfûren, verfûrt, verfûrer, verfûrisch, verfûrung. The other sign B employs for the u umlaut is the modern ü. It appears in the following instances: dafûr, darfûr, dûrffen, flûchtig, frûmkait, fûlen, fûrchten, misprinted fûchten 277⁸, fûrderlich, fûrder, fûrderung, fûereten, fûr, fûrgeben, geben ... fûr, Gaben ... fûr, fûrgestellt, fûrnemen, fûrnemens, fûrgenommen, fûr nymbt, fûrnemlich, fûrsehen, fûrstehen, Fûrsten, fûrwenden, fûrgewandt, gebûren, gebûrllichem, gebûrllichen, gewûnnen, gûnstiger, herfûr bringt, herfûr bracht, hinfûr, Sübische, kûmert, Kûnige, lûften, Mûnch, mûß, sprûch, sprûche, sprûchlein, sûnd, sûnden, sûndtlichen, sûndtlichs, überein, überwinden, vnnûße, vnnûglich, vntûchtig, verkûndigen, verkûndiget, verwûrfft, wollûst, wûnschen, wûrden, wûsten, zerrûtten, zûkûnfftig, zûrnen, erzûrnen. The occurrence of ü for mhd. = nhd. i is very remarkable in verwûrfft, verwûrft, hoffûren. Vice versa würde is put for wûrde. The affix -nûß of A is invariably replaced by -nuß, -nuß in B. So we have erfendtnuß, erkantnuß, zeügtnuß, zeugtnuß, finsternuß, ergernuß, hindernuß, betriegnuß.

6) We have had occasion to remark how B endeavors to do away with the md. peculiarities of A. This endeavor is especially noticeable with regard to those cases where A shows a broadening of mhd. *â*, *a* to *o*. In all such instances B has replaced the original *a* with the exception of *Albo* 255¹⁴, *auffbloßen* 259³ and *noch* 243²⁷. The two former instances are undoubtedly due to oversight. As to the latter, the retention of the spelling *noch* may have been intentional. While the restoration of *a* in the cases adverted to cannot be claimed as particularly od., the substitution of *a* for *o* in all the instances of *wo* and its compounds in A is distinctly so. Hence we have *wa*, *Wa*, *wamit*, *anderhwa*, *wa her*, *wo* 247⁶ and 259¹³ being oversights. All the more then must one marvel that the *o* has been substituted by B in *hon* 261³ for the *han* = *haben* of A.

7) No less remarkable is the persistent replacing of the *a* by *o* in the preposition *on*, *one*. Moreover the peculiar *a* of *sal*, *ap*, *ap gleich*, *aber* once *abder* 250³³ in A is turned into *o* by B. So much has the redactor been intent upon the elimination of these peculiarities that even in 259² he replaced *Über* by *ober*, not observing that there he had to do with the md. *aber* = *aber*. B also has dispensed with the *h* as indicative of length in the following instances: *An*, *an*, *baran*, *wolan*, *am*, *nam*, *ban*. The elimination of this *h* has gone hand in hand with the change from *o* to *u* in *frummen*, *frummet*, then too *fromen* has been replaced by *frummen*, while the *o* has been retained in *frommen* 279¹⁰ only. The od. *u* or *ü* has been introduced also in *brunnen*, *funde*, *antwurten*, *geantwurt*, *dürffen*, *flüchtig*, *fürchten*, *fürdern*, *fürderlich*, *günstiger*, *kümert*, *Künige*, *Münch*, *fun*, *zürnen*, but that there has been no consistent effort in eliminating all the md. forms, the following cases bear witness: *dörffen*, *bedörffen*, *flöchtig*, *gottförchtigen*, *fröde*, *fömern*; the *zûstûrung* of A has even been turned into *zûstûrung*. In the treatment of *au*, *eu*, the redactor has not been quite so slipshod. It was remarked under A that its representation of these diphthongs is quite approximate to modern practice.

8) Another evidence that B tries to keep an eye upon the removal of distinctly md. peculiarities is in the words *tewren* replaced by *tawren* mod. *bauern*, *hœupt* constantly transcribed *haupt* mod. *haupt*, *seufferey* becoming *saufferey*. The inconsistency is also apparent when B substitutes *eü* for the *eu* of A. This sign along with the spelling *ew* apparently dominates the field, for of *eü* there are forty-two instances and of *ew* forty; and yet, the *eu* of A has not been eliminated entirely, for there are altogether six examples of it surviving in *euch* 245¹⁸, 281⁴, *Chriftgleubiger* 263³³, *eufferlichem* 257²⁴, *eufferlichem* 257³⁸. A new element is introduced by the sign *du* employed in two instances: *gläubiger* and *täuffen*, the latter stands for the *taffen* of A but is a remarkable mistake which seems to owe its origin to the endeavor to substitute the umlaut form *täuffen* mhd. *töufen*

baptize for the primary form tauffen mhd. toufen which the redactor must have thought was underlying the spelling taffen he found in A. And here again B betrays its South German origin. For a = á, au is a distinctly od. characteristic. Compare for example glaben = glauben, vrlab = vrlaub and vice versa laufen = lassen in the correspondence of Dr. Gereon Sailer with the Augsburg burgomaster Georg Hertwart under date of May 17, 24 and 26, June 2 and 4, 1541, as given in the ARg. IV: Etlich auß den grossen herren haben nit wollen glaben 73²⁶; vnangesehen das ich fiermalen auffß vnter thanigest vrlab pegert hab 77³⁵⁻³⁶; Hat sich der güt herr, der margraff churfürst, sampt seinem probiger, dem Eisleben, auch laufen ins spil bringen 91³¹⁻³².

9) Among other distinctly od. peculiarities of B there may be mentioned wafft 253¹⁵, 277¹⁴ for the weiff of A, leichten 263¹⁵ for leuchten, binnen 277⁷ for brennen. Note also gleichßnern 271³⁴ which is an attempt at introducing the od. form for the md. which has been left 271¹⁸ along with the adjective 257³ and the abstract noun 251²⁹; 257⁹.

10) Unless bienen be a misprint for benen it may be regarded as od.; it is twice met with: 253²¹; 269²⁸. This ie for e is also found in other od. documents. So bien = den occurs in the Gutachten Frechts über die bedenklichen Lehren in Frands *Paradoxa* published by A. Hegler, Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Mystik in d. Reformationszeit, ARg. Ergänzungsband I p. 124: Also hat Frand in seiner Chronik am 411. blat under des Denden artidel auch bien schleißt und ründ geschriben: die gschrift sey nit gottes wort. Another instance of it is to be found in the letter Joh. Eberlein Pfarrer zu Leutershausen wrote on Sept. 25, 1532 an die Statthalter und Räte zu Ansbach, BbKg. XI p. 89: ich halt warlich die, so mich babstisch schelten, etlich mich nit kienen; etlich wollen mich nit kennen. To the dat. pl. bien for den Weinhold adverts in Mhd. Grammatik § 484: Dat. mfn den, zuweisen zu din geschwächt, zb. Annot. 132. 599. Die alem. Form ist bien, sogar im Reim: zien Lanz. 5715, AGr. S. 463. Altes den (ahd. dem altn. þeim got. þaim) hat sich darin diphthongisch gespalten. Other od. vowel and diphthongal characteristics of B could be enlarged upon, but let the above suffice.

11) Some significant changes in the consonants must now be pointed out. 1. The attitude of B towards the nn of A in declensional and verbal forms is striking. The double n has been almost uniformly simplified. 2. The same has been done with the medial bb of A. Though B resolves the bt of A into b in twenty-three cases it shows on the other hand an undoubted preference for the combination, for aside from thirty-one instances where it retains the bt of A there are no less than twenty-four examples in which bt is substituted for the simple b of A. 3. In A initial p for mhd. b occurs in a number of instances; in B they are re-

duced to two forms altogether, *paubern*, *pewrlein*. The medial *p* of A's *bapft* is consistently retained in B even in those cases where A varies. B also agrees with A in the retention of insertional *p* after *m*, though 251⁴ it puts *b*. But B substitutes *pf* for the dialectic medial *p* of A in *ſchepfen*, *ſchöpffer*. For the medial compositional *p* of A the labial *b* is substituted by B in *gebrenge*. The terminal *ff* of A has become *pf* in B in the word *ſcharpf*. 4. In A a number of examples were found in which *ß* stands initially for mhd. *s*. This *ß* is reduced to *ſ* in B in every instance so that initial *ß* does not appear at all. On the other hand, medial *ß* has been introduced in B in a number of instances where A has the *ſ* that corresponds to mhd. *s*. So we have *alßbenn*, *anderßwa*, *auffgeblaßen*; *Breßlaw*, *böße*, *bößen*; *Gotloßen*, *leßen*, *weiß*, *wehßt*. In the following examples B substitutes the correct *ß* = mhd. *z* for the occasional *ſ* of A: *außlegen*, *außrichten*, *gewißlich*, *verdrießlich*, *gihmaßß*. Terminal *ß* is also much more prevalent in B than in A: The syllable *-niß* of A largely appears as *-nuß*. The *ſuß* of A is invariably spelt *ſuß*; *ſmauß* is *ſmauß*; *ſonß* becomes *ſonß*. The derivative from the Latin *census* *zinß* constantly preserves the terminal *ß* in the two cases where it occurs, while in A there is a variation with *ſ*. In *gihmaßß* 243²⁶, *daß* 267²³, *biß* 267²⁶; 283⁴ B gives the correct *ß* = mhd. *z*. As to medial *ff*, B on the whole agrees with A. The only deviations noticed are these: 257²⁶ and 271¹⁵; the incorrect *ſ* of A is changed to *ff* in *eufferlichem* and *eüfferlichen*. In fact *ff* prevails in this particular word and is even substituted for the *ß* of A 257^{14·24·26}. For the correct *ſ* of A it appears in *wachffen* 245²⁰. It is also substituted for the dialectic *ſch* of A in *verſchaffungen* 255⁶. 5. Initial *z* in A struggles for supremacy with *ß*. B has decided in favor of *z*; the solitary *ßeren* 251¹² is probably an oversight; all the other instances of initial *ß* have been removed. This is apparent also in the compounds where by composition the initial becomes medial: hence *anzahgen*, *anzahget*, *anzahgt*, *angezahgt*, *außgezogen*, *bezeüß*, *bar zû*, *erzahgen*, *erzölen*, *erzürnen*, *unzelich* where the corresponding forms of A are spelled with *ß*. Except in these compounds *z* does not appear medially. Terminally *z* occurs only in the abbreviation *bz* and that in seven cases. Everywhere else this abbreviation of A is dissolved into *daß*. There is entire agreement between B and A in the use of the terminal *ß*.

III. The word *Sendbrief* is omitted although it would have been exactly expressive of the style in which the *Ermanung* is couched and of the method used in the discussion. No technical term for the form is substituted, but the title given it sets the moral content and purpose of the letter exclusively before us.

IV. The modifiers which are so much more numerous in B than in A have already been considered at large.

V. The signs of abbreviation are $\delta = \text{der}$; — which duplicates the consonant; q which stands for us ; $\text{v} = \text{ver}$; to which may be added b_3 for baß .

VI. Initial capitalization has attained relatively fixed rules in A, but not precisely to the uniformity which we find in B. 1) The usages in A are as follows: Proper names of persons and of places are invariably spelled with a capital. Among divine names Jesuß Christuß and the adjective Christlich are always printed with a capital; and so with the term Herr as applied to him, whereas geist and göttlich and herr as applied to God are rarely with capitals; Der Heilige Geist appears only once; all divine appellatives outside of Christlich are with a small letter. Names of station and office are very rarely capitalized except in the abbreviated titles of the Bishop. But sentences, quotations, illative particles and occasionally emphatic words are most frequently capitalized. 2) In B capitalization verges toward greater definiteness of rule than in A. Divine names are almost invariably spelled with a capital letter, notably Jesuß Christuß while Geist is the most wavering. Adjectival forms of the divine names now also have capitals, and yet with some variation; Christlich as in A is invariably so written. Names of persons and places are capitalized almost constantly; names of office, station and dignity also, but not uniformly. Sometimes the adjectival forms are so written, while the title proper may or may not be. Sentences after periods are unfailingly so, sometimes after other interpunctuations also; especially is this the case with a logical adverb or with a particle introducing the protasis.

VII. The punctuation in A is for the most part followed by B. 1) The oblique line / stands for comma and suffices: to divide simple sentences more or less complete; to separate adjectival or substantival groups; to precede vnb where it introduces a longer sentence; to precede illative, causal, telic, disjunctive and instrumental particles; to mark parenthetical clauses when not distinguished directly by the parenthesis; to indicate negative clauses and relative sentences occasionally. It serves sometimes too as a makeshift to fill up a line where the succeeding word does not admit of division; it fulfills also the functions of the semicolon or the colon before quotations or after terminal titles of address: and in several instances it does duty for the query. 2) The period is used at the end of the paragraph, generally before as well as after numerals and sometimes before as well as after abbreviations. Occasionally it is omitted at the end of a paragraph either for lack of space or from carelessness. 3) Besides these the interrogation mark, the parenthesis and the hyphen occur. The latter follows the rules already stated in Doc. VI.

VIII. The letter *r* is printed in two ways according to seemingly definite rules. The form *r* is used at the beginning of words and at the end when the vowel requires it. It follows the vowels *a*, *ä*, *e*, *i* (*j*) (*y*) and the consonants *c*, *g*, *t*, *t*. The form *z* is employed after the vowels *o*, *ö* and *u* (*u*), *w* for the greater part, although *r* is found with the same vowels but in fewer cases and sometimes apparently by oversight. It also occurs after the consonants *b*, *b*, *h*. In case of double *r* the final one is *z* although not invariably. After *f* and *p* either is used.

IX. There are certain defects in the text which are reproduced so far as possible but are not commented upon in the notes. The letters *i* and *j* are frequently without dots, especially in B. Where however there is the slightest trace of a point the full dot has been restored; where none such could be discovered the text will indicate the fact. There are also a few cases in A where the dots over the genitive *ij* or of the signature have run together and have formed a bar; those have been reproduced. A few other marks such as the lines of the matrix or the spacing blocks may have made are observed in only one instance. There are some spaces between letters which have not been imitated because they are due to exigencies of the type.

X. We see a larger use of proverbs and of the axiomatic mode of speech. The citations are from A:

1. daß sie ein andermal doheym bleiben. 248³¹.
2. Wie wol es billicher wesz hauchs dinft/ denn gottis dinft/ 250⁶.
3. Mann sicht wol daß die mōnch furnemlich/ wol so ferren rhyem als ein geher ein ohß/ 250^{9/10}.
4. Wie wol es freylich umb gelt vnnb gutt gar nichts ad wenigst zu thuen weh/ 250^{16/17}
5. gleichsam sie es wol hetten troffen/ 250^{29/30}.
6. Adam muß auß/ sol Christus ein gehn/ 252^{5/6}.
7. Aber ehz wart biß zu seiner zeit/ er sol sie noch wol findenn. 252^{24/25}.
8. Es ist ye ein gewiß regell/ welcher sucht lauther die ehre gottis/ den nuß seines nechstenn/ vnnb die errettung der armen gefangē gewissen/ 8 muß auß got sein. 258²⁹⁻³¹.
9. So wer vns wol kein pfennigst ym bewtel blyben/ 260^{12/13}.
10. Nu mussenn wir sollend brann/ 268³.
11. Aber was istß daß ehliche zuuor/ vor den menschen/ ym eüßerlichen schein/ fur from gehalten/ vñ sein doch ym herzhē legen gott/ buben in der haudt gewest/ 270¹⁵⁻¹⁷.
12. wie der grofste hauff yhme groffe gewissen nympt / 276^{19 20}. These

illustrate a variety of usages: The borrowing of scriptural phrases which were themselves originally of a paroemic cast; the full quotation of these kernels of practical wisdom and humor; the employment of gnomie fragments which have already passed into the heart of current speech; the outright invention with the adoption of the sententious habit or dress. The most of these also have a crisp, epigrammatic swing which helps to make them or their suggestion stick.

XI. We have the same rhetorical combinations of double and triple massing of nouns, verbs, phrases and sentences that we shall more and more find to be a fixed feature in the developing German style of Schwenckfeld.

XII. In some respects this missive is as remarkable for its omissions as for its suggestions. One is struck with the absence of violent and abusive language; it is true the authors have not much respect for the prelates nor for the curial system. They speak of both with unapologetic, unsugared freshness. One observes also that these friends indulge in no exaggerated statements such as were then habitual in the arraignment of the Romish system. They are very temperate in their list of grievances, but this very moderation makes all the deeper impression and puts the contrast between the old and the new in startling colors. It should be observed too that they refrain from any long discussion about the usual materials of controversy; for example, they do not dwell at length upon the system of indulgences; it is only the casual mention of the stationers which brings that large topic before us; the single touch however, is sufficient to characterize the vast abuse and the overgrown proportions to which it had attained in the popular conception of religion. They left to others the disgruntled analysis of its merits. They say far less than even Fibiger at so late a date does in his concessions of the evils existing in the trade, or than the Bishop probably himself had often uttered in his pastorals; this solitary word of his former companions might suffice to remind him of his own once more radical reformatory tendencies. It is this vein of temperate treatment which we shall find to be a pervading element in Schwenckfeld's style. He keeps balance and proportion in whatever he says. In such reserve there may indeed be a sign of his legal training which almost always checks the overstrained and ignorant enlargement that passion indulges in. Coolness takes the wind out of the hottest adversary. This mildness however never detracts from the freighted significance of his thoughts nor from the earnest and clear impression which he designed to make of comfort, of warning, of argument. We may remark also the fairness which our authors exhibit in presenting the arguments of the adversary, even preserving a sort of cumulative sequence, so that the opponent's best foot might be put forward; and yet this very arrangement suffices to tumble over the whole logical

plea more effectually than a weaker method could attain. Providing you can topple any one brick the neighboring ones must follow.

XIII. The present letter is not without those strokes of wit which have the hue of surprising turns of expression and, at times as well, a quality of bluntness. The proverbs as we have seen are themselves for the most part of this cast, especially when the Bishop is invited to inflict that sort of rebuke to the insistent prelates which shall make them stay at home and discourage them from further embassies to Neisse. Or again in that contrast between an ideal service of God and a belly service, as the coddling of one's self with a lot of grossly selfish ends. When they distinguish between the relative difficulty of the life of genuine sacrifice and the observation of mechanics in religion they express it as being much more congenial to pay a sum that others may sing a votive mass for us, or to give a bushel of corn to a monk or to light up a lot of candles, or to go on a hilarious pilgrimage than to wage a serious war against the native evil of the soul; the spell of satiric humor gives fine color and strength to the lofty duty inculcated. The language whereby Adam is depicted as expelled so as to give place to the indwelling of Christ as the rightful tenant of the heart has the terseness and vigor of an epigrammatic form. Their appreciation of Tauler's poignant and comprehensive saying indicates their sympathy with that type of gnomic and pregnant expression, as does also their quotation from Cyprian. The broad depiction of the current preaching as a setting forth of hell and purgatory in coarse and lurid ways on the part of the old-timers, as a means of holding the untutored in terror and slavish fear, and then the outrageous claim that such homilies are a proclamation of that Gospel which requires the magnifying of the divine love and the exaltation of uplifting promises, cannot but stir the irony and disgust within the reader's heart. The high ambitions of the clerics to make sure of sufficient revenue for a jolly life and a good time is well put as a ludicrous mockery of the divine call to spiritual service. The sly-boots who hope to impose on God by courtly poses and affected etiquette are brought to task for their cool impudence and arrogant ways in very effective lines. The vision of the empty pocket, should the old and greedy tyranny still have a free hand to appropriate the last treasured fractional coin, would make a fine caricature. Nor must the twinkling preface to this denial of further access to their wallet be unobserved; it is with a humorous address of thanks to these robbers as dear friends: we do indeed recognize with cordial civility your amicable disposition to purloin our goods but please be satisfied with as much as you have already filched and spare us our ultimate farthing. The array of ten thousand councils frantically struggling to prevent the Church from realizing her inherent prerogative to communion in both kinds is a

picture not far behind it in forceful humor. The delight that Axleben and Schwenckfeld once had in reading the Gospel of Nicodemus shows a temperament capable and solicitous of amusement and enjoyment, not quenched but rather enhanced by the discovery that the element of fable predominates therein. The fable has its own deep interest. The tussle of Annas and Caiaphas to maintain the old ceremonial, elaborated by generations of commentation, in the face of the destructive intrusion of the Spirit of Christ is a cartoon of chaos in conflict with light. The argument for Hus is full of luminous and cogent sparkle. The summation of the Libertine movement in its essential and violent contradiction of the Christian conduct of life abounds with broad and annihilating characterizations. The depiction of Christ's exalted ministry with its divine unfoldings of truth by experience and example as terminating on the gallows, puts cause and effect in such startling and convulsive contradiction that human injustice is at once condemned and an indignant sympathy with the divine endeavor and suffering is aroused; nor could anything set forth more graphically the irrelevancy of such criticisms as the prelates indulged in as to the success of the true cause and of a sturdy reformation. The divine seemingly defeated by the human is not a proof of the overthrow or capacity of truth, but is rather its process of vindication and its cogent argument for the duty of continuing to sow the good seed persistently and that too upon the most reluctant soil. The sin of resistance to spiritual progress and to clear conceptions of eternal verities discloses its own wilfulness and folly. The satirical comments of the prelates upon the invasion of ecclesiastical functions by independent laymen is met by a shrewd revelation as to what real foolishness is, and what a divinely blessed wisdom absolutely consists in, and that too by a powerful reminder to these functionaries of their own lack of fitness for the religious service which they would feign preëempt when tested by the fire of biblical requirements. The mirror held up to the prelates shows a distorted, hump-backed lot of lackeys instead of servants; a troop of plunderers and thievish traders instead of stewards. It is a splendid double volley which our apologists fire when they suggest the equalization of culture by sending the learned to preach the Gospel to the peasant, and the dumb donkeys to the sing-song and drone of the choir. The irony involved in the local pastoral orders for the Lenten seasons is both feelingly and indignantly set forth in the contradiction between what is so generously and undiscerningly permitted and the actual, terrible, bitter poverty of the peasants. The moral catastrophe and collapse of the Curia as over against its voluble and swelling claims to be the sole centre of religious legislation and the genuine treasure house of eternal life afford a charcoal sketch of glaring and vivid antinomies. The Rome as it is over against what Rome pre-

tends to be with the persuasiveness of the sword is a rich exposure of the pseudo-succession to the apostles. Nor less satirically portrayed is the priestcraft pretence to official dignity and almost divine honors when the character has kept no pace with the demand for doffed caps and the imposition of slavish laws and humiliating genuflections. So long as there is no purity and earnest development of the Christian virtues on the part of the ministry, so long will there be a just contempt for the clergy. The raillery of the prelates against the innovators as fostering revolution and a disrespect for ecclesiastical institutions is the last of the stock arguments to which the obscurantist appeals. The pillars that support the edifice of the good old times tremble and fall before every new agonistes no matter how the conservatives groan. Their ancient toggery will look silly alongside of the new fashions. The gentlemen of the old school are always shocked and disconcerted by the free manners of the new epoch. It bothers their four-square noddles to keep step with the march of events. They cannot and will not sing the new tunes which have so much of the street and the workshop of to-day; they forget that their own favorite hymns were mostly popular songs before the Church adopted them. They have no understanding for what is distinctly human and what is aspirant for the freedom of the spirit. They forget that religion must share in the ethical affairs of the world. For them what is not Gregorian is not right. He who does not cringe to the mitre or to the cassock is a democrat whose radical ideas destroy the symbolism of vestments and the venerable authority of the priesthood. To lose cast is the most humiliating of experiences; that peril must be exterminatingly dealt with, they argue, for government perishes when false dignity and reserve are threatened with mockery. There be few that can gracefully part with the past and hail the future; not many are they who can retire gracefully and yield precedence to the coming generation. The fathers when they become grandfathers still want to boss the household after the Italian fashion. There will always be antique relics who prefer the stage-coach to the electric car. The men of symbolic vestments feel that they look antediluvian enough in the day of bifurcated garments, and before a dress that signifies energy and equality. The ecclesiastics still carry harquebuses and lances, while the world insists on the longest range cannon and the most rapid firing guns. With the humor of our writers we might ask, do you think that development is degeneration? Is ignorance better than science? If Christ could not escape criticism is the Christian going to demand exemption and stand on his absurdly acquired and utterly unbrotherly rights? A few strokes of ridicule on the part of our authors make all these illusional worthies appear crestfallen and incompetent. Look on this picture of the Christ and then look on this

of the full blown prelate. While not unmindful of that old world, begin for that very reason a life of progress in the new avenues now open by the grace of God and the liberty of Christ to human aspiration and achievement. Surely there is a deep vein of wit as well as humor in these two friends as they pursue their claim for the authority of the living Word and present their apology for the evangelical faith they have adopted and file their petition for a general reformation.

E.

Jacob von Salza¹ belonged to a very ancient family, who began their career in Thuringia. Hermann von Salza as the distinguished master of the Teutonic Knights was an offshoot. The first migrations into Silesia by members of the household were in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century they are settled in Schreibersdorf, Lichtenau and Linda all in the vicinity of Lauban. The bishop was the youngest son of Nicolaus von Salza, hereditary proprietor of Schreibersdorf, and Barbara von Hock of Thomaswaldau; he had four brothers and four sisters. He was born in August 1481 and fell prospective heir to a part of the estates after the death of his father in March 1485 when Jacob was but four years of age. Wigand, the second of the sons and considerably older than his youngest brother, was of similar tastes and pursuits. Their earlier schooling was probably mainly in Lauban and Görlitz. Wigand after attending Leipzig made his final studies in Italy where he took the degrees of Licentiate and then Doctor of both laws as his epitaph declares; as early as 1499 he also went through the clerical ordinations in rapid succession in the chapel of St. Peter's at Rome. He then devoted himself exclusively to the Church. Jacob also went to Leipzig but also completed his scholastic career in Italy, and on July 1, 1506 was made licentiate of both canon and civil law, a year before Schwenckfeld attended the University of Frankfurt a/O. On June 3, 1508 he received his Doctor's diploma at Ferrara in the episcopal palace where he had also obtained his prior degree at the hands of the General Vicar of the Bishop

¹ The main authorities used for this outline are: *Martini Hankii de Silesiis Indigenis eruditus* chap. LXI and LXXVIII; *Regesten des aus dem alten deutschen Herrenstande hervorgegangenen Geschlechts Salza* Leipzig 1853, this has an extended bibliography of sources and literature; *Meier, Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation. Aus schlesischen Quellen.* München und Berlin 1903; the Chronicles have scattered notices and Schickfus has also a sketch; Fibiger's vindication is in the interest of Roman orthodoxy; Ehrhardt is quite fair; Sinapius, Klose, Heyne, Grönhagen, Bauch, Otto, Troska are all noteworthy; Ebeling, *Die deutschen Bischöfe unter Breslau* has a meagre notice. Salza is altogether worthy of a larger treatment than he has yet received. There are a number of official letters of his in various archives that are of historical importance. Of course the *Acta Capituli* and the Salza family archives throw light upon his career.

of Ferrara and Florence, Gregorius de Pisciano. We must therefore bear in mind the Italian training and influence and doubtless his knowledge of that language. How much or how little he was affected by humanism is not clear; he certainly was not an enthusiast in those lines such as his predecessor in the bishopric had been; yet in harmony with his judicious character he was not at enmity with it and held its representatives in high regard as may be concluded from his relations to Crautwald, Corvinus and Moibanus; indeed his own brother was an accomplished Grecian. The legal training in canon law also required a considerable knowledge of theology. The very divisions and the subjects treated would necessitate a worthy acquaintance with scholastic method and arguments. He does not seem to have been affected by the forms of scepticism so prevalent in Italy especially and that too among ecclesiastics. Further, he had ample opportunity to understand the Roman system at its fountain heads, its colossal methods of statecraft, the complicated machinery of its administration, the private and public behavior of its chief representatives; such a near knowledge was not without its impressions upon his shrewd, reserved and politic ways. He did not pursue the example of his brother in at once devoting himself to the ecclesiastical career but gave himself at first to civil pursuits entirely. After his return home the partition of the estates took place in 1509. Wigand and Jacob seem to have received no one of the landed possessions, but were probably provided for by payment of definite sums; indeed certain annual rentals had fallen to Jacob's and his brother's good in 1487 by the will of a relative. In the next year 1510, King Wladislaw of Bohemia appointed Jacob Landeshauptmann of the Fürstentum Gross-Glogau. This constituted him virtually the royal representative of that principality in all matters legislative, administrative, judicial and military. His nomination to so important a post throws light upon his sturdy character, for the regulation of its complicated and turbulent affairs required much sagacity, and the fact that he held the position for many years in succession is proof both of his capacity and success. Here was an area in which the old and new ideas in politics and later in religion were in continuous trituration and yet he retained the confidence of both parties. It must be assumed too that Jacob had a knightly training, that he was skilled in the use of the old weaponry as well as in the displacing modern science of war; he would scarcely have been equal to the demands of his office without that in this time, although these duties also underwent somewhat of a change under the later Austrian domination when he in 1536 from the very fact of his large political and military experience was appointed Oberlandeshauptmann for Silesia.

On the fifth of April 1511 occurred an incident which must have deeply affected a man of Jacob's quiet but thorough-going nature: King

Wladislaw of Bohemia had come with a mixed retinue to Breslau to receive the oaths of fealty. A tournament was held in his honor. Jacob took part in this and in an encounter with a Hungarian knight, after the lances were shivered and the swords were drawn, he vanquished his adversary but had the misfortune to cut off his hand. The Hungarians were madly inflamed and under the leadership of Graf Janusch Waida pursued Jacob, who was ardently defended by that master of chivalry and the art of war, Hans von Rechenberg; they were driven into the very sacristy of the church of St. Elizabeth of which Moibanus, a rabid opponent of Schwenckfeld, was subsequently to be the pastor. Some are wont to attribute the conversion of Jacob to this troubling and humbling experience. That may be open to criticism from the fact that the only sign of change at this time was his reception of some benefices; he did not resign his civil offices nor did he lose the favor of the king in consequence of the accident and the wrath of the Hungarian contingent. It was in the early part of 1512 that he received the royal instruction to prevent any interference in Glogau with the commercial warehouse privileges of Breslau. With the undiminished regard of the king he continued to administer the affairs of the principality; a few documents of this reign have survived that prove this unlesened authority. In this same year also he was a deputy to the great convention of the nobility of Silesia, Lusatia, Bohemia and Moravia who devised terms for the perpetual peace of their lands. It is quite probable that Axleben and Schwenckfeld were present, the latter fresh from his studies and just beginning his political career.

The friendship of the court was continued by the successor of Wladislaw, king Ludwig, and was undisturbed by Jacob's reception of certain ecclesiastical benefices; indeed the accession of that monarch rather increased the sphere of duty and the openings to well paid preferments. Nor was there any interruption of the kindly intercourse with the Herzog of Teschen and Glogau, a somewhat more difficult relationship. In order to enable him to hold livings which exceeded the usual limits, a dispensation was accorded him then already the provost of the collegiate Marienkirche of Gross-Glogau on May 15, 1516 by the Cardinal-legate Thomas. A month later his brother Wigand became Cantor of the same. Jacob in addition was chosen to be scholasticus, a leading prelatie office, in the cathedral church of the Holy Cross in Breslau; and as such he was constituted a member of its canonry. His brother Wigand had been an associate of that Chapter for some time. In 1517 Jacob was appointed altariist of the Frauenkirche in Görlitz which office he held until 1525 when he vacated it in favor of Mathäus Lamprecht and later Caspar Lindlau. Of course such far sundered offices could not be conducted by himself; he appointed for example, a vicar to discharge the duty of

reading mass in Görlitz but he drew the revenues. He indulged in the then scarce-acknowledged sin of absenteeism and his inclination to the Church appears more a matter of solicitude for increased resources than for the good of souls; the two brothers deemed it necessary to support their noble instinct and inheritance by sufficing salaries. In the fall of 1517 occurs the first official mention of Jacob as scholasticus and therefore canon of the Dom at Breslau, although his appointment may have taken place as early as 1516 as Otto surmises. This gave him the oversight of the cathedral school and of all the ecclesiastical educational institutions of the diocese; it was next in dignity to the presidency. Ludwig in 1519 confirmed the family privileges by a charter dated January 12. As a proof too of the appreciation of his sagacious talents by that monarch's ministers, he was sent with the Bohemian Chancellor Laszla von Sternberg to Frankfurt a/M., to attend the session of the electoral college in 1519. Hanke remarks in connection with this incident: *Eloquentia Eruditioneque sua non vulgariter afficiebat praestitisque fideliter Officiis in Amorem sui peculiarem trahebat.*

Here he advocated the election of Charles, one of the most unfortunate events of German history. It does not add to our estimate of his sagacity as a patriotic statesman to find him the enthusiastic supporter of such a humiliating movement, one too which brought frightful disaster to the politics and religion of his own land; but it was an infatuation which haunted equally Frederick the Wise; no one was found equal to that supreme opportunity. Whatever personal favor Jacob won with the counsellors of the young and silly Emperor it certainly bore no immediate fruit, but doubtless the accumulated gifts and bestowments of Ferdinand I had their origin in this espousal of the Burgundian and Spanish interests over against the Teutonic. Jacob remained the devoted servant of that nullifying court in the elective transfer of 1526/7, indeed he was the spokesman of the Silesian deputation. He bathed in the sunlight of that grasping government ever after. It may have been in 1515 that some agitations or complaints were raised against Jacob's secular administration, for a document from King Wladislaw dated June 8, [1515?] — the date 1517 as given in the *Regesten* is obviously incorrect, for Wladislaw died on March 13, 1516 — certifies the satisfaction of that monarch with the Landeshauptmann for the way in which he had discharged his duties to sovereign and to people as well. The royal pleasure in the excellence of character and in the knightly loyalty of his subject is graciously expressed. How Jacob could have fulfilled his full functions as scholasticus amid such a jumble of secular as well as ecclesiastical duties, it would be hard to tell. He was certainly not a regular attendant at the frequent sessions of the Chapter and how he could have performed the higher services of his important

office as master of studies with any sort of system one cannot conceive; and yet no post was more vital, particularly at this juncture. His sympathies and votes were with the party of reform in the external morals and churchliness of bishop, chapter, clergy and monks, as were those of his brother Wigand. This brought him into perpetual and irritating conflict with his episcopal head, John V, who had no interest in a purely formal reformation as to outward things and the fake themes of sacerdotal life for which the majority of prelates and canons stood. He had manifested a desire to sustain the new learning and seemed to favor a more radical revolution of the Church, but his own conduct was free and more like that of a very liberal man of the world. When the Chapter agreed to his playing for no more than four to six marks, they showed that their ideas were not grounded on the really spiritual. Nor did he manifest any concern for their frantic celibate propositions, nor for their appeals to him to root out the rising heresies. It was after constant harking that they got him at last reluctantly to second their petition to the pope to invalidate the Colowrat agreement. There were also endless disputes between the Chapter and the Bishop about the properties of the Church and the diocese. In the light of the accusations of the canons and his own concessions it would be hard to maintain that John was an evangelical or even a model churchman, but he certainly was not anxious to revamp the old system. When John died in August 1520, Jacob was unanimously chosen to the see on the first of September: the incidents of which election are dwelt upon in another section. But at once the subject of the old property rights and the taxation of ecclesiastical holdings came into the foreground for dispute, and not being of so easy-going a temper as John he would not always yield to the zelotics. At first he seemed to come to some agreement with the Chapter's policy of repression, especially in the rural districts, as when he or the Chapter caused the imprisonment of Ambrose Creusing. Schwenckfeld charged that cruel treatment directly to the Bishop and held him responsible as we have seen in the second letter to Hess. Jacob may have regretted his connection with that misstep, for the pastor of Wohlau was not long incarcerated at Ottmachau, and proceeded to carry his local reforms still further although the Chapter continued its complaints and urged their head to pursue more violent lines. Once settled in his desire for moderation while adhering to the Church Jacob bent where he would not be broken; he temporized in the call of Hess, and although he would not ordain yet urged him to accept the call and to preach the pure Gospel. It is noteworthy that Fibiger halts over the significance if not the genuineness of this letter, because he defends the fidelity of the Bishop to the old order; hence he publishes the text in Latin only. The episcopal relations with the Chapter

were frequently strained and the canons often took independent action in their appeals to the King of Poland and the King of Hungary. They waited upon Jacob by commissioners and were sorely disappointed at his reserve and forbearance. The protocols reveal the lines of cleavage while they would convey the notion of harmony. He had begun certain definite reforms with discretion and with the approval of the best men. How far he might have carried these changes had it not been for their anticipation by the people themselves and for the determined hostility and the later reactionary policy of Ferdinand may not be known; but certain it is that the Bishop exercised a rare clemency for a Roman official in all his jurisdiction and did not wholly lose the confidence of the leaders of the Reformation and their followers in Silesia. His sagacity as a man of affairs never entirely deserted him. The theory of adjustment to overmastering circumstances seemed to best indicate his own opinion; even when the views of the Chapter were backed by the vehement antipathies to the new ideas on the part of Austria he did not allow himself to be carried away from his equanimity. Under his administration the secular privileges of the bishopric were greatly enlarged and a policy of fiscal reparation brought back much of the financial influence which the spendthrift and popular clergy had dissipated, this too in spite of the churches and properties that were lost by the religious revolt. He stands in the first rank of the more liberal Romanists while the curialists have nothing but silence and contempt for him as a lax, weakkneed churchman. Some events of his later career will appear in connection with the letter of Crautwald and Schwenckfeld to him in 1527. The light which Axleben and Schwenckfeld throw on his attitude will yield us a far juster estimate of his earlier views than the books have been wont to give, and will also go far to verify the fair picture of his ability drawn by Hanke and Otto.

The titles furnish some material worth considering. On the title-page he is addressed simply: *Allen den hern Bischoff von Breslau*, which acknowledges him as ranking with the order of princes. His diocese is here limited to the domain of Breslau; this however must be taken in its ancient territorial sense which gave him jurisdiction over the whole of Lower Silesia in the then existing boundaries. It gives no hint of his being also Bishop of Neisse and as such having authority over Upper Silesia. The see had obtained a unique sort of independency. It had been practically delivered from its subordination to the metropolitinate of Gnesen and was to all intents directly bound to Rome. The Chapter had acquired the power of electing the bishop and of filling vacancies in their own body. In the exercise of their privileges they had tried to avoid the selection of native princes for the bishopric. The princes felt outraged by this action and compelled the Chapter to a reconsideration by withholding

protection against the robber knights. The long struggle was eventually settled in the Colowrat agreement by limiting the election to the related countries of Silesia, Lusatia, Bohemia and Moravia. In choosing Jacob, a native of Lusatia, over all other competitors they had vindicated their original prepossession which that agreement had conceded. At the same time, since Jacob was a resident of Silesia and had gained wide-spread popularity, his election was highly acceptable to the nobility.

In the caption the phrase *Dem hochwürbigen* is borrowed from *Reverendissimus*, Most reverend. The address in *Gott vater* we have the usual formula to express the spiritual relationship of the head to his household *Batterschaft*, *Paternitas*. The balance of the titles refer again to the political and social status of the Bishop as a prince with the customary repetition of the *Herr, Herr* current in both churchly and secular etiquette: *Dominus, Dominus*. The first name, Jacob, alone is given as with sovereigns of every grade. The etcetera points to an abridgment of statement which was quite the wont. It is not impossible however that something intentional underlay the limitation, for it is a marked fact that our authors do not address him directly as *Fürst-Bischof*. After the gift of Ottmachau which Jarozlaw, prince and bishop, made to the see, the *Fürstentum* of Neisse was gradually won and with it the title of *Fürst* so that every bishop thereafter has been designated as *Fürst-Bischof* and has exercised a definite secular jurisdiction. It was a constant temptation to enlarge that worldly sphere so as to cover the entire diocese. In view of the plea in this letter to spiritualize his authority, is it without significance that they have in no instance addressed their friend as *Fürst*? Do not they suggest by this omission the inappropriateness of connecting the dual functions? In the text proper they style him very reverend father, gracious lord; they employ constantly the abbreviations *E. G.* your grace, or *G. H(err)*, gracious lord; but never, it will be observed, do they add the *f.* the formula being *e. f. g.*; the *fürstlich durchlaucht, illustris* princely, serene highness element being passed by. They assert the equality of their station with his by birth. Apart from his bishopric he was of no bluer blood than they. The brothers in Schreibersdorf, in Lichtenau and in Linda were all on the same social level with the proprietors of Langenwaldau and of Ossig. No mere civil office added anything to the lustre of the family shields; and an ecclesiastical title was rather reluctantly honored if there were no genealogical emblems at the basis. But the petitioners did not base their appeal on any privilege of rank, although they could plead equality and therefore had a certain acknowledged right of free-speech as among peers, but they moved to a higher plane of Christian brotherhood which clothed each believer with admonitory powers as one of the chief elements of a genuine fraternal love.

Another fact is mentioned which carries us back to earlier years. These three men were all in the prime of manhood, Schwenckfeld being the youngest by about nine or ten years and each had held certain social and civic positions. How far back the friendship dates of which they speak is unrecorded, but it evidently stretches a lustre or two before 1520 when Jacob was chosen to the bishopric; indeed it must have begun some years anterior to his appointment as scholasticus of the Chapter at Breslau back into the period of pagehood and of first political duties, because his criticisms of the abuses in the Church would scarcely have been so free after he had committed himself to the canonical career. While Hans Magnus does not seem to have pursued any university curriculum such as Jacob and Caspar had, his intelligence and judgment were of a high order fitting him for companionship with the two more conspicuous men. It was no ordinary acquaintanceship: Axleben and Schwenckfeld would scarcely have designated him as their affectionate and dear friend unless the intimacy had been somewhat close and confiding; their various social and official duties would have been likely to cement these ties rather than disrupt them, from the interrelations of Münsterberg, Liegnitz and Glogau. We are assured therefore of a delightful fellowship the memory of which it is pleasant for them to recall. It is evident too that they were patriots of the same mind; Jacob had not lost his Germanic sympathies either by his education in Italy or his official career under Slavic princes. The German culture was far more powerful in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary than it is today. They had evidently discussed many problems political and religious as events unfolded themselves, especially under the administrative skill of Friedrich II. Jacob von Salza had attained a higher position than either of his associates. They recognized him as unquestionably a man of commanding talents who had proved himself capable as soldier and diplomat as well as ecclesiastic. They desire for him an episcopal career as illustrious and commanding as was his acknowledged excellence in governmental affairs. They therefore consider his superior qualifications and the success which his self-contained, composed and adaptable qualities had reached as most opportune. If these could be turned into really evangelical and spiritual channels, his friends could wish for nothing better. They longed to win him. And it would appear that he was not merely an ecclesiastic who had a secular training, but that like Augustine he was in earnest, at least as a churchman who sought higher ends than official routine or the accomplished turning of sacerdotal machinery.

The petitioners hear with sympathetic pleasure that he is a student of the Pauline epistles whose revival was the latest literary and theological sensation. If these were in his hands daily, the noble conception of

the Church as expressed in Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians and the Pastoral Epistles could not escape him. It should be remarked that a translation of the letters to Timothy and Titus from the Vulgate had been published before Luther's version appeared. The abundance of their own quotations from those favorite books, so largely in excess over those from any other New Testament author, was not undesigned. And what might not be expected from a man who loved St. Paul and meditated upon his exposition of the cosmic Christ and the universal Church and its earthly ministry? This must not be forgotten in forming an estimate of Jacob von Salza. At no time do we find him opposing the Gospel or its preaching; he only questions the right method of interpretation as a number of proofs show. We must base our appreciation of him on these facts and not on the general stand-points of his communion. At this time too his friends were justly hopeful of a possible favorable hearing based on what they knew of the sterling qualities in the character of their comrade; and the conviction that a man who was trying to look at and to discharge his ecclesiastical duties from the standpoint of a pastoral manual, such as St. Paul wrote for the guidance of his son in the faith, must be likely to take a forward step toward the conversion of the bishopric into an office founded on those lofty teachings. The affectionate spirit pervading these master letters could not but kindle sentiments of humanity and saturate the administration of the diocese with a living purpose. It meant prodigiously much that a bishop should be turning to such a text-book as his regular instructor, instead of some patristic or canonical treatise; and that he should do this at a time when the popular agitation was in favor of simplicity in the entire realm of spiritual affairs was to their mind an effulgent proof that there was large room for hope. They themselves inflexibly adhered to the very standard which the Bishop had apparently set up for himself. It seems remarkable that throughout our letter there is no direct mention of the Bishop's official acts with regard to Hess, so fresh in the minds of all Silesians, and no whisper of reference to Ambrose Creusing with whom the Chapter was still so indignant. It would appear that they avoided touching upon either subject in order that they might base their petition upon comprehensive principles exclusively; minor incidents might only complicate the simple issue at stake. The height of the friends' ambition was to persuade Jacob to take a wholly spiritual view of his office, to separate its regiment from secular affairs and not to keep on mixing oil and water as his predecessor had endeavored and he himself had begun to do according to the perverted chemistry of Rome. Could they succeed in getting a footing in his heart and judgment with regard to the distinct spheres of Church and State they knew the rest must inevitably follow.

Again they were well aware who of the Chapter were imbued with the prelatie spirit. They picture these haughty clerics in the very language of the pastoral epistles. It was hard to believe that any of them could conscientiously support the old system, and yet they did, their conscience having had its judgment warped by tradition. Crautwald himself had come out of their fraternity and knew the inner temperament of the zelotic party as well as of those who contended for the old privileges from ignoble motives. A few indeed like Wittiger had hopes of effecting an internal change, but all in vain. It is from this standpoint of thorough information that the friends touch upon the inner cleft between the Chapter and the Bishop, a breach old as the hills. Indeed there were few bishoprics especially among the Germans where such an internecine war was not a standing condition and in Breslau from the time of the independent and astute John IV it had been a source of sore trial to the head of the diocese. It was by no means healed now although Jacob was shrewd and calm and skilled in commanding men. Swift once said to Pope: There might be a *Lutrin* writ upon the tricks used by my Chapter to tease me. And this was in the green tree; what was done in the dry would indeed have been a still more fertile subject for Boileau. Our authors appeal boldly to the interminable disputes and characterize the opposition in sepia and charcoal, but mostly with material furnished by St. Paul. They are equally courageous in their revelation of the predisposition of the Bishop to effect reforms. They knew perfectly well and do not hesitate an instant to say it, that their friend had so expressed himself and that in most undisguised terms. They remind him of the fact and desire to hold him to it. They will not believe that any delay in effecting the betterment is due to him, but to the violent, hot-headed curialists of the Chapter, with whom, as they were perfectly aware, he had more than one hour of wormwood. These opponents not only resorted to speech but were fertile in expostulatory letters and embassies for the confirmation of the old tyranny. Axleben and Schwenckfeld are eager to stiffen his backbone against these tough old schoolmen. They have the natural fear that he may fall a prey to such machinations and such persistency of fight especially if he must sit alone in his palace. The men who know the Bishop's heart discern the strategic point of the situation; they would strengthen the line of repulse and throw up barriers of decisive resistance. The intelligence, the nobility and the culture of the land would support him in an active, tenacious, indomitable withstanding of such an imperious temper and such arrogant claims. They felt that if he were to yield to this assumptive dictation their hope of reform through this high medium would be utterly dashed. The recoil of the waves would be disastrous and other methods less prompt and effective would have to be resorted to. But Jannes and

Jambres ought not to be able to quench the ardor of Moses, and so they wanted to develop the inner sympathy of the Bishop into an external activity in behalf of religious changes by decisive expressions of their support and of the general desire for progress. They press him therefore to a very precise and determined affirmation of his spiritual jurisdiction over these recalcitrants. No matter how they might clamor at the palace door and besiege the episcopal throne with their stark pugnacity he should show his superior authority and give them such a decisive response as would leave them without excuse for a reappearance on such an errand. Of the inmost heart of Jacob, Hans and Caspar were sure; of the fearless nerve and confident pluck, they were not so confident and hence they press on him with zeal and emphasis the necessity of undismayed, assertive, valorous, intrepid deed. One rousing blow would make the issue sure; one unquailing affirmation would settle the stupendous question of authority between these two local elements and at the same time in matters of religion. We must feel the throbbing intensity of the moment and the precious things that were in peril. Would the diocese of Breslau remain in its old bonds or would it leap out of its prison into the freedom of the Spirit? Would it head the movement toward the liberty in Christ or would it stand for the narrowness, confinement and repression of the old order of ideas? Would it cling to an Ebionitic interpretation of Christianity, or embrace the Pauline, cosmic explanation of the mystery of our Lord? Would it be mediaeval or would it be modern? What feelings ran through the pen of the authors as they wrote these words which echoed the sentiment and aspiration of all the other Silesian leaders! It is not to be wondered at that they reverted to the words of the Hauptmann of Gross-Glogau who, as bishop, was in danger of eating crow.

The appeal to the usages of the Ritterrecht must have been somewhat startling to the Bishop, for his own family coat-of-arms had just that requisite registration. It was in 1484 that Herzog Conrad of Oels approved the ancestral shields according to the usage of the Ritterrecht, although members of the Salza stock had settled near Liegnitz a century and a half before. Moreover the Lusatian house had undergone a similar recognition in the Ritterschaft of that region. Jacob still bore the name of his ancient family although a Bishop, and his four shields were also registered in the chancery of the confederate cities. Indeed he busied himself in persuading the scattered bearers of the name to unite upon one basic coat-of-arms and initiated plans for fraternal cooperation. Now he was standing for a system that concealed its documents and left unpublished the testimony by which it had created a martyr to the cause of the pure Gospel. It brought the Bishop face to face with the nature of the autocracy which he now represented. It made him take issue in his heart

at least with that struggle for liberty but a hundred years ago and the course of the Church in its suppression; he would have to review that convulsive movement for religious freedom through the Hussite campaigns which shook so much of Europe, and the attitude of the papacy toward those intrepid foes. Would he encourage a hierarchical system and a Roman curia that had thus attempted to overshadow the idea of the universal priesthood of believers and was now seeking to answer that reopened question in a similar cowardly way? We are persuaded that it was not without design that they spoke of that twenty years struggle; the career of Georg Podiebrad who was so identified in kinship and history with Münsterberg-Oels and Liegnitz could not but have been in the thought of the writers, and not unlikely did it steal into the current of the Bishop's reflections as he read these words of bold challenge. It stands out in full relief in the letter to the Herzog Friedrich the following June. Should the land suffer again from the curialists in their effort to support their autocracy over Silesia?

That Jacob was active in the reformation of some grosser practices they testified by what he had done in Liegnitz in the removal of a certain picture which had been used as a wonder-worker and therefore a promoter of pilgrimages. This bold step was doubtless taken at his own instigation as one of his prerogatives; possibly he may have consulted with his cabinet. Herein he followed the precedent of a similar machine-picture which had been removed from the Church of St. Dorothea in Breslau.

We may get an impression of the rigor of the Bishop's administration from the fact that his clergy feared him more than they did God; although their consciences drove them one way, their dread of the strenuous arms and rather inflexible character of the soldier-bishop restrained them from claiming their natural rights. They whisper and mayhap look sullen but they do not want any tidings of remarks about their grievances to come directly to the episcopal ears. But this stern enforcement of certain features of canonical law did not deter these two friends from telling him of the actual feeling stirring underneath and thereby to win him to a reconsideration of his ground and to the adoption of a more liberal policy and more genial manner toward his priests and curates.

The position which Jacob von Salza as a layman held about celibacy was well known to them and to others. He formerly had taken a really Christian view as to the marriage of the clergy and had opposed the Calixtine law. While he himself took no active measures against those who preferred matrimony he certainly granted no one permission to wed. He did not support the vehement votes and protests of the Chapter, but he was not equal to the aggressive step of opposing those immoral canons. He repeated the usual experience of ecclesiastics who have passed under the yoke of the oath which binds them in obedience to Rome and

yet with a degree of reservation. It is noteworthy that the curia was slow to confirm the election of Jacob. That procrastination was due not only to the bumptious attitude of the Chapter, but to the stories of the independent thinking which the Hauptmann had given expression to in days gone by. He had been once an opponent of the law enforcing clerical celibacy, was his mind as to the effect of that institution changed or was it chained in the dungeon-keep of the vow to the central authority? Was the conscience which must have affirmed its healthier judgment in those earlier days of sympathy with freedom now asleep or restless in those imperious fetters with which each servant of that court was pinioned to the footstool of St. Peter? Such a reversion is at once a commentary upon the mentality as well as the integrity of any man. Did he change his opinion about celibacy before he assumed ecclesiastical functions, or was his attitude determined after the goal was reached, or did he simply suspend action according to moral sense and light? He was now forty-three years of age; he had been already four years in the saddle. Physiologically, psychologically he was not likely to become a new creature, all the more since he was of a self-contained, quiet, judicious nature as well as habit. In the desire of the petitioners to gain him to severance from Rome they remind him of the conduct of Leo X toward him, and of the unconcern over the anticipatory act of the pontiff at the period of the election. They recall his own lack of subservience to the see. If he could do that in his own interest, that is, as representative of a personal idea and of the determined resistance to foreign intrusion, why should he not carry the opposition forward for the honor of Christ and for the love of his neighbor, that is for the supremest spiritual interests? It was a brave thrust that touched the vitals of conscience. He must have thought it right to vindicate the Silesian rights against the forceful meddling of the curia; how much more should he now break with a power whose whole effort was the subjugation of the human spirit to an unalterable condition of slavery, whose entire system was in glaring discrepancy with the ideas of the Kingdom of God. He too as a student in Italy was sufficiently aware of the appalling degeneracy of the Roman court; as an enlightened man he must still feel the incongruity of recognizing such a demoralized State-Church as the vicariate of heaven and the fountain of salvation and eternal life. His own earlier sentiments had given expression to a large discontent, was he now enclosed in his own fat?

Our authors knew their quondam friend so well that they could appeal to his own knowledge of the moral ends of all life; they knew that he felt with them that the whole human order was a part of the Kingdom of God; that even the greatest evils must pay that Kingdom tribute and be overruled for the enhancement of righteousness and goodness. They

felt justified in recalling that view as applicable to the present status of the European world. The Hauptmann had doubtless expressed his conviction in their previous conversations that nothing could oppose the truth successfully, it was hard to kick against the pricks. The divine goads were after all irresistible; and so it would prove in this juncture. It is true both sides claimed to be the Kingdom and to have about them adamant walls; the partisans of the old and the new asserted equally that they had the elasticity and progressiveness of eternal life. But the Hauptmann had expressed his criticism of many features of the mediæval Roman methods of salvation and as Bishop had shown his sympathy with at least a Hadrian's effort at reformation by his removal of superstitious symbols and far beyond the narrow Hadrian by his friendly attitude toward Hess. Could he refuse to go further? Having begun in this generous temper and with such clear convictions, could he draw back and resist the recreative forces once so dominant in his own breast? The hour of the final decision seemed drawing nigh. Would he clothe himself with the divine weapons in their completeness and do battle for the pure Gospel? Would he espouse the interests of independence in Christ and bow to the authority of the living Word alone? Would he trust in the gift of the Spirit for the moment of trial now striking, according to the promise of Jesus Christ his Lord? Is the Bishop going to consort with the notion that Christ designed to mislead us by his promises? Or is he now a mere diplomat with a policy of accommodation? In other words they felt that the Bishop was not in harmony with himself. He had not the bracing courage of his early and frequently declared convictions. They wanted to remind him of the pungency of that first awakening and to win him back to the standpoint of criticism and determination for a far-sighted defense of the truth. Nor did they fail to bring before him the moral compulsion of time; not only were these spiritual experiences imminent, but individual life itself had a fashion of rapid, unexpected exodus, calamitous for the self and for the enormous interests at stake, if duty has not at least passed over the threshold. This was as much as to tell him: you are a man for the occasion; our old companionship, your previous utterances warrant us in discerning in you a divine instrument for effecting the mighty change, silently, effectively. Your whole training as statesman, your knowledge of the politics of the day, your thorough acquaintance with the state of affairs in Italy, your expressed sympathy with the enlightenment and simplicity prove you to be capable of this sovereign enterprise; but you are mortal; you nor the issues involved can afford to delay an absolute decision; you cannot allow yourself to dally with the grave problem; for you the open door to a wide and magnificent career of freedom stands open. It is such and kindred ponderings that they mass

together and charge upon the soul of their earlier intimate. They do not fail of the assurance that there is the whole body of princes and the noble estate who will support him unanimously and heartily in this stupendous and vital aggression. So too they make no bones of reminding Jacob of John V's vacillating, temporizing policy and the secular tinge of his life followed by that repentant confession on his death-bed.

They rise also to the challenge of his own conscience. He cannot neglect their brotherly exhortation; much less can he be angry with their frank appeal. He is perfectly aware that the points they bring forth and urge are indisputable, they are truth. They would not dare publish such statements, if he could deny them. Nor did he ever undertake such a contradiction: his own reply was not a disavowal of these references to his own previous convictions on which the appellants built their strong, clamorous, deep-toned pleadings. His was only a feeble, if courteous attempt to limit the range of the pure Gospel by the unendurable fetter of patristic interpretation. It was however a distinct surrender of the opportunity for which nature, education, Providence had equipped him. The weakness became public in a great conference at Breslau in April. With that the dream of a liberated diocese vanished. They felt sure that a man who had the consciousness of righteousness such as he had in the days of their friendship would not assume the great office of a bishop a second time without having decided such questions as were now forced upon Jacob before entering upon the perils of the work in those tempestuous days. This was as much as to say that he had entered upon the post without the needful circumspection, without the due consideration of himself as able or unable to compete with the Chapter, with Rome and with the contending elements of freedom. He had the instincts and beliefs of a reformer, he should have sat down and calculated what it would cost of manliness and energy and perseverance to fight the battle of enlightenment from that height of advantage. Alas that he too succumbed like John and the charitable Promnitz and the diplomatic Logau. State, pomp, magnificence, with these you are surrounded; but how, our old friend, do these comport with the majestic simplicity of him whom the Gospel sets forth? Do these pomps and circumstances harmonize with the sacrificial solemnity of the cross?

We may conclude then, that the present attitude of the Bishop was that of a moderate; he wanted to conserve the historical Church and make the necessary changes in accordance with the new light that had dawned upon the world through discovery, invention, philosophy, humanism and the fresh aspirations of the social order. He however would not undertake more than he felt sure he could perform as over against the all devouring tendency of the innovations; he would yield when he could make no

effectual resistance to the incoming flood; he would take no active steps of resistance when the forces massed against him were too strong. At the same time he held on to as much as he thought right to conserve of the older system for the sake of the immemorial Church and Empire and would let as little as possible overwhelm him. He was also concessory because he was in inner sympathy with much of the renovations proposed so long as those did not question or imperil the authority of the traditional establishment. On the deep, vital questions however, as to the ultimate claim of the ancient order, he was firm as a rock. His disregard of the suggestions in this letter and his course of action in subsequent discussions prove that he so remained. He would maintain a friendly peace, and overlook whenever it was wise from his point of view. Nor does he personally seem to have resorted to any violent measures from this time on to check the mission of a liberating, evangelical reformation. It is not a little singular that the paternal and maternal lines for the most part gradually adopted the evangelical faith. The sole direct representatives of Jacob's own house survive in the Lichtenau-Wingendorf line and this is evangelical.

II. From Langenwaldau to Ossig is about eight miles; the road lies much on a level, leading through fertile fields, bits of swamp and stretches of forest and heath. By the way thither are the old Silesian seats of the Axleben¹ family at Krummlinde and Fauljoppe, a few miles beyond which the traveller comes upon the meadows and marshlands of the Schwenckfeld homestead. The line of the Axlebens reaches into a dim antiquity and its unfolding is a bit of very honorable history. The historical records take us back to Schleswig as the primitive seat in the region of Hadersleben. The title of Magnus genannt was an early adjunct due to some unrecorded cause either of great stature or heroic deed on the part of an unknown progenitor. The reasons for the migration from their original home are not distinct enough to warrant a definite statement. Waldemar II of Denmark is said to have destroyed their estates in his conquest of Schleswig-Holstein; but two centuries prior to that disaster a chronicle tells us that in the campaigns against Hungary 1042—1044, Henry III was accompanied by the Lord of Holstein of whose contingent Axleben was a member. For skill and bravery displayed in battle the Emperor raised him to the rank of Graf in 1046 which gave him some undefined territorial jurisdiction. His son, Graf Magnus, is said to have married the

¹ The narrative is based mainly upon documents in the Archives of Liegnitz and Breslau and the church tablets in Langenwaldau and upon Sinapius, Ehrhardt, Sammler and the Gotha Almanach and upon the von Stosch and von Rothkirch Genealogies.

Emperor's daughter and to have then sought his fortunes at the court of Wladislaw, King of Poland. By favor of his sovereign the Graf was made Statthalter in Silesia in 1094 with headquarters at Breslau. He gradually acquired estates for himself, especially in the neighborhood of Liegnitz. In succeeding times the family lost this particular title, due probably to the political changes in the sovereignty of the country or to the usages of its Ritterschaft. When his descendants became prominent in the records of Liegnitz they are no longer so styled. It is in 1444 und 1461 that an ancestral Hans Axleben genannt Magnus comes before us in the records as Landeshauptmann of Liegnitz. His estates lay at Fauljoppe and Krummlinde near Lüben and were therefore contiguous to Ossig, then already the seat of the Schwenckfeld family. Hans and Hannos are the only sons whose names come before us in the records, and it was Hans, apparently the elder, who succeeded his father in the office of Landeshauptmann of Liegnitz, which embraced in its jurisdiction the entire Fürstentum; his name occurs in connection with records of 1472, 1474, 1475. To all appearance he had several sons, but it is as yet impossible to decide between his children and those of Hannos, or to say whether the latter had any succession at all.

A number of different but for the most part contiguous estates were gradually added to Krummlinde and Fauljoppe such as Kaltwasser, Langenwaldau, Reichen, Reischt, Herzogswaldau, Lobendau, Giersdorf and later on, still other domains. The properties were quite adjacent and lay in what are now known as Kreis Lüben, Kreis Liegnitz and Kreis Goldberg-Haynau.

The Axlebens prominent in the first half of century XVI and in the youth and early manhood of Schwenckfeld were: 1) Christoph, whom we find mentioned as Landeshauptmann of Liegnitz in 1504. He probably held this office until 1506; his mansion was at Kaltwasser and he appears in later documents as a favorite witness along with Nicol from 1507 onward. 2) We shall also meet with another Christoph von Axleben at the end of 1533, when Schwenckfeld renews his acquaintance with him. He had married Sophie, the sister of the second Hof-Marschall Hans Conrad Thum von Neuburg, after coming to the South in the train of Elizabeth of Brandenburg. This revival of relationship with the Axlebens had momentous results for Schwenckfeld as we shall see in due time. 3) Nicol, who served as Landeshauptmann of Liegnitz from 1506 to 1508. 4) Sigismund, zu Fauljuppe, zu Kaltwasser. He seems to have died early. 5) Bernhard and Melchior Magnes zu Ditterzbach, who were witnesses in the inheritance papers of Schwenckfeld in 1519. 6) Balthasar (Balzer), von Dittersbach, whose name occurs as a witness in 1523 to the transfer of some property. 7) Hans, who is never mentioned as having any public office

at any period of his life. We may presume therefore, that he devoted himself to the cultivation of his estates. It does not however argue that he had no interest in the events of his day or that he did not assist in shaping them. He was one of the pilgrims that in 1507 accompanied Friedrich II to Palestine. The letter leads us to think of him as a man of reflection and at the same time of public spirit who certainly was profoundly involved in the changes going on in the religious world, and as these affected every other circle of activity it too absorbed him in all the deepening currents. He had the foresight to attach himself to the evangelical side with spirit and decision, and that meant a certain zeal for progress in social conditions of every kind. There can be no question but that he was thoroughly committed to the new principles and was earnest in the promotion of its reforms especially on his own estates. He married into the house of Reibniz zu Girlesdorf, his wife's name was Anna. Thus far the record of only one son has been identified: Heinrich, who in 1550 became Hofmarschall of Friedrich III, and in 1559 appears as Landeshauptmann of Liegnitz. In 1555 his signature as Heinrich Magnus zum Langenwaldau comes before us as a witness to a deed of conveyance of some property to the Rothkirch family by Friedrich von Waldau, an uncle of Schwenckfeld, to whom he wrote the famous letter of 1544.

The branch of the family at Langenwaldau seems to have been first established by Hans Magnus, for the earliest mention of the estate as belonging to this house is in connection with his name. According to documents of 1511, 1518 and 1519 he made some transfers of property and entered into negotiations for loans and interest. One of these brings him into relationship with the Peter-Paul church in the capital. The church of which he was the patron was situated in Nieder Langenwaldau where too was his own residence still marked by an old linden. The parish at that time embraced besides Nieder-Langenwaldau, Ober-Langenwaldau, Langenwälder Sechshufen, the Vorwerck zum Thiergarten which however was the property of the nuns of St. Clara in Liegnitz. Our letter proves that Hans Magnus was betimes an adherent of the Reformation. Ehrhardt's favorite year 1523 can hardly be early enough when the date of this document and the maturity of its suggestions are taken into estimate. In Ossig the stirring had begun certainly prior to 1521 and these neighbors would be quite likely to have made closely synchronous movements. Hans von Scopp was the pastor at Nieder-Langenwaldau. He was already about fifty-six years of age and survived the change until 1531, when he died at the age of sixty-five. He belonged to the prominent family of the von Scopps many of whose ancestral tablets are still extant in the church at Gross-Hennersdorf. As a nobleman and as the pastor of his

patron's parish there can be little doubt of his sympathy with the principles enumerated in this missive and he may have listened to its contents before it was sent upon its fruitless errand. But this was not all: according to Ehrhardt, Ober- and Nieder-Herzogswaldau also belonged to Hans Magnus. This was an integral part of the parish whose church was situated at Dittersbach. Now this latter domain belonged to Balthasar Axleben Magnus genannt, probably a brother of Hans Magnus. Moreover it is certain that Balthasar was an ardent admirer and adherent of Schwenckfeld, as later documents will prove, with whom too Schwenckfeld corresponded after the exile. It was this Balthasar, who was deeply involved in the controversies, especially those concerning the means of grace, that sprung up after Friedrich II had adopted the Augsburg Confession. The name of the pastor of this parish which also included Rodenmühle, has not yet been recovered; but there can be not the least doubt that these communities were all embraced in the reformatory plans which this open letter projects. We shall probably not be far out of the way if we surmise that the rest of the Axlebens with their allied families were more or less concerned in the innovations, and that would mean a great deal, for then a considerable stretch of territory would have come under regenerating impulses, religious and sociological, by the end of 1523. Nor can there be two opinions about who the master-mind was that initiated the bettered conditions. In a document authorized by Friedrich II and bearing his large seal, that sovereign recognizes the findings of a Ritterbank or court of knights which had been assembled to decide upon the admission of the three sons of Hans von Sack with the full privileges of the Silesian nobility by certifying to the validity of the coat-of-arms on the maternal grandmother's side; this section of the family had married into Poland and there was a fear that the Silesian recognition and claim might be lost. Hansz Magnas von Langenwalde is there mentioned as the seventh of the twelve jurymen who decided in favor of the appeal. The chief advocate was the famous Hanns von Rechenberg. The original document ratifying this finding is dated 1528, Tuesday after the conversion of St. Paul, January 28; this is a little over four years after our letter in which the authors allude to this very judicial procedure called the Ritterrecht. His associates on this jury were a notable body of men, some of whom appear in connection with the history of the Middle Way. His brother Christoph died in 1535 or 1536. By the will Hans Magnus was appointed guardian of the children, in behalf of whom he conducted a suit against the city of Liegnitz about certain rights of pasturage in the Liegnitzer Heide. The matter was settled in favor of the heirs by the special commission appointed by the Herzog to adjudicate the case.

Hans died on Monday after Palm Sunday, April 7, 1544. His widow

survived him six years; her demise occurred on the third Sunday before Ash-Wednesday February 2, 1550. She may have lived to greet her son as the Hof-Marschall of Herzog Friedrich III. The tablets of father and mother still stand in the wall on the right of the choir in the church at Nieder-Langenwaldau. There are full-length figures of the Ritter and his wife with brief inscriptions giving the date of their death together with the heraldic emblems, one of which however for some unexplained reason is lacking on the husband's tablet. The transcription in *Lutſch, Verzeichniß der Kunſtſteinfürer der Provinz Schlefien III*, p. 286 is abbreviated and the date of Anna's death is incorrect. The epitaphs actually read: 1544 JORE MONTAG NOCH PALMARVM IST IN GOT ENTSCHLAFEN DER GESTRENGE EDLE VND ERENTVESTE HANS AXLEBEN MAGNIS GENANT RITTER ZVM LANGEWALDE DEM GOT GENODE; that of Anna: 1550 IORE DEN DRITTEN SONTAG VOR FASNACHT IST IN GOT ENTSCHLAFEN DIE EDLE ERENTVGENTSAME FRAV ANNA EINE GEBORNE REIBENITZEN ZV GIRLES DORF HANS AXLEBES EWEIB DER GOT GENODE. There is no evidence to show that Hans Magnus essayed further authorship. He lived to see all the sad changes wrought in the outward religious attitude of the court and the Church when Lutheranism was officially established as the State religion. A little over a year after his departure, Valentine Crautwald who had lingered in dignity and security in Liegnitz passed away. The suppression of the Middle Way had not been active in any sphere outside of the ecclesiastical folds and even in this there was no great rigidity in the rural and town parishes as we see in the case of Johann Scaurus, pastor of Steinau; nor was it so very severe in Liegnitz itself since Rosenhayn was not immediately removed and Crautwald was not at all disturbed.

We have already remarked on the warmth with which Schwenckfeld speaks of his friend who was probably about ten years his senior, as his beloved Christian brother who had jointly with him as a layman addressed the Bishop. There is no reason to doubt the continuance of the friendship as well as the espousal of the opinions evolved by Schwenckfeld in the coming years. Nor did the later controversies after the exile of 1529 and the lapse of the Herzog to the support of the Augsburg Confession rupture the bonds which had been so firmly knit in the first stages of the Reformation in Silesia. The phases of the correspondence will appear in due order, traces of which until 1544 survive.

III. Two appellatives of nobility are used by the printer on the title page; both terms are in essence descriptive of moral qualities, but they have been wholly eviscerated of any such thoughts by the glamour of form; they are simply etiquette, the one alluding to birth and the other

to the fact that the bearer is a man of honor; in this latter there is no reference to office but to personal dignity; it designates the individual as a man who exaggerates the idea of private honor into the supreme quality of manhood; and this fiction separates him from men of lower kidney who dare not defend themselves with the same instantaneousness nor with weapons kindred to those that their superiors may. The other customary word *Gefstrenger* is omitted, it does not indicate any severity or strenuousness in noble things, but simply that the bearer is entitled to be addressed as your Worship. We must consider the ingrainment of such distinctions in mediæval society and the inheritance of the same to-day, as parts of that feudalistic symbolism in which men love to play at greatness. It will be noted as we go along that such appellatives gradually vanish from the title page of the works which Schwenckfeld sent to the printer.

IV. When one reads the address of the Domkapital November 9, 1511 to Bishop Johann V, one does not need to wonder at the openness and vigor of this appeal by Axleben and Schwenckfeld to his successor. The epilogue is reproduced from the translation which Meyer has made in his *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation* p. 154: Vor allem wollet Euch bessern und läutern, Euch schlechten Verkehre und des verbotenen und verdamnten Spieles enthalten, öffentlichen Ehebruch und Wucher, die allenthalben und ungestraft in der Diözese geübt werden, und die aufstrebenden Ketzereien unterdrücken, Eurem Kapitel väterliche Reue entgegenbringen und wechselseitige Liebe pflegen, endlich den gesamten Klerus der Diözese, der auf den Pfaden der Unkeuschheit, Trunksucht und anderer Laster wandelt, nach vorheriger Visitation strafen und züchtigen, dazu auch andere, was einem guten und gottesfürchtigen Hirten zukommt, nicht unterlassen. Das wollen wir in der Art evangelischer Mahnung und brüderlicher Rötigung gesagt haben, und außer im Fall der Unverbesserlichkeit, soll es gewiß nicht an die Öffentlichkeit kommen. Möge also Eure ehrwürdige Vaterschaft dies im geheimen bei sich behalten, und da wir uns selber bessern (*reformare*) wollen, so bitten wir Euch wieder und wieder, Eure Handlungen, Sitten und Lebensführung zum bessern zu wenden. Tut Ihr es nicht, so bezeugen wir schon jetzt und künden unsern Entschluß Eurer Vaterschaft an, daß wir derartiges in Zukunft nicht ertragen können und wollen, sondern bereit sind, das alles vor Eurer Vaterschaft und unsrer Oberen, wenn auch ungern, zu bringen. Our epistle is moderation and gentleness compared with this clangor of rebellion in the camp. The charges which our authors make as to the superficial view of sin, the prelate excesses and the existence of coarse vices are fully substantiated and justified by the accusations contained in this minatory arraignment of their diocesan. Indeed we may regard the election of Jacob as part of the inner reformation about which the canons speak in their admonitions and which had such tough experiences hitherto. The devouring fire of

heresy compelled some kind of cleansing process more or less stringent so as to leave less fuel for it to feed upon. Some of the immoral, beastly conditions such as the patronage and conduct of drink-houses with gambling and prostitution were almost obliterated by the very closing of the monasteries and by the continued assault of the magistracy upon these public and notorious abuses and scandals. The moral aspects of clergy and monastic bodies in Liegnitz and Brieg were not so infamously bad as in Breslau, but none too good.

V. One should also note the fact of their official relation at this time to the Bishop. They uniformly acknowledge him as their-lawfully elected and ordained head to whom they owe allegiance. But the continuance of that allegiance must be determined by the episcopal attitude toward the Gospel and the fulfillment of duties according to evangelical injunctions. Otherwise this relationship would perish of itself. As long therefore as there was any promise that Jacob's policy might be patterned after the pastoral epistles they were ready to hold on to him, both to prevent violent changes and because they had the highest regard for his efficient nature, his skilled training and his intimate knowledge of secular conditions and demands which the mere prelates were wont to ignore, or of which at least they had no adequate intelligence because of their hierarchical standpoint and their isolation as immersed in an unnatural sea of liturgical and ecclesiastical matters. This man understood the world of affairs out of which he had come richly laden with experience and he had also a steadfastness of character above that of the cotemporary, secular aspirants and rivals for Church honors in the Breslau diocese. The principles of the Gospel and of apostolicity would make their transforming vitality quickly enough felt. Canon law and the great mass of papistic and conciliar legislation would fall away by the very force of simplicity; the Gospel alone should be the authority without any human additions; liturgy and doctrine would have to be purged according to the same guarded and far-sighted regulation; practical Christianity would undergo a vast purification and renovation by the central thought underlying spirituality. Nor does Schwenckfeld for his part change his readiness to acknowledge the diocesan relationship up to 1527 when the Austrian domination had made its unrelenting antagonism to the new ideas felt; and had definitively announced its hostility to so formidable a conception of the purity and practicality of religion as was preached by the Middle Way. The Austrians soon exhibited their desire to control the bishopric as indeed they did gradually and finally in the elections of the seventeenth century. Already in 1526 the Archbishop of Vienna, Johann Faber, began interference in the religious affairs of Silesia. There was a slight hope that Bishop Jacob might resent the intrusion with emphasis and would especially oppose the

bloody policy already inaugurated by Ferdinand. We may say therefore, that the diocesan relationship would have been maintained by Schwenckfeld provided the Bishop could be persuaded to stand upon purely evangelical ground, and that this remained his view certainly up to 1527. Nor did the conception of a Christian, evangelical bishop fade out of his later, large horizon, but he must not be Roman nor hierarchic. For the prelates of the Chapter, save such as stood upon the need of evangelical reformation he had no sense of obligation. Their material conservatism had already awakened his scorn and their desire to use civil force to stem the inflowing tide aroused both men to the stoutest expostulation. Just these prelates had taken part in the election of Jacob von Salza, who himself as scholasticus was present on that momentous occasion.

VI. The scriptural citations show a large use of the Old Testament. The major prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel are directly quoted. The Psalms are also remembered. Of the minor prophets, Micah only is mentioned. There are references to Genesis, Exodus, Kings and Proverbs. Thus the reading and practical use of the ancient Scriptures are considerably extended. Of the gospels Mark alone is not directly cited; Matthew exceeds Luke and John in the number of quotations. In the title given to the Acts of the Apostles, *Geschichte der Aposteln*, the caption of the pre-Lutheran versions is departed from; e. g. Mentel has *Vottenbuch* and Koburger has *Das buch Der wurdung Der zwelfffboten*. As before St. Paul proves to be the favorite expounder of Christ; the quotations from his epistles are many. As was to be expected in a letter dealing with the practical conduct of the Church, preference is given to the epistles to the Corinthians and to the Pastoral letters. After which that to the Ephesians naturally follows; Romans, Galatians, Colossians and Philippians furnish each their quota.

We may perhaps conclude that Schwenckfeld had already begun his studies in Greek very likely under the guidance of Valentine Crautwald whose accomplishments in that direction, as indeed in all humanistic studies, had won him no inconsiderable name. The evidence of his pupil's essay in this new and necessary field for his life work are to be found in the fact that some of the scriptural proper names quoted in this letter are transliterated after their Greek form: thus Jeremiah is designated Hieremias which spelling is used only by the LXX and the citations from that prophet in the New Testament, *Ἱερεμίας*; Isaiah is printed Esaias without the spiritus asper *Ἡσαΐας*; Jeroboam is given as Hieroboam, LXX *Ἱεροβοάμ*. In all these cases the other versions would have allowed him no such clue; he seems therefore to have derived them directly from the Greek. The impulse to the study of the language was certainly at its height and the necessity for it apparent, if he would make substantial, well-grounded

progress in his chosen field, the one too into which the Spirit had impelled him. Another but doubtful indication of such study is perhaps in the fact that he translated the *ἀνωθεν* of Joh. 3^s by *anberwert*; he seems to have deemed this a better rendering than the *denuo* of the Vulgate or the *anbermanb* of the old translations or the *von neuem* of Luther. It is certainly remarkable that he should prefer where it was possible the rendering *Euangelion Christi* or *Euangelion* simply to the usual Latin *Euangelium*: and B has retained the usage. This is a striking proof of his first lessons in the language of which he was to become quite a proficient.

VII. We have the beginning of proof of his acquaintance with Canon Law for he quotes from the decretals. The good elements therefore he was always ready to recognize as he does here. How far he had studied this system at the universities cannot be satisfactorily shown from the records of any of the institutions he frequented; but because of his constant quotations from it the inference is fair that it had been one of his pursuits during those student days. There is no existing evidence of his having attained any degree in it; the absence of any such title from the public and private rolls where his name occurs is a practical warrant for assuming that he was never a candidate. His object in the study was not to enter the service of the Church although he had that vocation before him as a choice, as we have learned from the letter to Hess; that problem however was due to his religious awakening and the question then was whether he could serve the Kingdom better as minister or as layman. No, he seems to have made himself familiar with the canon law, as a help in the pursuit of the political career upon which he entered. It would be a good equipment for taking part in the present contentions between the civil and the canon law which had taken such a decisive turn since Occam's and Marsilius' day and which had been growing in volume for the benefit of state-rights against the ecclesiastical encroachments ever since; to be well-versed in both fields so as to be master in the conflicting cases which were continually arising, Silesia furnished a rich field, for the princes and the nobility were zealously struggling to limit the privileges, jurisdiction and wealth of the Church. Of Schwenckfeld's familiarity with the *Corpus juris canonici* we have abundant proof; indeed he himself translated a section of it for popular use, to whose consideration we shall come in due time. Nor does he seem to have been less instructed in the *Corpus juris civilis*; his constant references to the secular laws and the laws of nature as well are scattered up and down his writings. The functions of secular courts, worldly usage and the relation of custom to the formation of law are themes of which he makes intimate use. We are persuaded therefore that he looked for the further reformation of all

law through the Spirit of the Gospel. Tradition had an inherent claim to authority in any sphere but it must give way to discovered truth and fundamental reason. Usurpations in the realm of the Spirit fall away of themselves; that is they have no rights and exemptions when the Spirit himself demonstrates their injustice and falsehood. Even actions and modes that were non-moral have a tendency to become subject to ethical standards and judgments. It is true that the secular changes must not be so abrupt, for here comes in the principle of accommodation and adjustment. Too precipitate innovations would set all classes by the ears; the people must first be educated. The spirit of freedom was a rising tide; many imperial cities of the time had a reformation of their own enactments and others were calling for it; there was an upward movement in the lightening of penal sentences through the treatise of Johann v. Schwartzberg. The peasants arose in hordes to press for the acceptance of the twelve Articles which in themselves called for a revisal of civil institutions. Now in all these matters it is to be recognized that Schwenckfeld was a master if not with a University degree, certainly in experience, acumen, foresight. He would reform all spheres by preaching and teaching Christian love; he would animate all classes and institutions with the consciousness and conduct of brotherhood. These facts must not remain in the background in forming an estimate of him. He was working at the manifold forms of the social structure experimentally and persistently. It will no longer suffice to talk of him as belonging to this or that school of theology, that is but part of the man and his career: his theology too was not on the narrow basis of dogma for itself, but of principles for the elevation of mankind in every relation of life. His conception of the sphere of the Gospel was as liberal as that of Grotius, as magnificent as that of Cromwell, as inclusive as that of Francke. No man can read this letter without feeling the vastness of scope and the radicalism of the changes and the utter absence at the same time of all demagogism. He did not pour out appeals as if he were a prophet. He had no utopian system to urge, but labored for the realization of such an ideal as would eventuate in a Kingdom of peace and good will. He allowed himself to forecast no City of God as realizable by the sword or by violent upheaval. The images of the seed and of the leaven were uppermost with him, both of which found their origin, amplitude and realization in and through his divine Savior. The cure for human ills lay in the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

VIII. There is mention of the rank in which they all stood by virtue of their birth. They were all alike Nitter by blood. They had had a corresponding training such as the Nitterpiegel exemplifies which included morals and manners suitable to the station; it also required

skill in arms from the service of the squire to the attainment of the dubbing or the full entrance upon the privileges of his rank. The mere champion and lady service had disappeared for the greater part; but the tournaments survived. The Emperor Maximilian had given as much impetus to the resuscitation of chivalry as was possible, but as a rule the discipline was failing and the new methods of warfare had already made great changes in court entertainments as well as in the field. It is not to be forgotten that these three men were accomplished in the use of knightly weapons and probably knew how to handle modern implements of war as well. They had therefore all the ease and grace of bearing which are the outcome of both types of military education. According to the old system of army organization each noble had to furnish his contingent for the wars and to be able to lead troops in battle; this was still in vogue, although *Landstnecht* and the Swiss were ready to sell their service to the highest bidder. The forms of this education were now subject to much variation. The modern *Ritter[schule]* had not yet been organized; in the transition the youths of the nobility pursued their career at courts or at universities; some chose the courtier's career, some followed arms, others again combined both.

IX. We have an allusion also to the life at princely courts. Both had been accustomed to its forms and ceremonials. Its fashions, flatteries and fictions were not unknown to them. They were as familiar with its bows, servilities and deceits as was Jacob. They were now in a clearer air, one not surcharged with the extravagances of etiquette and polite address. This new experience of bracing truth and of the unaffected, simple ways of the Gospel had changed their point of view. The old things became distasteful; the parade, formulas and red tape seemed out of place in the style of approach and of intercourse they were now essaying. We must not forget that the reference to court usage springs out of Schwenckfeld's own experience at Münsterberg-Oels, at Brieg and at Liegnitz. Did not the Gospel light create in both of them a distaste for the affectations and pomposities of the social, festal and official career? Was this not very likely one of the reasons which led Schwenckfeld to seek retirement?

X. The prelates as the origin of the word indicates are the preferred clergy: they are the preferred stock in the market of the Church. In a general way the term has been applied to the higher ranks of the order and prelacy is an abstract statement of the spirit which characterizes the autocratic development and the fast lines of rank in the ecclesiastical system. A more particular working significance is given to it in canon law. In the Roman hierarchy it referred to the major orders from the bishop up to the Pope with certain subdivisions. But it had also a local

usage as the note has indicated, and it is the local prelates whom our authors subject to criticism. Those living at this time who bore office in the Chapter at Breslau were: Georg Sauermann, provost; Gregor Lengfelt, archdeacon; Michal Sander, dean; Georg Junckhermann, scholasticus, succeeding Jacob von Salza; Johannes Furenschilt, cantor; Stanislaus Borg, chancellor; Heinrich von Fullenstein, suffragan bishop. Among the most unyielding supporters of the old order were the abbots of the many monasteries in Silesia; the most important were: Andreas Hoffman of Trebnitz, Vincentius of Heinrichau, Nicolaus VIII of Camentz, Johannes V of Grissau, Emericus of Raudten, Paul Lemberg of Sagan. This latter resigned his office and became an evangelical pastor of the Middle Way type. The interrelations of these parties were complicated by their relative independence from the bishop and from one another; but they were mainly united in upholding the faith in which they had been reared, on almost all other questions they were apt to be inharmonious. In the Chapter itself the prelates were viewed with some suspicion and disfavor by the ordinary canons. In 1519, while Jacob was still Scholasticus, the canons passed the humorous vote that the prelates should do double duty because they enjoyed double honors! It was therefore by no means invariably a happy family within doors. But we must not undervalue the character nor the consistency of these prelates and canons of St. John in their attachment to the old paths. They were all men skilled in the inherited economy; a number were under candidature for the degree of canonical law; some were masters of arts; some had attained the fullest professional degree, even of Italy, just as the Bishop had; a few also cultivated humanistic studies. They were not therefore an ignorant body of opponents. Nor were all of them to be condemned out of hand as reprobates because of their opposition to the new order. The authors distinctly except those of their number who in spite of their traditional learning grounded themselves on the Scriptures as their ultimate authority; others favored at least a certain degree of reform according to Gospel principles, and yet wished to do their life work in the old harness. There were also those who had labored strenuously for quite awhile to promote corrections of the major offences of some of the body against canon law; they had a conscience for these institutions because as matters of prescription and usage they had become attached to them. This however was not the conscience for the Gospel and for the Pastoral epistles; the later superstructures with the most of them took the place of the Bible and the authority of the Church was regarded as superior to the direct mastership of the Evangelists. Our authors from their standpoint could not help condemning these traditionalists and warm upholders of the curial system.

Their very strenuousness made them all the more difficult and implacable as antagonists; for they were themselves conscientious patterns of rigidity; they were as steadfast as oaks in their adherence to misconceived principles. There was still another class who were now aroused to enthusiasm for the old order because it represented a vast financial system. Here were benefices innumerable, foundations now receding in number indeed but still colossal, which gave means of support to an army of officials; here were sources of revenue whose obliteration would bring the livelihood of thousands into jeopardy. The riches and rentals and priceless properties of the Church were in danger of diminution, if not of entire alienation. Many of the jewels and costly vessels had been removed or buried for the sake of safety; the desire to inventory them was stubbornly resisted. If the mendicant orders were prohibited from begging and from exercising certain religious functions there would result a frightful economical disaster which would be incalculably increased were the ecclesiastical properties to be sequestrated. Hence these practical heads stood vigorously and unalterably for the old fiscal system and the perpetuation and evolution of the economies of the Church as it was. There might be various degrees of conscientiousness in such a position as there is in any great circle of officialdom; of course there would be among them men of ignoble and selfish motives who were in the thing for what they could get out of it, or at least for their living. They had no soul for the spiritual aspects and duties of their profession; these were but formal means for getting their bread which was the chief thing. A like ignobility exists under every kind of Church or State. The repulsiveness of such a low estimate of one's profession is increased when it preys upon ignorance and uses the unregulated, undisciplined religious emotions to wheedle more hard cash or testamentary benefit out of the victim. The machinery and method for raising funds had degenerated into such an abuse that all morally sane men could not refrain from protest. Some of the prelates however held out against alienation of the Church privileges and methods in the whole range of economics. These made the most difficulty for the Bishop in his conservative effort at remedying abuses without clatter and trombones. These steel-eyed, prudential obstructionists held that whatever diminished the exchequer was to be resisted: the Church must at any risk rather increase than subtract from its resources. The moral questions involved are of far less consequence than plenty of money and prosperous times. The maintenance of external business is more important than inquiry into the toleration of even acknowledged abuses. The revenues were sinking; rentals and tithes were refused; real estate had been parted with. How the vast apparatus was to be kept going, was the prime local as well as universal question. The pope

had asked it; the economists of the Chapter at Breslau repeated it. More money was the cry of all curialists; how to raise it was the chief pursuit of the ecclesiastical financiers; and not without reason, for the welfare and comfort of society were affected thereby. Many industries, much of art were dependent on the ability of the Church to buy. The curial fiscals had never been able to get control of the monetary interests of Europe. Immense and augmenting as were the landed estates of the Church in every country, expanded as were the industries and agriculture of monastic institutions, the concentration of financial interests in the Roman capital had never been effected; the unexpected avenues of commerce, the persistence of the Hebrews, the growth of free cities, the daily enlarging necessity for banking facilities and brokerage had effectually and happily prevented that result. It remained for Jesuitism to climb nearest to that dangerous ascendancy. Hence the Church had to be a constant borrower in markets friendly or alien; but that banker as a rule was governed by no confessional scruples, he loaned to Romanist or Evangelical alike. At the time of this letter the papal fisc was hard put to; one source of revenue after another dried up. It was also a local trouble and Breslau was no slight sufferer. We cannot be surprised then at the kindling zeal of this Chapter as of others for the rehabilitation of the fountains and the appeals to the secular arm for enforcing the payment of interests, rentals and tithes due by contract or enfeoffment. Naturally enough did the prelates act in this interest. Without sufficient means the rites could not be maintained in their integrity, the salaries and the incomes from multiplied prebends would be endangered, and the sinews of war would be lacking in their campaign against heresy. Not that the prelates were absolutely divided into groups, each actuated by one definite purpose; but one or other of such motives predominated and led to certain emphases of action in the meetings of the Chapter or in the general service of the Church. Apart from any criticism of prelacy by evangelical standards we must regard the individual prelates as for the most part cultured men and as earnestly, if narrowly and wrongly, devoted to their view of the faith. It was precisely this obtuse devotion to wrong standards, this perverted conscience, this wilful rejection of the final authority in matters of the soul that made the prelates criminal; the enemies of the living Word as the sole guide for conduct were enemies of God and of men alike. Mere sincerity of attachment to an old order did not exempt them from the duty of further search for truth, and from the embrace and propagation of its revelations. Charity might say: we pity you, but justice must declare: you are guilty for trying to resist light and you are therefore worthy of condemnation.

- 1) The prelates are portrayed by the authors in the language of the

pastoral epistles as fabulists and as devisers, propagators and stout defenders of a false system of teaching. They have hindered the Bishop from issuing a mandate enforcing and supporting the preaching and reading of the pure Gospel; this attitude is ascribed to bad elements of character, whose dark features are depicted again from the words of St. Paul to Timothy. Theirs is a formalism which played at piety while the power of a godly conduct is lacking. They behave like all the opponents of a new order which stands for light and progress have done; just as Jannes and Jambres resisted the epoch-making Moses in his struggle for liberty of conscience, so do they cross any effort which looks to escape from the house of bondage. They too oppose the truth because of their perverted mind and their wilful incapacity to exercise an enlightened faith. The result of change would be personally disastrous, hence they indulged in that sort of foolishness which hastens to its own exposure and overthrow. Such useless men should not be clothed with powers of successful obstruction. Their petitions to the Bishop clamoring for a destructive course are incessant; and they even hazard a commission to wait on him with a sort of resolute, defiant determination to make him support their violent policy of warfare against the revival. The object of the obstructionists, according to our authors, was to get a protectorate for their nefarious projects and to press and goad their ordained head to the confirmation of the old tyranny. Of course both men were well posted on what was going on in the Chapter. They knew very well how consistently with their devotion to the old order the prelates and canons had prayed for the intervention of the King of Poland and the King of Bohemia; the delegation of imploration that had been sent to those courts had secured the issue of some fierce but feeble injunctions: these did not suffice however to put a single break on the whirling wheels. 2) The writers too were well informed of the wrestlings between the Chapter and the magistracy of Breslau, in the heat of which the prelates were subjected to many discomfitures. The consummate act in the eyes of the two friends was the appointment of a commission to wait upon the Bishop, who was then at Neisse, with definite instructions to insist upon his positive and irrevocable commitment to a united effort for the overthrow of the innovations which they persistently designated as Lutheranism and heresy. This effort at compulsion it was that roused the indignation of our petitioners to an unusually high pitch and to the plain spoken exhortation to the Bishop to stand up against them like a man and to so punish their arrogant, presumptuous intrusion and to give them such a set-down as would deter them from starting out for Neisse a second time on such an errand. 3) The petitioners cannot forbear applying some of Isaiah's choice characterizations of the false prophets to them as intoxicated imi-

tators, whose vision is smitten with blindness and obduracy so that they are hindered from discerning the way of truth. Such scriptural compliments the prelates in their turn of course thought applicable to our men of the new times. 4) The estimate of the reformers was founded upon simple scriptural canons. By the use of these they measured the prelate ideas of worship, so much of which consisted in schemes for the enlargement of altar foundations and for the increase of liturgical battology in unintelligible speech. To the support of such useless institutions they persuaded the ignorant people by representing them as means of salvation; the practical outcome however was a provision for the comfortable support of the clergy; from its very nature such a theory of spiritual life was devitalizing the machinery and was entirely superfluous as a medium of intercourse between the invisible God and the inner nature of man. For the uncultured it became more and more an aggravated system which tended to the farthest alienation from a true conception of what the service of God consists in. It is in total disregard of the very essence of Christianity. 5) Another criticism is that these prelates are the inflexible supporters of the existing monasticism. They had not been advocates of even the external reformations which the Franciscans and Augustinians had been subjected to. They had not put forth a finger to renovate the conventual conditions in Brieg and in Breslau, about which the magistracy of the latter city had been so importunate and daring. There was no restraint put upon the sale of beer and liquors and upon the bordels openly sustained by the monks. These dignitaries only began to cavil and interfere when the Gospel made invasions into the monasteries and convents, and then their only concern was to rechain the free Spirit in its old cells. The people in their carnival and festal sports knew what to satirize and mimic. 6) Further the prelates were the enthusiastic maintainers of the endless masses which were an unctuous source of revenue. The critics carefully guard the application of their strictures, for it is only those who are anxious for the increase of resources and not for the diffusion of the Gospel against whom their irony is directed. To their own minds this entire system was the turning of spiritual places and worship into a mercantile bureau for the enrichment of the Church and its functionaries. It indicated a diseased condition of existing religious institutions. For just that sin Christ drove the traders out of the temple; he might also have lashed Annas and Caiaphas for having been partners in so nefarious a business. 7) Another point of censure is in the fatuous assertion which the prelates indulge in by claiming that they are upholders of the Gospel because a section thereof is read in the services and because they preach in the main from scriptural texts. They want no reforms by which the lections are made intelligible or by which the

homiletic art may contribute to the unfolding of simple truth for the mind and conduct. They used the pulpit for maintaining a system of terrorism by appealing to fear and not to love. They built up theological commonplaces as well as liturgy upon the doctrines of purgatory and hell, instead of unfolding the divine promises and Christ's comprehensive sacrifice. The chief intention of preaching was perverted. They also supported the abuses connected with the ordination of the clergy. They seconded the patrons in their selection of inefficient candidates; they prevented the people from exercising any voice; they ordained self-seeking aspirants without regard to their character or attainments. If orders bore the impress of an eternal seal, surely the current methods required immediate reform. 8) Then too, the prelates neglected the suitable education of the priesthood: This was a radical evil from which the other defects naturally sprung. Jacob was a scholasticus who ought to be familiar with the whole process of the schools and the universities; surely he had recognized the glaring inefficiency of the pastors and would provide a remedy even if the other prelates neglected it. Again these dignitaries showed a practical opposition to the diffusion of culture. The ignorance of the village pastors, their intolerant, tyrannous ways prevented the exercise of any modifying influence upon the life, domestic and social, about them. Their eminences meanwhile huddled together in one place and built up a secluding wall about themselves. Their light was put under a bushel and the people received no benefit from their superior attainments. In other words they are the pillars of the mediæval order. Worship, polity, doctrine, conduct must be restored according to the old system; every sign of life or stir of fresh thought or advance to a different standpoint must be repressed with rigidity and finality. 9) These prelates therefore are the violent antagonists of evangelical Christian principles which they unreflectingly dub as Lutheran. If they can befoul Luther then they have smirched the whole agitation and have evaporated the ferment which the new wine has produced. These prelates are the false clergy who hate the true clergy and stir up strife with them about the service of God and the nature, office and efficacy of good works. 10) Moreover the prelatic party is concerned wholly with the superficial and external side of sin and not with its depths and its intensive cure. They maintain the concept of their own inherent creative force together with the sacrificial and absolving power of their priesthood. They are the apostles of reason as over against faith. The competency of hierarchic intellect to take the place of the divinely ordered system of salvation by Christ alone they not only represent, but do battle for. They advocate the sole and sufficient authority of the Church in every juncture as superior to the supremacy and finality of the Scriptures. While they maintain the valid-

ity of councils they do not commit themselves in the question between the infallibility of the pope or the superiority of the Ecumenical Coetus, but in any case, either is far more inerrant than the Bible. They assert also the amplest sufficiency of the fathers without defining wherein their peculiar merits lay whether in inspiration or in sanctity. They contend for historicity and antiquity of usages as having a sovereign right to regulate conduct and individual reason. This has been, therefore it should be. What has been once settled by a council is not to be reopened. Their decisions and definitions are a finality and must have universal recognition and obedience. The councils have done no wrong whether in decapitating the many heads who each boasted of wearing the tiara or in burning Hus. These prelates are particularly hot against that Bohemian reformer. They are still agitated by the memory of those terrible campaigns of a few decades back which well nigh gained liberty for the empire and liberated European consciences from these usurping spiritual authorities. Indeed the recollection of the renovating attempt gave new vigor to their ghost-haunted minds, for had not their predecessors sat in gloomy terror under the flurry and swing of those dread armies? They fully expected a like political move to grow out of the Lutheran innovation. The martyr was mastered but he left a progeny of avenging judges that startled the aspirants of religious territorial systems every now and then, especially such as were seated high and had many benefices. The peril of souls was also a peril of golden sees; property with them was as great a god as it is under English law where goods are still of more account than life. 11) The prelates too were the astute and merciless critics of the crops and fruits yielded by the reformatory tillage. Unmindful of the moral conditions among their own brother canons, undismayed by the records of foulness on the part of monks and nuns on the very Sand-Insel hard by their own Chapter house; disregarding the abbots who had died of delirium tremens or of venereal diseases they had the hardy turpitude to point the finger at the conduct of the libertines and sinners and the happy-go-luckies who were in the full career of license. It is spectacular cheek for the Romanists to attribute evil to those engaged in the innovation when there were popes and cardinals, abbots and bishops, to say nothing of the troops of clerics regular and clerics secular who were smitten with the nameless sequelae of vice, and drew revenue from bordels, and drank flagons of wine, and held orgies and revellings, exceeding Lucullus or Tiberius in extravagance and infamy. It is the veriest insolence and pretence to mock at the struggles for moral regeneration when these dignitaries were taxing Christendom for the Turkish wars and yet were using the funds for amplifying the States of the Church or for curial magnificence and display. They were

not all so, thank God, nor were all the children of the Reformation unmitigated scamps. But that the denizens of such very fragile, glass houses should want to throw stones savors of unparalleled impudence. They should have cleared their own floors first before taking notice of any body else's cobwebs and dust. They should not have waited to furnish up their parlors and living-rooms and pull their faces straight until Hercules was at the door. Who was it that compelled the reforms produced by the council of Trent? 12) The prelates' haughty scorn of lay intrusion is another peculiarity. We are the exclusive proprietors of ecclesiastical affairs and properties say they. You attend to your estates and you will have enough to do. This matter of reforming the Church is our business. Unanointed heads must not think themselves to have brains for such hallowed work. It is the consecration of oil and the sleek hand of the crosiered apostolical that make the difference. But one might ask who is administering the finances? Who looks after the dependent villages? Who is cultivating the glebes of your parishes and benefices and managing the peasants? Had you not better attend to your spiritual duties and let the laymen hold and take care of such properties? And the laymen happened to have Churches on their estates, as patrons had they no rights, and if they had rights had they no duties, and need they not regulate these advowsons with spiritual wisdom and with liberal enlightenment? It is a poor rule that does not apply to every case and that always has an ecclesiastical or canonical exception. It is true that the prelates had always been hard on the laity and they were not disposed to have the colossal fabric of differentiation reared so laboriously and with century long toil tumbled about their ears by two country nobles fresh from the fields. They resented any thought of a universal priesthood. They bristled for hoary privilege and chartered exclusiveness all of which was based on fiction as obviously bald as the donation of Constantine or the Isidorean decretals. It is a noble sentence which the friends write, they are willing to render them due obedience providing they do not presume on arrogating to themselves prerogatives which Christ has not granted them. If they base their functions on Christ and the Scriptures we will concede them a Christian allegiance. But the better part is every man's privilege. Let them be members of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God exclusively and we shall yield them a cheerful hearing and following. The petitioners knew that the old struggle between the Chapter and the Bishop was not limited to Breslau: almost every diocese was afflicted with a like quarrel. The prelates wanted to rule the Bishop and compel him to yield to their general or their special views. It was now as it had been for centuries a question who should bear sway, the Chapter or the Bishop. It had been an im-

memorial strife, and every diocesan had been severely hampered, if not checkmated, by the ambition and cock-horse airs of the prelate and canonical bodies. It was a reproduction of the transmitted fights between the cardinals and the pope. These frustrating conflicts however despoiled autocracy of much of its formidable and natural results. Our authors understood the situation and wanted to put some vertebrae into the Bishop's back and to polish up his armor and sharpen his weapons for him. They encourage him to assert himself; he must order these men to their spiritual routine; instead of sitting around idly and mumbling in the choir, let them go and preach, let them serve as missionaries in the villages; the ignorant pastors are capable of doing all the droning sing-song in the stalls. Let the culture mix itself with the masses instead of hiding in the apse and assuming a haughty exclusiveness. Let them soil their hands with hard toil and eat bread with the peasants. Let them follow the hardy instead of the luxurious life. It is true the concern of our authors is rather for the benefit of the communities than for giving sterling worth and scope to the talents of the licentiates and masters and doctors of the canon or of the civil law or of both laws conjointly or of theology. The authors were most of all anxious for the elevation of the farmers; they wanted culture to be diffused. No nobler duty could fall to the lot of the Bishop than to lift up the masses into an appreciation or enjoyment of a fuller life. 13) The prelates at Breslau insisted also upon the celibacy of the clergy. They had carried through against indifference first and then against a determined opposition some reforms of concubinage, as they persisted in calling it, on the part of their own members high in office and in the confidence of the previous bishop. This was simply aimed at what was a sort of common marriage and not at all at miscellaneous sexual indulgence. What they had attained with no inconsiderable pertinacity, they were not willing to resign at once. They opposed the marriage of the monks and the nuns and the matrimonial alliances of the clergy which were now taking place before their very eyes. They called these holy bands by all manner of unsavory names and imputed the foulest motives to the men who reconstructed the significance and purity of the home; it remains a favorite charge to this day among those ecclesiastics, the grossness of whose very look and build indicates what they are. 14) The prelates too were zealous supporters of the centralization in Rome, not that they cared a button for the papal authority, if they wished to put something of their own through; not that they did not know the value of money and subvention at the Curia, especially if they wanted to gain a point against their own bishop. It must be confessed that the autocratic idea required such a logical climax as the headship of one will; the historic fictions were attractive and precious to the romantically dis-

posed; perfume is always a delight to some mythopoeic natures. The very fable is more captivating to the dreamer as well as to the ambitious than would be the simplicity of naked and clearer facts. The thought of an empire is not without its cogency and charm to minds that love mechanism and pomp, or that delight in putting an emphasis on display and symbolism. There are those who appear to be unable to conceive of spirituality without some outward image, some visible and tangible sign of the thing signified. The Kingdom of God must be external and massed with potentates and their trappings. The divine Imperium must be a State set off with crude gew-gaws and barbaric magnificence, a Byzantium of cringing servility; and that sort of cult invariably fights to gain supremacy over the natural State. These prelates therefore stood for Rome although Rome had given them many a slap in the face and Rome was jealous of the accreting privileges and the chartered independence of episcopal sees. But from this centrality there was no hope that the prelates would cut loose, all the less if the Bishop should decide to cast in his lot with them and cleave to the ancient order. 15) They too were great sticklers for the prestige of the clergy. They loved state and outward honor. They liked pomp and ceremonial. Moreover in the innovation they saw a diminution of the outward respect to the clerical profession as such. Men mocked them; they were the buts of the populace; they were the subjects and characters of spiteful plays. They had all along been the occasions of most of the current and changeful slang and helped fill the book of common proverbs with a goodly lot of comic maxims. The glory of their position was now still more rudely assaulted. Men began to cast off the fear of sacerdotal authority since the priests were proved not to be the custodians of eternal life; the keys were violently wrenched from their hands and they were seen to be no more than ordinary mortals. From their point of view and height of privileges this was a grievous calamity. They were bent on arresting the downfall but by the most fatal means. They resorted to the now antiquated weaponry and invoked the civil sword to interfere in behalf of their vanishing dignities. It was too late; great changes would have to be instituted in their own structure, before a counter-reformation could be begun. The old reverence could never be restored where freedom had obtained a permanent footing. Character alone could reinstate the preacher in popular regard where the right of private judgment had been acknowledged as finally sovereign. 16) A triumphant argument of the prelates against the new spirit was that it drove men to revolt and revolution; the old civilization was being imperilled by the undermining ideas set in motion in all lands. True it is that profound changes were impending because the contention was between contradictory prin-

ciples of authority. But these surging notions were not the parents of blood and fire unless the rights of conscience were resisted. The fathers of violence were those who insisted on suppressing the liberties of the soul, not those who maintained their independence. Human progress of necessity involves discontent, change, commotion and readjustment; these are inherent incidents of every effort at reaching a higher level of the social consciousness. These can be accomplished quietly and helpfully if the supporters of the exhausted order do not resort to arms as they so often have done under the plea of maintaining an established and inherited system. The prelates were eager for the sword of Sigismund and the cannon of Charles the Fifth; they would clothe the ecclesiastical courts with the amplest jurisdiction and fill the prisons with the daring iconoclasts. For our two authors the truth was more potential than all arms. The future was bathed in a fuller light, though the realization of prophecy might be through battle and captivity. The noblest conception of the Temple came to the Golah.

17) In the conflict with prelacy the two writers distinctly announce their refusal to recognize the authority of any preferred clergy whose claims to obedience were not based on the Gospel. The apostolic ideas and rules about evangelical seats and functions of government are very plain. The clergy or the canons who demanded submission on the basis of tradition, decretals or the *Corpus juris canonici*, so far as these militated against the Scriptures, would no longer have any support from them. Any cleric who set himself against the reformation of the Church in all its regime and membership should not have any acknowledgement or support from these two petitioners. Such traditionalists represented something else than simple Christianity. They reflected a Judaism injuriously grafted upon the spiritual conceptions of the Son of man. Now again had come the struggle for the freedom which the Spirit gave to every man of true faith. This was to announce distinctly and unmistakably that they refused to serve under the old juridical system, as it was. They plead for its revision without which they must decline allegiance to its restrictions and bondage. There can be no doubt here for bishop or for prelates, for chapter or for priest, for monk whether Benedictine, Augustinian, Dominican or Franciscan. Give us a purified system; submit yourselves to the supremacy of the Gospel; do away with the accreted barnacles of the ship, or we are done with it! This was one of the biggest moves on the chess-board of that day. It was a quarrel about the very foundations. It affected the entire social structure, the very framework and filling in of the whole house. It demanded the reorganization of Christian society. It was a revolt against law in favor of ethicality. It was a protest against the letter and in favor of the Spirit. It said: we must destroy this fictitious

and oppressive fabric and reconstruct the social order upon a simple, free basis of justice and love. We refuse to be controlled by technicalities; we will no longer submit to courts whose whole business is that of injunction and the filing of a bill of exceptions. The disease of all unethical law and procedure was upon the time as it is upon our day. There is no tyranny like that of the law's delays and no fever like the fever of endless legislation; even the mad, insolent careering of the automobilists is as nothing compared with the cruel insanity of the administrator of a code of law from which the spirit has been wholly driven. Let us feel what this meant for these men to assail that colossal fabric. It was more than to assault the battlements of Rome which was the central thought of a few years later. Georg Frunsberg and the Connétable de Bourbon did nothing half so noteworthy as these two moral heroes in challenging the deep-rooted ecclesiastical code. They joined issue with the most oppressive foe that liberty of conscience had ever to contend with. Everything from infancy to the grave was enmeshed in that mighty system meant to be beneficent indeed, but from a wrong apprehension of the Kingdom, and now not only Draconian but wholly inadequate to bandy with the new forces set into play by a revived Gospel. These two stood for the untrammelled freedom of the illuminated time. They were pioneers in discovering a new world and they were sterling and doughty men who having perceived what that new world must be built upon would it survive, zealously maintained the integrity of that foundation. The advice to separate from Rome was only a part of this great redemptive scheme. That was but the capital and centre of the dominating *Corpus juris canonici*. That city had gradually obtained the headship of the occidental machinery. It was the power house for running all western Christendom in fixed grooves. The historic criticism of the donation documents was as nothing compared with the wide-spread and determined revolt against the tyranny of soulless law which aimed to place all power of legislation, judgment and execution in the hands of a priesthood whose very institution was a misconstruction of the New Testament ideas. Our petitioners therefore, cautiously and graciously called for the surrender of the prelates to the real divine order before they should be overwhelmed by it. They plead with them to assist in making the transition from the old to the new which was older after all than their antiquity; they ought to be leaders in the reinstauration instead of being buried under the ruins of an impossible system. England and Holland quivered under the fierce struggle. Germany was to suffer indescribable torments in the effort to keep the mediæval standard afloat. France is slowly and with difficulty coming out of that enervating ecclesiasticism. Alas! that in the interval so many Protestant lands submitted to an iron yoke almost as lacerating. The national church system has

usurped the place of the mediæval Judaism that massacred the Jews and fought the ineffectual crusades. We must reflect upon this trumpet blast in the light of the history that has followed and put ourselves in the place of the heroes that summoned the fortress to surrender or to accept the issues of arms and criticism. The demolitions are incomplete but their eyes have greeted the immortal light.

The protocols on their face read as if there had been the greatest and for the most part a courteous harmony of action between the Bishop and the Chapter, as in the quarrel with the city of Breslau about the transfer of the Bernhardines and the custody of their treasures: similarly in the visits to the royal courts to foster the edicts against the Lutheran heresy and in the methods of suppressing the democratic movements of the monastery of St. Jacob. Again in the minutes of June 12, 1523 they represent Jacob as equally active with themselves in the steps taken against the marriage of the monks and the clergy, and especially in the substantiation of the principle that the Church alone has jurisdiction in matrimonial affairs. They even declare that the Bishop made a report of the convent at Grottkau in which this subject was discussed with the representatives from Breslau and that Friedrich II had inveighed vehemently against these incestuous alliances during this meeting; nothing however, was accomplished save that the Bishop and the Herzog agreed to appoint a commission who should expostulate with the magistrates of Breslau for their lax views about the laws of celibacy and the observance of fasts. In order to prevent the further growth of the Lutheran faction the episcopal Chancellor, Matthew von Logan, was appointed as a special ambassador to the King to invoke his intervention on the question of clerical marriage and other prescript usages. We must protest that such views and actions on the part of Friedrich II at that date were simply impossible; they thoroughly misrepresent his attitude. Can we then feel secure as to the apparent accord between Chapter and Bishop? At the session on August 22, 1523 Jacob addressed certain mandatory letters to the Chapter through Nicolaus Weidener, restraining the Franciscans from conducting services in the rural churches and from soliciting alms in the village communities. The decree of the King of Poland addressed to the Breslau magistrates against the Lutheran faction was also presented to the Chapter. In the minutes of September 1 of the same year a commission makes report of their interview with the Bishop concerning the extension of the new ideas for the arrest of which another stronger appeal should be made to the State; Weidener was to go to the court of Hungary and Lampricht to that of Poland. The question of the appointment of a successor to the parish of Maria Magdalena with proper financial support also came up. A very sane method of handling the intrusion of heresy was introduced in a debate

on the resolution to send two learned and exemplary men on a mission through the diocese to warn the people against error. From the current of subsequent discussions between the magistracy and the Chapter concerning the monks and the extension of Lutheranism it would appear that the embassies were not sent, and the appointment of the rural mission seems also to have fallen into the background. The replies of the Bishop to the magistracy of Breslau were approved September 14, 1523 and the conclusions reached at Grottkau were reaffirmed to wit: that the preachers in Breslau should be uniform in their sermons, taking the preachers of St. Elizabeth and St. Mary Magdalene as their pattern in doctrine and that these two incumbents be allowed to obtain some additional benefices for their sustenance. The Bishop added a further mandate that Adam Dijon be restrained from printing or publishing books which reflected on the life of ecclesiastics. On September 23 a letter from the Bishop was read stating that he was the recipient from Rome of three apostolic breves, one addressed to himself, the second to Friedrich of Liegnitz, a third to the magistracy of Breslau, consisting of warnings against the Lutheran faction. A letter of the Bishop to the magistracy was appended to the breve directed to the city authorities, and yet the Hess negotiations were going right forward! In October Hess visited Liegnitz and remained there until the appointed time for his installation. While there Prockendorf visited him in behalf of the Chapter in the attempt to obtain his consent to a stay of proceedings. The report of this ineffective interview was made to the Chapter on the 18th., who returned the fatigued traveller a vote of thanks. The transactions between the magistracy and the Chapter concerning the call of Hess, according to the minutes, imply the agreement of the Bishop with the canons but there was really a serious division of opinion between them as to the wisest mode of procedure, and the letter of Jacob to Hess would preclude any but a superficial identity of judgment and connection. Both were certainly agreed as to the denial of investiture, but there was a grave divergence as to the matter of the call and the best way of handling the whole affair whether by outright opposition or by adopting a conciliatory and friendly policy which might keep the door open for subsequent reclamation.

XI. The neglect of the ordinary offices of humanity for the zealous maintenance of ceremonials as sureties of personal salvation and the expenditure of very considerable sums of money for this end to the total neglect of the needy is also commented upon in a sermon preached by Dr. Johann Drach, August 30, 1523. In commenting upon the numerous brotherhoods who support these costly institutions and forget the poverty and sorrow of their fellows about them he says: man einer gefürbt, fo

wollen sie im erst meß, vigilien, jartag nach kaufen, und dieweil er lebt, so lassen sie in not leyden, geben im nit ein pfenning aus der buxen zu hilf und ufenthaltung. ich finde in der ganzen geschrift nit ein sprüchlein, daß meß, salbe, vigilig, jartag kaufen einem noch seinem leben mag zu hilf kommen. darum sein die pruderſchaften huberei und mißbrauch. wir sein vor (gott) alle pruder in Christo, haben einen glauben, tauf etc. was soll das arm. A similar comment on the financial aspects of the multiplied masses for the dead you find in Wolfgang Öchsner's treatise. Ein kurzer Bericht, wherein he says: Derhalben hat er sich mit seyner bösen Engelischen listigkeit/ diſe vnüberwindliche heymlichkeit abzûthun vnd zu nicht zu machen/ beſliſſen/ vnnnd darzu ſaſt zûgenommen/ das alleyn die Meß für die toden gehalten werden/ ſo ſie für die lebendigen zû halten auffgeſetzt ſind/ vnd mit dem mißbrauch der Seelmessen/ Vigilien/ Jartagen/ 2c. nyemandts/ daß den Meßknechten/ dardurch ſie auch reich worden/ erſchoſſen/ vnd alſo die toden geſchunden vnd gefreſſen/ Vnnnd nicht vnpiilich Todensreſſer genant werden/ Hierumb wölle wir/ das ſeyn ſeele der verſtorben/ die do umbgehen ſollen/ erezigen und ſehen laſſen/ ſey/ auch Meß nachhalten begern/ probirñ. The irrational perversions of the mass are thus delineated by Andreas Dober the vicar of the Spital at Nürnberg: Wie Chriſtus auch zu der wittve ſaget/ vñ wir bißher mit ünſer/ Seelmeß/ ſegſewer/ gebeten/ ob dem grab (vnd doch alles nur umb des lieben pfennings wegen) gemacht haben/ das ſich mancher frummer man ſeines weibs kinder/ vater vnd mäter todt ſo hoch bekümmert hat/ das er auch geſtorben iſt Der gleichen die vngeſchickten vñ betrieglichen Redemptores animarû (Seel erlöſer) manichem abgenommen haben/ das er zu einem pettler hat müſſen werden. In Summa/ gibß preſent/ ſo ſein wir fleißig zu kirchen/ gibß aber kaine/ ſo laß wir wol kirchē kirchē ſein/ ſingt man Vigilig/ ſo ſein wir dieweil in d' Sacriſten/ vnnnd do was zu Venedig gehandelt würd/ richt man auß. Iſt man aber nit in der kyrchen/ ſo ſtehen wir vor der kyrchen vñ richten die leüt auß. Wolan es get als lanng es mag/ ſecht euch für got wirt den kaalatiſchen dienſt nit lang gedulden/ ſonnder mi/ ſeinem wort/ (D wolt got) palbt zu nichten machen (vñ die kauſſter vnd verkauffer auß dem tempel treiben/ kürzlich wirdt vnns ſûrgepild in Lazaro vñ dem reichen man/ wie es ſich helbt/ nemlich/ das man Moſen vñ die propheeten hören ſoll/ da lernt man was ſelig macht/ vnd was verbambt unſelig gemein volk, das an mōnchen und pfaffen hangt, wiſſen von dem glauben und evangelio, ſo es die mōnch und pfaffen ſelbſt nit wiſſen! Wenceslaus Linck also complains of the perversion of ſuch temporal goods in his Von Teſtamēten der ſterbenden meſchen/ wie die geſchehen vnd volzogen ſollen werden nach Götlichem geſetz/ Ein bebeden Wenheſlai Lind / Eccleſiaſten zu Albenburg. M. D. XXXij. It is a ſtimulous to avarice that the prieſts occaſion by prodding the people to ſave and then at the end of life to make a will devoting their goods and property to ſacred uſes. Through this abuſe par-

sons and monks are enriched because the wills and foundations are many. By this means the natural heirs are frequently robbed and disinherited. Wills should not neglect the legitimate heirs and should always be applied to the ends which brotherly love and not selfishness dictates.

XII. Some of the subjects agitated by the petitioners were not new in Silesian circles. There had been long standing conflicts between the princes together with the nobility and the Chapter which involved fundamental questions of jurisdiction and the ultimate source of authority in matters temporal. Who should rule, the church or the princes? The latter resisted curialism as involving the assertion and use of a different and often alien political power. The problem is precisely the same today in all lands where Church and State are combined; and although it may be more occult it is scarcely less restless in countries where the majority rules and where there are set constitutional obstacles to such aggressions and commixtures in its way. There are many documents concerning these Silesian paradoxes the chief of which are the Ultimatum of the nobles in 1503 and the Colowrat Agreement of 1504, by the latter of which matters at issue were ostensibly settled but in reality only driven to covert diplomacy. We may group these points somewhat differently from the order of their discussion, and taking note of only the more incisive ones.

1) The princes and nobles had insisted that only a Silesian Fürst should be elected as bishop and in case of his declination, that the succession should be determined by the Chapter under the advice of the princes. The Colowrat Agreement had extended the area of choice to natives of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia because these were closely allied in political interests, and the German culture for which the Silesians battled was quite dominant in them all. This dispute was not simply a selfish one for the aggrandizement of the local houses. It was far more pregnant; for it aimed at localizing ecclesiastical government; it was a barrier to be reared first of all against papal encroachment. They did not want their churches to stand under direct Roman control, an evil which would be facilitated, if the bishop were not a native. They had no concordat for they had no unified government of their own. They were determined however to attain some pragmatic understanding although confined to local agencies. Secondly they wanted no foreign political influence to disturb or turn aside the home enigmas which were crying for solution; a bishop was a temporal Fürst who, if he were not of Silesia, would not have the proper sympathy with the native Fürstenrecht. Thirdly they wanted no Polish or Hungarian or Italian types of culture. They were German, even if many of their old families had been Czeck

or Slav or even Magyar. Now to be sure this contention was a direct assault on canon law and on the privileges together with the independence of the Chapter; but that availed nothing, since the question was too basic to allow old charters to determine it; it underlay the whole fabric of the State. Should Rome rule in local political and even ecclesiastical affairs, or the princes? Neither side had any inclination to democracy; it was a fight between the privileged classes only. The Colowrat Agreement was after all a substantial victory for the princes, although it saved the letter of the capitular insistence. A point closely related to this affected the constitution of the Chapter itself. The nobles demanded that vacancies in that body should be open to the ranks of the nobility or to such Silesian citizens as had taken some university degree. On August 3, 1520 Friedrich II had requested the Breslau Chapter to appoint the provost of the Dom at Liegnitz, Bartholomäus Rugersdorf, to a seat in the choir at St. John the Baptist. They indeed declined because they had already engaged the prebend to another; but from fear of that powerful Prince they promised the appointment for the next ensuing vacancy, a pledge which they redeemed on March 15, 1521. This provost was of course well known to our authors. If the Chapter were to follow this rule, the canons would gradually become strongly Silesian and representative of all parts of the country. These princes saw with indignation how some foreigners were drawing their salaries and yet were never present at the sessions of the Chapter. Such an absentee membership was a continuous threat to the well-being of the Silesian Church.

2) The next grave question concerned the support of the State. The princes insisted that the Chapter and the Church properties should be liable to public tax just as were the possessions of the laity; the clergy should contribute their quota to the maintenance of the secular government. No discriminations should be made and no exemptions should be granted. In general this provision was carried through in spite of capitular, episcopal and Roman opposition. While this might cripple the benevolent enterprises of the Church to a degree, it would also serve to teach that it is the duty of every individual and of every corporation to sustain the State; it is a part of a wholesome civic consciousness. Further it prevented the use of their properties for monopolizing trade and industries. This was originally a grave economical competition on account of the untaxed cheapness of labor and production, the monastic wares too often controlled the market.

3) The most serious restraints were put upon the making of wills in behalf of the clergy, and indeed upon the endowment of ecclesiastical institutions. Not only did such properties pass under the customary

clerical exemptions but the testators neglected the rights of kindred and thereby increased the number of dependents upon public charity. In other words, such a diversion of property diminished the sources of revenue for the State.

4) Restrictions were also put upon the use of the ecclesiastical ban and inderdict. This heavenly artillery had been trained upon debtors to the Church to compel them to fork over the more speedily, especially because the ecclesiastics wished to evade the use of secular courts. The abuse of spiritual lightning was spread over the most trivial matters which ought to have been settled by due processes of law. The secular powers combined to resist the abomination whenever it was applied. Even in matters that might be construed as really subjects for Church discipline the princes and nobles demanded that a time-limit should be placed upon the punishment.

5) The clergy were also to be inhibited from interference with the administration of the laws. Their injunctions and efforts to shift jurisdiction or to evade the serving of writs were strongly condemned. They must also be amenable to the civil courts in all matters civil; they must not take shelter under any fiction of superiority, sacredness or trial by peers. There could not be two kinds of common law. Moreover they must use the regular courts for maintaining purely secular rights.

6) Those who wore the spiritual habit were enjoined from engaging in worldly avocations, as in the manufacture and sale of wine and beer; they were not to harbor craftsmen so as to undersell their neighbors in the markets or fairs by making cheaper products. House industries supplied trade in the main at this time; these suffered from the competition.

7) The laborers on the monastic and Church estates were to be put on the same level with the laborers on secular properties.

Such were some of the more prominent topics whose reconstruction princes and nobles enforced. They were exasperated by the unpatriotic pride and Romish exemptions of the clergy. There could be only one interpretation of law and not two. The canonical code must give place to the civil code in all civil matters. It was a struggle for unity of rule, for supremacy. A divided house could not stand. The evasions and shifts of the Chapter and the Bishop, more or less up to our date, only embittered the feeling and made the nobles and the people alike long for some way of delivery from the subtle tyranny. The sentiments of our authors are manifestly in accord with these protestations as they had been arrayed in that bristling ultimatum. The exacerbation had slowly risen to the resolution of expelling the clergy from Silesia. Lusatia, Bohemia,

Moravia were much of the same mood. The popular feeling assumed an almost Taboritic view. The large wave of propagandism by the Bohemian brethren must not be forgotten; it runs parallel with these civic agitations. Nor must we ignore the Podiebrad influence slumbering in the courts of Liegnitz and Münsterberg-Oels. Add to this the rising tide which streamed from Wittenberg and overflowed the land, and you have a combination of reforming forces which find their noblest expression in our letter.

XIII. Johann Hess as we have seen had declined the call to Liegnitz. After serving for a while as pastor at Oels he withdrew to his native Nürnberg. The magistrates of Breslau on May 20, 1523 offered him the position of preacher at the church of Mary Magdalene. The details of opposition on the part of the Chapter to this entire procedure will not be described here. There are a few points however which are essential to our story. One of these is the letter of the Bishop to Hess dated the sixth day after the Assumption of Mary, August 21, 1523. It is thoroughly cordial in tone and urges him to the acceptance of the call; while it charges him to preach the Gospel it is not the Gospel according to Luther's but according to the Church's interpretation. The aim of his preaching was to be that those who with shameless face have hitherto divulged heresy, propagated errors, scattered false doctrines, injured the infirm and weak, broken peace and quiet with their tumult, have lost love, have divided unity, have cast off the obedience of subjects to their superiors and finally have turned the Gospel of peace, unity and Christian fraternity into a gospel of war, tumult, dissensions and discords, led thereto unblushingly partly by hope of some small gain, partly by the desire of favor, that all these may learn from your sound evangelical doctrine that they have erred far and may thus receive a sounder mind and be converted unto Christ. If you accomplish this you can do nothing more pleasing to us in these stormy times. And he still addresses him as a canon of the collegiate Church of the Holy Cross. At this period the Bishop had outlined to himself the position he consistently maintained during his episcopate: The Church is the sole possessor and interpreter of the Gospel. Whatever reforms might be instituted must be devised and conducted from within according to her exposition. And this was not essentially different from the counsel he gave to the prelates and clergy in the convent at Breslau April 4, 1524, to whose consideration we shall come in the next document: The bishop is anxious to go further in recognition of the request preferred by the magistrates.

October 13, 1523 was a momentous day in the history of the Chapter for then were read to them the Bishop's reasons why he favored the

investiture of Hess, for which the magistrates had formally but earnestly petitioned. The city authorities did not want to break their connection with the diocese in what might be regarded a purely spiritual function and one entirely unconnected with the question of property. The Bishop favored their request. The arguments as addressed to the canons were based on the dread of the contagion which such an example of independent action by the secular officials would breed; this too might lead to the ejection of present pastors where they were distasteful to the parish and the substitution of others according to popular choice and in total disregard of diocesan jurisdiction. The debate which ensued was unfavorable to the Bishop's proposition and on consultations with the canons who were absent because of illness or for other reasons, this resolution was strengthened. That fine scholar Stanilaus Sauer alone took an attitude more or less ambiguous. The final vote ordered the sending of a commission to the King of Hungary, one member of which had already some other business that carried him thither. They were to wait on the Bishop at Neisse and to urge him to accompany the embassy ostensibly so as to prevent the consideration of further propositions from Breslau, but really to have the Bishop away from the diocese so that an official investiture could not take place. It was the most divisive of all the actions taken by the canons under Jacob's episcopate. In the early autumn Hess paid a visit to Liegnitz; while there Schwenckfeld and he undoubtedly had interviews. It is not impossible that he may have been a guest of Schwenckfeld at Ossig where the points of this very letter may have been under discussion, because of its silence concerning his settlement in Breslau. He may also have frequented the Cathedral to hear Crautwald's exposition of St. Paul. On the 14th of October in a morning session convened in the sacristy in preparation for the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the Cathedral at Breslau a meeting was held to prevent, if possible, the presentation of the petition for investiture; to the call itself they would make no further objection, if this other step could be avoided. Dr. Dominicus Prockendorf as a former table-companion of Hess was deputed to visit him in the neighboring city to persuade him by the memory of the benefits he had received from Bishop Thurzo and of his own connection with the canonry to abstain from injuring the cause of religion and of his fellow canons by siding with the effort of the magistracy. Should he refuse consent, then the Doctor should beg him at least to postpone the matter for some weeks in the hope that meanwhile a way for restoring concord might be devised. The subsequent transactions concerning the settlement of Hess betray a somewhat dignified compromise with the Bishop; a measure of tolerant agreement was also reached later with reference to the larger and repeated demands of the princes.

XIV. In this work also we see a proof of his study of Tauler. He had begun with the sermons of that eminent man of God. The edition he used was one of those mentioned in the notes. To us Tauler seems a unique figure, not to be classified with any particular school and yet to be identified with that pious company of men who believed in spirituality, in the mission of the Holy Ghost and in the directness of intercommunion between God and the soul. There is a poetical vein imbedded in his reflections and expositions which gives him an abiding charm. He delights in allegorical moods, nor does he hesitate to approach the thought of unity in language that savors of identification, yet pantheistic philosophy was far from his faith. A most delicate preacher, full of deep and penetrative hints he was, so that his sermons are exquisite in concept and style; full of a percolating suggestiveness and replete with the purest epigrammatic turns. There is at times too a flavor of satire and humor wholly pleasant to a refined taste. He is worthy of a profounder homiletic study. The German of the Reformation editors is admirable and flowing. There is something affluent, broad-streamed and even in all his utterances and withal a simplicity which is unattractive to those who imagine profundity to be the predicate of obscurity whose darkness is deepened by a crooked, self-invented terminology. Tauler ever remained the close companion of Schwenckfeld as he did later of Sudermann, who has preserved so much of him to us. Yet strange to say, considering the fascinating richness of Tauler and the wide scope of his suggestions you can find no trace of any imitation whatever of the Master in Schwenckfeld, whether in mentality or expression. The latter was probably too severely intellectual to be enmeshed by anything however rigorous its logic that had not the scriptural clearness of day in it. But the apothegms of the preacher did appeal most persuasively to him and he delighted in the large dimensions of such a saying as this which he quotes, an expression which has passed into some liturgies. It is therefore a sign of the charitable compass of Schwenckfeld's studies that he sought the illustrations of the divine light in all schools of thought especially in those which were liberal and expanding. A literature that allows of no deep breathing, that has no sign of inhalation or exhalation in its very method is a poor, undigested stuff whose dull uniformity gradually paralyzes both the understanding and the affections. While Schwenckfeld did not imitate Tauler his whole mental and spiritual habit was illuminated and widened by contact with that rich mind and heart, all the more since Tauler's life was so near to God and full of the sweetness as well as the strength of his Redeemer.

XV. The statement is made as if it could not be challenged, that on the average for several centuries scarcely one out of a hundred priests

owned a complete Bible, the only source from which the knowledge of the nature and content of revelation could be obtained. Observe that this has to do primarily with the incompetency of the priesthood for the proper conduct of the pastorate. If they were ignorant of the Scriptures, how could they instruct their parishioners? True it is that many copies of the Vulgate had been transcribed and subsequently a number of limited editions had been printed. It is also true that an incredible series of translations of the Scriptures in whole or in part were made from the Vulgate into the German. A very few books were rendered directly from the Hebrew and the Greek before Luther recast the material and thereby stimulated immensely the circulation of the Bible. These earlier printed versions were also quite circumscribed in the quantity issued and of course were intended for popular rather than ecclesiastical use. It is also true that in Germany the restrictions upon the reading of the Scriptures were not so strenuous and certainly not very vigorously enforced. Not only were the prohibitive decrees of mediæval councils disregarded but the occasional local interdictions were also little more respected. Yet it remained a fact that the average priesthood, particularly the pastors who were settled in the villages, concerned themselves little about the Bible for their regular services or for their own studies; such fragments as came in the lectionaries sufficed for them. This lack of personal ownership arose from several causes. The Scriptures were not held as the chief authority. The cost of the books was too large for the poor priests to be able to secure a copy. The substitution of the lectionaries in the churches made a copy of the Scriptures superfluous and the pericope easily furnished suitable texts. Of course this lack of ownership and possibly this ignorance of the contents of the sacred records do not always apply to the city pastors or to the learned clergy. Our authors are concerned about the education of the priesthood in general and the elevation of the standard of clerical attainment in behalf of the common people. The plea that a part of the Gospel is read in connection with the worship has reference to the lections contained in the service books either in the separate form of lectionaries, *lectionarium*, or in the *Plenaria* which combined in themselves all the regular service books and sometimes also embraced the homilies from the homilaries. In short, the entire conduct of the service was often turned into a formal reading from such a *plenarium*. The note has alluded to such a *missale* which however contained no homiliary. The book previously in use in the diocese of Breslau from 1483 to 1506 was printed by Peter Schoffer in 1483: *Presens missale Ad dei laudē et honorem. per petrū schoffer de gernszheim In inclita ciuitate Magūtina — huius artis Impressorie inuentrice: atqz elimatrice prima glorioso deo fauente — suis cōsignando scutis. Impressum et finitum Anno*

dñi MCCCC. LXXXIII. In vigilia sancti Jacobi apostoli. This was succeeded by the *Missale* of 1506, whose title is given in the notes. In 1510 the *Rituale ecclesiae Wratislaviensis* was published by order of Bishop Thurzo. The curialistic tendency and the chief conciliar actions were directed to the restriction of the reading of the Scriptures by the laity. But in the practical conduct of ecclesiastical affairs one finds the usual contradictory positions maintained, for parallel with the prohibitions run the exhortations to read the Scriptures diligently. The sentiment was divided according to the spirit of different leaders, whether one were centralizing or independent. While Gerson, Geiler von Kaisersberg and Sebastian Brant seek to prevent or dissuade the laity the Weingärtlein 1509 and the Basle *Evangelienbuch* 1514 recommend it, deeming it the duty of all to become skilled in the Scriptures; the latter especially dwells upon the needful guidance of the Holy Spirit for the profitable study of the book. With regard to the clergy there were plenty of insistent admonitions which enjoined upon them a minute acquaintance with the Bible, from the days of Jerome and Augustine. The council of Constance had not failed to enforce the same in subordination to the Church's explanations. Advice was not lacking; Gengenbach had translated Jerome's letter to Nepotianus and called it the *Pfaffenspiegel*: Du solt die heiligen geschriffet etwas offer lāsen, ia das heilig lāsen soll nimmer von dinē henden gelegt wārden. Du solt deß bericht wārden, bz du ander lerneſt, du solt die trūwlich reb, die da vnderwiſen mōg, überfomen, bz du mōgeſt ermanen durch rechtfertige leer vñ die widersprācher widerbeſtō. Blib in den dingen die du gelernet haſt, vñd dir beuolhen ſind, wiſſen von wem du gelārnet haſt. Allwāg bereit einem heben, der rechnūg von dir begārt von der hoffnung vñd dem vertrūwen, ſo in dir iſt, gnūg zethūn. This is a grain of wheat amid much ascetic chaff. The visitations which had fallen into such desuetude, save among the monastic bodies, doubtless contributed to this degenerate condition of the clergy: The aggravated situations of which are more fully revealed by the visitations organized after the Reformation had begun to take root and the elevation of the ministry became a practical matter with them. The first point then was to insist that the minister should be a diligent student of the Bible.

The decline of care in selecting candidates for ordination was not due to lack of counsel and legislation as to the quality of the men to be invested with such sacred powers. The canon law is replete with injunctions. In the preparatory documents for the guidance of the coming council of Constance the University of Paris proposed as a chief duty to sharply command the prelates to promote only worthy candidates and such as were naturally endowed therefor to enter the priesthood. The major clergy were to look less to their personal aggrandizement than to

the salvation of souls. Moreover prelates should associate with themselves only educated and well-behaved assistants. Similarly in the *informationes super reformatione ecclesiae* written by the archbishop Pilius Marine of Genoa the higher clergy are advised to select only worthy candidates for the pastoral office. Nor was there less earnestness in the provisos of the diocese of Breslau. In the provincial synod of Petrikan 1510 the fact of defective ordination was not unacknowledged by the curialists. Under Thurzo's influence they there passed resolutions which were intended to mitigate the evils our authors here complain of. Nobody was to be installed in parochial churches except such as were learned, of good character and who were to be examined before such installation. Again no one should be admitted to the higher orders without commendatory letters from the archpresbyter or the rural dean and two of the parsons in the same diocese under which he had served. These papers must testify to his life, morals, good and honorable conduct. It should be a matter of conscience not to present any unsuitable person to the office of a pastor. These decrees were reaffirmed in a synod held April 28, 1511. These paper edicts however were insufficient to arrest the long established methods because there was not the slightest effort to enforce them. The prelates continued to mass benefices and to practice absenteeism; they were content to furnish the poorest types of vicars as their surrogates, providing they were cheap enough; and the patrons as a rule showed the same indifference as to the quality of their appointees. It was Hadrian VI himself who affirmed that cooks and muledrivers were without preparation ordained as pastors and prelates.

XVI. With respect to the office of the preacher some historical reflections are required. The titles priest and preacher are occasionally conjoined; priesthood is the basis and presumably he who was ordained thereto would have to preach, if it were necessary, especially if he were the incumbent of a village parish. It had come to be viewed as the special function of the bishop, but at this period this was only a passive glory. The possessor of several benefices seldom occupied his pulpits. He engaged inferior vicars at small salaries to discharge his privilege. In the cities or for a special mission in the dioceses men of exceptional talents in the homiletic art were appointed as preachers either regularly or for some special seasons as Lent or Advent. Besides this the Dominicans or preaching order were designed to meet the needs of the Church especially on the polemic side of checking heresies. The other orders also, notably at our date the Augustinians, furnished such regular clergy who were capable of sermonizing. The claim that the Gospel was preached statedly must be admitted as true so far as the quantity of pulpit service was concerned; our authors' criticism reflected rather upon the subject

matter and the temper, if not the method with which the homilist discharged his duty. As to frequency the claim is substantiated for the cities at least. In Liegnitz we read that at the Peter-Paul-Kirche there were two preaching services of a Sunday; in Lent and in Advent some one held forth every day except Monday; similarly on all the major festivals and even on the minor ones there was at least one sermon. Add to this the cloister chapels which the populace frequented more eagerly than they did the regular church. In some of these there was almost daily preaching the year round. So excessive and so burdensome was this found that Johann V on the representation of the preachers limited the number of sermons on Sunday to one; and in Lent and Advent to Wednesday and Friday; on the minor feasts it was wholly done away with; but during the entire year Friday became a regular preaching occasion. However plentiful the preaching in the cities was, it certainly was not so in the villages. When the clergy were ignorant the parish went without any homily or occasional preachers were hired often at a great price. Many parsons were too illiterate to use the *plenaria* or the *homilaria* or the *Dormi secure*. In those days as now there was every type of preacher; e. g. the didactic, the anecdotal, the popular, the speculative, the political, the censorious, the spectacular, the distinctly Gospel; this classification sufficiently expresses the stuff and manner without further specification.

XVII. The authors had urged immediate action upon the Bishop in accordance with discovered truth, not only because of the supremacy of right but because life is short and the sense of accountability knows no delay. Therefore there can be little doubt that the reforms here suggested, and possibly others, had been inaugurated in their own churches certainly, and in such others as could be won to a quiet readjustment of their services. These innovations concerned the following factors:

- 1) The abolition of the sacerdotal element from the mass.
- 2) The restoration of the vernacular throughout.
- 3) The reading of the Scriptures.
- 4) Simple evangelical preaching.
- 5) Communion in both kinds and according to the institution of Christ.
- 6) The removal of all miracle-working pictures and images.
- 7) The dropping of all ceremonials that were contrary to the Scriptures, but not of those which were indifferent.
- 8) The reconstruction of the alms-system.
- 9) The regulation of fasts.

Probably prayers, baptism and festivals were also more or less changed and methodized. Many such alterations in the services had already been made in other places to say nothing of Carlstadt's innovations and Luther's second and more conservative movements. A considerable number of local deviations had been effected and were in operation just before and after this time; some examples of which will illustrate the independency of the churches in widely separated communities.

The story which Pol tells about the Reformation in Freistadt, the credibility of which Fibiger confusedly disputes, may illustrate this matter. Georg Petzelt had been commissioned by the evangelical Church of that city to visit the Bishop and solicit from him his approval of their pastor. Some passages of the interview reached the popular ear. The Bishop is reported to have said: it is rumored that the people have removed the altars and the pictures; to which the ambassador replied: No, your Grace, they remain as they so long have stood; whereto the Bishop rejoined: let them remain! And if there be anybody who does not know that they are but wood and stone, let him be reminded that they are really nothing else. But how about the Sacraments, do you administer in both kinds? Yes indeed, replied the frank commissioner, because Christ has so instituted it. And the Bishop concluded the interview by saying: I can well opine that such is your practice; hence I take it from your talk that you are half Lutherans. The entertaining Petzelt could not resist a finishing joke which happily suited the moderating temper of the Bishop: to tell the truth, he who becomes our preacher will have only half the usual work to do. This seasonable jest made the Bishop laugh; but he cautioned the commissioner kindly to urge his town to correct the papal abuses with moderation. Petzelt felt that the chief point was gained and so he returned home joyously. The anecdote, whose general accuracy there is no sufficient reason to question, suffices to illustrate both the mild method of the Bishop in handling the difficult question of his day as well as show that he had no serious objection to the utraquism which Axleben and Schwenckfeld argue for and indeed insist upon as essential to a proper obedience to the words of our Lord. Nürnberg had two provosts Georgius Peszler of St. Sebaldus and Hector Pömer of St. Lorenz; they had carried through a complete revolution in the Mass itself on the basis of the Scriptures; while all masses for souls and for anniversaries had been abolished in toto. The Salve Regina, consecrated salt and holy water and the hours, matins and completoria had been abrogated. For their action at the request of the Rat and as an apology to their Prince Bishop of Bamberg they published under date of October 21, 1524

Grundt vnd B:ß auß | der heyligen schrifft/ wie | vnd warumb/ die Erwir-
digen Herren/ | bei der Pfarckirchē S. Sebalds/ vñ S | Laurentzen Vrböbt zu

Nürnberg/ die Mißbräuch bey d'Heiligē | Mess/ Tartäg/ Geweycht salß/ | vñ Wasser/ sampt eßlich-en andern Ceremonien | abgestellt/ vnter-lassen vñ ge-
enbert haben .: | Nürnberg. Individual churches had often to act in these matters. The local preacher could not wait for authority or combined movement as a rule; the personal conscience had to be the guide; especially where there was any large display of opposition on the part of the clergy of the diocese, and more particularly when a Chapter massed itself to stamp out every effort at revision or alteration.

Further such individual action was taken in this same city of Nürnberg about 1524 by Andreas Dober, a vicar of the hospital there; he wrote to a certain warder at the latter's request. After the service on October 2, the warder asked him why he did not observe certain customary ritual elements of the Mass viz. the canon, the prayers for the dead and the invocation of the saints. The preacher gives his reasons in the little tractate: Antwort auff brev | Artickel/ nach begerung des | wirbigen herrē Eustos/ des newē | Spitals zu Nürnberg/ vñ | Andrea Dober/ allda | Vicarier/ zu ge-schriben. | Anno. M. D. XXiiij. | Nürnberg. He justifies these omissions with the argument first that a Christian must do only what God has commanded, and secondly because the mass is not a sacrifice but a testament. He maintains also the need of substituting the vernacular. It is evident then that transformations had already been made in the public services and that these were carried through according to his own conscience. A like testimony is given by Wolfgang Öchsner, the chaplain of St. Lorenz in Nürnberg, also in this year 1524, as an explanation to a tailor, Hans Heine. His brochure is called: Ein kurzer vnterricht | Wolfgang Dschners zu Nürnberg bey | J. Laurenten Capellan/ von dem gepierre | vñ mißbrauch der Seelmessen/ Bigi | lien vñ Tartägen. 2c. auß schriff | ten gezogen/ An Hansen | Hennen schneyder da | selbst gethon. It is evident that he had set these abuses aside according to his own private conviction, although others did it in analogous fashion in their own parishes. He grounds his action on the fact that nothing in the Scriptures warrants such observances, on the contrary they are positively condemned. Of scarcely less interest is a tractate by Johannes Groninger, a preacher at Zerbst. Its preface is dated: Saturday of Pentecostal week, May 21, 1524. It is entitled: Zu trost allen armen | gewissen: Eyn Meyn | buchlyn/ durch Joannem Gro-ner/ Ißiger zeyt Ecclesiasten zu | Zerbest/ zur antwort auff nach-folgende artickel/ Den hochgebor-nen Herrn/ Herrn Wolff vñ | Johan Fursten von An-holt 2c. eyngelegt. | Wittenberg. | 1524. This too is an apology on three points, the first of which is why he was moved by the Scriptures to lay aside certain ceremonials such as processions, the use of holy water and incense, the celebration of votive masses and those offered for the dead. These were human works which are foreign to

the biblical idea of ceremony. God alone can prescribe the method of his worship. He regards them too as inharmonious with a true conception of justification by faith, and adds thereto a discussion of what constitutes good works from a Christian point of view. The two other articles are answers to charges brought by the gray monks or Franciscans against him for railing at them in his pulpit and for threatening them also with the violent abolition of all their ceremonials. They objected further that such a presentation was an invitation to the mob to play at iconoclasm. It is evident then that in the Church at Zerbst there had already been a very extensive reformation of the public service, initiated by himself. Again at Wendelstein when they installed their first evangelical pastor they addressed a letter to him announcing their programme of views: 1. The minister is a servant only. 2. The sacraments are to be observed according to the Lord's institution, both that of the Testament and that of baptism. 3. They prescribe his salary in a contractual form. This was on Wednesday after Gallus, October 19, 1524. Hence great innovations had already been independently made in that community. Such transformations had already been made in Jena, for Martinus Reinhart, in his Vnderrichte, remarks in the preface addressed to all the saints of the Church in that city, that in 1523 the abuses connected with the mass had been thoroughly extirpated. Not uninteresting is the advice given in the Vnderrichte wie sich | ein fromer Christ bey den Papi-stischen Messen/ so heß noch vilgehal-ten werden (wenn er sich mit güt-ten fûg nit absondern kan) hal-ten sol/ das er sich nit ver-sünde/ vnd die zeit vn-nûß verliere. | Item ein Christliche betrachtung | so du zu dem heiligen Sacra-ment wilt geen. | Martinus Reinhart. | Ecclesiastes zu Jhen. | M.D.XXiii. There were many cases of course where a person was compelled for this or that reason to attend the Roman style of Mass, although his views concerning its scripturalness had been altered. This evangelical pastor instructs them how they may by abstraction, concentrated faith and prayer use such an occasion of enforced worship to their spiritual good. One can still hold spiritual communion with his Lord, and this is the chief thing. The same conception of inward participation pervades the second practical part of the treatise which is a sort of meditation and prayer for those contemplating an approach to the holy sacrament.

XVIII. One observes throughout a readiness on the part of both these men to sink themselves in their work to which they have pledged their mentality and energy. They tell us absolutely nothing of themselves except as their personality bears upon the points at issue. Their apology is not one which brings outside biographical matters into any mention. They were criticised as Lutherans and as meddling with ecclesiastical matters for which they had no vocation. To such innuendoes they

only urge their desire to confess Christ and their glad recognition of a really evangelical clergy. Many latent fires burn underneath; thoughts and plans are smouldering on the hearth but the privacy of the hearth is maintained; they do not keep open house of their inner life. Indeed how hard it is to find out anything about Hans Magnus and even Caspar Schwenckfeld in the face of his significance as man and thinker and doer of the Word. But we are certified of some religious facts and enterprizes concerning them. They are unremitting in their diligence to spread the new light which has come to their hearts as an unwonted star and has revolutionized their views of God, man and the universe. They are the heralds of an indubitable experience. They cannot gainsay or check the mighty influence that has changed and refined them. Of that they make the most unreserved expression with fervent and ennobling gratitude. And so beneficent has been its operation upon them that they are filled with a generous enthusiasm and are driven by a sense of duty to make known to others the joy and wholesomeness of their own regeneration. Love urges them to communicate of their own enrichment. They want all men to share in the same inexhaustible possession. Hence they are fertile in expedients for pressing these certainties upon individuals; they move heaven and earth in order to persuade their friends and dependents to accept the freshly recovered facts concerning present and future happiness. Nothing shall debar them from evangelization; no consideration of self, of their past life, of their inadequate, official preparation shall hinder them from a continuous effort to win their land at least for Christ. One feels the aggressive but benignant temper of this resolution. An experience is worth more than ages of study. An actual campaign makes a better soldier than a school of war. A tested and approved fact is more desirable than the search for it in spite of the poetic and philosophic protests to the contrary. Moreover their pockets had participated in the regeneration. Their purses were Christ's. Their meagre incomes were consecrated to these higher uses of the Kingdom. There are no Carlstadian or Tolstoian ideas of reversion to undivided labor, but rather an acceptance of the present social developments as a groundwork for attaining better things. The economics must be ethical and have the neighbor's welfare in strict and affectionate regard. The financially distressed must be a prime object of solicitude with the Christian in his efforts at personal and social reconstruction. Here then was an example of voluntary benevolence which was more or less infectious. The nobles especially made generous contributions to furthering education and religion on their own estates. While our authors supported the present system of meeting the needs of the clerical order in order to prevent the impoverishment and disaster which would follow from a sudden

withdrawal of their rights as established by law, the money for new enterprises and for a centralized and continuous work of evangelization would have in large part to be raised by private benefactions. Here then was a broad area for spontaneity and for unobtrusive donations. How prompt is their reply to the suggestion of consecrating their property to sacred uses; they have felt that the right bestowment of goods requires forethought and study; in this voluntariness they foresaw the prospective deliverance from the compulsory support of religion and its institutions. This grew in Schwenckfeld as he was cut off from the communions which anathematized him and yet insisted on the payment of taxes for supporting their establishments. Can you point to many of that period who made as cheerful and extensive sacrifices for the promotion of the Gospel as Schwenckfeld and his friend? Must not we marvel at the vindictive feeling which such a man aroused among those who exhibited no tithe of such devotion to the enlargement of the Kingdom of love and yet ruled him out of their sacred, intangible circles? This very liberality seemed to have exasperated some of his adversaries to a more violent antagonism to the free support of the Church and to voluntarism in general. The growth of benevolence among the Schwenckfelders is something remarkable, whether in Silesia or in South Germany or in America. What the free gifts of his followers have done in the support of the brotherhoods, the poor, the persecuted, and of education, publication and missions is worth minuter study; its methods and results will appear in the course of the history. Only let it be borne in mind, that it was voluntarism and not taxation that did it. The percentage of contribution will be found far greater than among those worthies who confederated to extinguish the body whose purses had undergone an approximate sanctification. This will be found true unto this day, as the Old Testament chroniclers were wont to say.

XIX. Our authors complain justly that the term Lutheran was indiscriminately applied to every independent innovation. We find the Chapter of Breslau has no other term for heresy in the *Acta Capituli*. It is Lutheranism that is at the bottom of all mischief. Apart from the occasions already mentioned we find that on June 4, 1522 it is Lutheran impiety which plays against the regular reading of certain masses; on July 4 it is the virulent opuscula of Luther and his followers that should be inhibited; on September 2 it is the Lutheran perfidy or sect which is making such serious inroads upon the Church and the orthodox faith, and is stirring up popular tumult; on the 4th of October the expenses involved in the defense of religion and the clergy against the perfidy of the Lutheran heresy is a matter of earnest discussion. Then too came before them two recommendations of his Paternity one of which was the institution of a

process against the followers of Luther. In the next year 1523, February 6, the business takes a wider range. The Chancellor Matthew Logus brings them the story of a conference between the Bishop and the legation of the royal courts who solicit advice about the insinuating Lutheran faction and invite cooperation for its repression. On February 10 further proceedings are taken against the Lutheran sect. On the occasion of distributing provisions to the poor these dependents are exhorted to remain constant in religion as over against the Lutheran perfidy. On March 13 there is a fuller contention as to the ways and means of overcoming the most virulent Lutheran heresy which secretly creeps into a wider area. On the 27th of March there is an account of the royal missives against the Lutheran sect and followers of Luther. On April 24 there is a story of how the Archdeacon Lengesfeld had obtained a number of royal letters against the Lutheran sect. And on the 15th of May we read: *Non placuit dominis quod negocia et conclusiones synodales proxime absolutae nullo modo imprimantur propter malevolentiam Lutheranorum quibus nihil adeo pium est aut aequum in religione et re ecclesiastica quin damnata virulentia illud carpant atque pro sua libidine conspuerent in pessimam detorquendo partem.* On June 12 the fear of the Lutheran faction leads the Chapter to appoint the scholasticus, the cantor and the chancellor who are to choose out the more important documents and put them into some chest which will admit of their transfer to some secure place. On the 19th of June the Bishop in conjunction with Friedrich II is represented as addressing letters to the Breslau magistrates, not only expostulating concerning the improper marriages of the clergy and monks but also the eating of meats on fastdays and the whole Lutheran faction, now growing more or less unrestrictedly. On the 26th of June the Chapter occupied itself with the narrative of the marriage of the priest and organist Johann Schnabel. The text speaks of his coming into the consistory accompanied by many Lutherans, and seeking from his official head the privilege of converting an illicit relation into a legitimate wedlock. On the same date it is recorded that the Bishop sought the advice of the canons in the case of a priest who had espoused a Beguin; Jacob had incarcerated him but feared that a tumult might be excited by the Lutherans. On the 10th of September the correspondence of the King of Poland with the magistrates of Breslau is considered, in which occurs the expression *fama irrupentis factionis Lutheranae* which reminds one of Fibiger's daß in Schlesien gewaltthätig eingeriffene Luthertum. On September 16 the Chapter thought that the most effective way to restrain the advance of Lutheranism would be to appoint both a preacher and a lector in theology in the Breslau Church. The 23d of September brought a letter from the Bishop communicating the fact that three papal breves had arrived directed against

the Lutheran faction. On October 12 the missive of the King of Hungary *contra impetum factionis Lutheranae* came up for discussion. The entire movement to install Hess was viewed as the work of this Lutheran faction. This terminology was not unique with Silesia; it was universal and was invariably used by the papal court. Every form of free thought then evolved was so designated and Dr. Martin was made responsible for the entire brood of reformatory pullets. Our authors therefore could not expect to evade the inclusive wing.

XX. In the churches at Langenwaldau and Ossig the Order book in use was doubtless the one reedited and republished in 1510 by order of Bishop Thurzo. It was entitled: *Liber agendaequae rubrice deoces Wratislaviensis emendatus*. It had an elaborately illustrated title-page. The book itself was in small quarto-form and of course was mainly in Latin. The order of topics was as follows:

Benediction of salt and water on each Sunday.

The order or blessing and baptizing children.

The order for visiting and for anointing the sick with holy oil.

Exhortations and inquiries which the priest should make of the sick who are approaching death.

The conduct and commendation of a sick man in the article of death.

The order of funeral procession to the place of burial and the form of interment.

A lesser service for the dead.

Another ceremonial for celebrating funeral rites in parish churches.

A form of introduction for women after child-birth.

Benediction of candles on the day of the Purification of Mary.

Benediction of ashes and coal on Ash-Wednesday.

Order for the conduct of the office on Palm-Sunday.

Order for the conduct of the office on Good-Friday.

Benediction of the fire on Saturday on the vigil of Easter.

Benediction of the Easter-candle.

Solemn litany and benediction of the font.

Order of preparation for the resurrection on Easter-eve.

Benediction of herbs on the day of the Assumption of Mary.

Order of procession on All-Souls-day.

There follow certain benedictions: of the lamb, bread, eggs, meats and other material on Easter-day.

Blessing of wine on the feast of St. John the evangelist.

Benediction of oats and other seeds on the festival of St. Stephen.

Benediction of strangers.

The method of conducting a marriage ceremony.

The method of offering incense.

The benediction of incense and myrrh.

Festivals in the diocese of Breslau.

Instruction as to procedure in the time of an interdict.

The Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the Creed in the vernacular.

Certain tables for finding the golden number, the interval and the movable feasts.

Order for processions during the whole year.

Responses with music for the procession during the entire year.

At the end of the Agenda is a declaration of the Bishop about the conduct of admonitions; after which comes a mnemonic versicle as to the seasons when marriage may or may not be solemnized. There follows a direction as to who may or may not use holy water at the same time.

The evangelical order which the petitioners proposed to substitute for these Agenda would of course be in the vernacular. It would have included topics pertaining to the worship, the doctrine, the government and the life. One can surmise somewhat of its detailed subjects: a calendar of the Christian year and certain chronological tables. An order of worship general and special. The marriage rite. The order for the purification of women after child-birth. The order of baptism. The order of the Lord's Supper. The offertory Collects. Psalter and Hymns. Responses. A system of lections. A system of introits and prefaces. The apostolic and other ecumenical Creeds. A series of catechisms and a postill. The rite of confirmation. An outline of Church law and practice including financial subjects. Relation of the Church to the magistrate. The processes and formulas of the ban. The visitation of the sick. Benediction of the dying. The burial service. The care of all classes of dependents. Christian rules of life. Special prayers for special seasons, occasions and persons.

XXI. Cotemporary German estimates of Julius II differed widely from those current in Italy. To the latter he was the iron statesman who had a definite political idea which he tried to carry through like a soldier in the field and a diplomat in the council chamber. The Romans and Italians generally longed for independence and some degree of unity; these were of far graver import to them than any conception of the inwardness and spirituality of the Kingdom of God. To the German of the thoughtful type the sight of a pontiff in arms and on the field of blood was abhorrent even though that German believed in the eternal sovereignty of Rome. It

must be conceded that Julius was a man of colossal plans. One has only to look at the softened portrait by Raphael to see what unfathomable depth lay in those eyes and what tenacity of purpose and tense concentration are reflected by the features. He wrought at the problem of giving the Church an external political supremacy so that it might conquer the unity of Italy, making that land more or less compact, either preferably organically or federatively under papal headship; and thus establish a visible theocracy as a world-moulding institution, from which to rescue Constantinople and the East. Sometimes he appeared in person on the field of battle or by the siege of some city as the second Mars. After alternating successes and defeats France was driven out of Italy; he hoped also to compel the Spaniard to surrender the Kingdom of Naples. The foothold thus gained made him a secular factor to be reckoned with in future politics. He was not less great in that type of diplomacy which sought its ends through disguised falsehood and the grossest treachery. He was no less remarkable for the patronage he gave to all the arts, in that he gathered about him the finest geniuses of their time in every field. Without Bramante, Michael Angelo and Raphael, Julius himself would have been incomplete. In ecclesiastical matters his talent was no less striking so far as the mechanics of the Church were concerned, whether in overturning hostile councils or in moulding the Lateran to his view of Rome's relation to the Holy Roman Empire, the justification of his previous career and the prohibition of simony in the future elections of the popes; but in all this there is not a breath of the exalted mission of the Christian faith. It is not incredible that when he reviewed his life in its ebbing moments, he should have bewailed his mistaken conception of his private and official conduct. Our authors express the revulsion which every genuine Christian must feel before a system which asserts itself to be the sole arbiter of eternal destinies and yet has such a record of blood and such a leader as a panoplied pope. In the revolt from Rome no character afforded such an argument for vindicating that step as the story of this warlike genius. Not only in the book of Hutten, cited in the notes, but in the dialogue *libellus de obitu ivlii pontificis maximi anno domini MDXIII* which has been mistakenly attributed to him, do we find Julius the absorbing theme. This latter work went through a number of Latin editions and was translated into French and German. The *Pontifex Maximus* is viewed as the *Pestis Maxima*. Julius is made to give an apology for his entire career; Peter and the Genius find it so bad that he is refused admission to heaven. Peter says: *Immo si Christianorum vulgus conspiceret in te veras Christi dotes, nempe vitæ sanctimoniam, sacram doctrinam, charitatem flagrantem, prophetiam, virtutes, hoc te magis suspiceret, quo a mundi commodis intelligeret mundio rem; et Christiana respublica latius floreret, si puri-*

tate vitæ, si contemptu voluptatum, divitiarum, imperii, mortis gentilibus esset miranda: nunc non solum contracta est in angustum verumetiam si diligentius excutias, plerosque nomine dumtaxat invenies Christianos. Quæso te, non reputabas tecum, cum esses summus ecclesiæ pastor, quibus modis nata esset ecclesia, quibus aucta, quibus constabilita? num bellis, num opibus, num equis? immo patientia, sanguine martyrum et nostro, carceribus, flagris. tu ecclesiam dicis auctam, cum mundana ditione onerati sunt illius ministri; ornatam vocas, cum mundi muneribus et delitiis inquinatur; defensam appellas, cum pro sacerdotum peculio mundus universus bellis perniciosissimis conflictatur; florentem dicis, cum mundi voluptatibus ebria est; tranquillam, cum nemine reclamante divitiis, immo vitiis fruitur: atque his bracteatis principibus imposuisti, qui te præceptore docti magna sua latrocinia ac furiosos conflictus 'Christi defensionem' vocant. Less popular but not less effective is the anonymous *oratio ad christum opt. max. Pro iulio secundo ligvre pont. max. a quodam bene docto et christiano perscripta*; it is a passionate imploration and yet broadly satirical, in which our Lord is besought to change the entire mind, heart, will and work of that irate and injurious old sinner.

XXII. Among the patristic forces which now appear as having entered into the line of his reflections was the querulous but exact Jerome. That contradictory nature had in it a liberal sense of how the Scriptures should be studied. Of all the Roman teachers he was the most learned and the most broad-minded within the sphere of exegesis; in all other things he was already the fanatical slave of the ascetic type of life and a sad demonstration of its disgusting and really inhuman deformities. His very monstrosities and absurdities made him a favorite subject in the art of the day. But an anatomic picture of him like that of Leonardo da Vinci or like that of Dürer decks him with no attractive or human qualities. With that side of him Schwenckfeld had of course no sympathy, but with his exegetical method and his hermeneutical principles by, and large, yes. And so too with his principle of the authority of the Bible above that of the individual or the conciliar interpreter. Schwenckfeld's sense of the value of Augustine has undergone no diminution. He felt himself as yet drawn to that father's explanation of the world order and believed him to be the best interpreter of St. Paul. It seems likely that he had carried his readings in this direction pretty far seeing that he had come to the correspondence between Hippo and Jerome. Nor has the apt saying of Cyprian lost its efficacy in facing the tyranny of custom, prescription and absolutism. It is evident that Schwenckfeld read for use and service. He did not simply imbibe or consume for his own satisfaction. He brought his studies into bright and very effective play. He made the ancient teachers live in the current of the new, modern life. What was universal

and eternal in such authors he picked out and put into the new frame of things. There seems too a sign of Schwenckfeld's perusal of the *Deutsche Theologie*; whether that had been on his shelves from its first issue by Luther in 1516 or in its second edition in 1518 one cannot tell. The expression that Adam must go out if Christ is to come in may have had its comparison suggested from the contrasts between the old and the new man as presented in that work. But what is very extraordinary is the little trace of analogy or similarity of thought between the beautiful but somewhat neo-Platonic or Dionysian view of unity as unfolded in that engaging work and Schwenckfeld's new Pauline conception of unity. He kept himself distinctly aloof from the to him questionable moods of that type of thought in any of its variations. His dualism was sturdy as was his monism. He mapped out no confusions of territory; he never allowed the border lines to become indistinct or uncertain and open to quarrel or readjustment. Much grist from all sources came to his mill but he sifted everything before grinding it; and the brand which issued from the crushing stones was essentially his own. With all the stimulus that Luther gave him there is no trace of that master in the lines of Schwenckfeld, no not from the beginning; he may quote him directly or indirectly, but his own inferences have a totally different color whether of mental quality or of style.

XXIII. Our authors make mention of the Gospel of Nicodemus as a book which they had read with somewhat of a spell upon them. In their earlier days they had regarded it as a veritable history and that belief had added to their enjoyment of the work. In the light of a juster understanding of what constitutes a credible evangelical narrative and by the application of self-evidencing principles of criticism they had learned to estimate the whole as a fable or as an invention, not without ingenuity and charm, but lacking the stamp and features of an authentic Gospel. In their time the two totally divergent parts of this book were regarded as one; it remained for Tischendorf to dissolve the unity. What a favorite this apocryphal tract was may be seen from the number of separate editions in which it appeared. Panzer mentions six Latin and six English ones, of the latter all save one are from the press of Wynkin de Worde; both the Latin and English issues appeared before 1524, the former are for the most part without year or place. Kuczynski mentions one German version; Wolfenbüttel has one of this earlier date; Hain has one; the Schwenckfeld library has an incunabula whose title reads: *Euangelii Nicodemi domini nostri ihesu cristi discipuli. de eiusdē passiōe. In lege et pphetis fundatū ex antiquissimis libris extractū bene correctū et nouiter impressum.* It is a small quarto of twenty-one leaves printed in Gothic type. There are slight variations of subject-matter in the prefaces and endings of most of these editions. One must acknowledge a certain happy

adjustment of quotations from the Old and New Testament; especially striking is the use of the twenty-fourth psalm to depict the entrance of our Lord into hell. Scarcely of less interest than the prose form is the poetic version made in the land of the Teutonic Knights, written in the low German dialect by Heinrich von Hesler; it has another interest for us in that he assures us a number of times that he was a layman. It has been edited by Karl Helm for the Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1902 No. 224. An ancestor of Schwenckfeld belonged to that body of military missionaries. Their history will assume no little importance for us. The versification is constantly disturbed by its variety of metre. The *Gesta* has many additions from the Scriptures; but the second part brings a great variety of sources under tribute, hence the narrative is largely extended. It is not impossible that Schwenckfeld may have known of this very dramatic rendition. Certainly the poem is a proof of the delight which men had in such a story. This attraction was of much the same character as that which now draws some eager souls to the study of Pilate or Judas and which leads so many to find the juice of all theology in 1 Pet. 3¹⁹.

XXIV. It appears too that Schwenckfeld studied the canonical registers for his own satisfaction as well as for the point in dispute with regard to the supreme authority of the Church. He was broadening himself for his own work, not only in pursuit of the questions that entered into the controversies, but he made fundamental inquiries into the origin and history of the Bible so that he might attain clearness and certainty, while at the same time he accumulated more treasure for mental upbuilding and future use. It is to be observed that the term Register *κατάλογος* is here used instead of Canon *κανών*, although Jerome himself employed the latter word. Further, the reference is not to the number of the New Testament books which were read in the earliest churches but exclusively to the number of Gospels from which the four had been selected. Today there are but thirty such apocryphal evangelia mentioned. It is possible that the prelates may have reckoned the pseudo-Acts among them because the *Acta Pilati* constitute the first part of the Gospel according to Nicodemus; there are thirteen such apocryphal Acts which would give about the number of their summary. If the pseudo-epistles and the apocalyptic writings were included in their list they would be justified in alleging such a number.

XXV. It is an ancient legal saw *quod enim ad jus naturale attinet omnes homines aequales sunt*. And a true and golden principle it is. But immediately come the fabrications and glosses of the social order which demand a legal fiction to justify them for existing and to perpetuate their distinctions. And so feudalism established the *Fürstenrecht* and the *Ritterrecht*; the Church, not to be outdone in the separatistic vein, created a body

of law for the clergy, and the natural law for ordinary mortals became a system of infernal oppression. The choicer souls were far away and above the common run of folks. The like with like theory drew the bands still tighter; each class must exist in and mainly for itself. No one dared intrude into the sacred privacies of this or that order. These upper layers tried to become close corporations. They had their exclusive privileges; they must marry within the bounds of their own rank; they must not earn their own living by trade or by mechanic arts; they must fan the flame of their own superiority by not noticing any challenge of the lower strata. They must promote respect by exacting the repetition of graduated titles which formed a regular ritual of etiquette. This incubus still rattles and mystifies the horse sense of the children of men and the *jus naturale* continues to be in considerable fog and hoar-frost through which the sun can only bore a silvery glimmer. The Landrecht itself must succumb to the arbitrary discriminations. Silesia had established its own Fürstenrecht. The usual date assigned for its origin is of course a mistake. It is true that King Wladislaw codified a Fürst- und Oberrecht in 1498 on St. Andrew's day, November 30, but other forms existed before that. And so with the Ritterrecht; Weingarten and Fibiger ascribe its beginning to Herzog Georg of Liegnitz and Brieg 1599, June 10. This is evidently an error but Kohler is no better in the *Schlesiſchen Fern-Chronide* part. II p. 277, in putting it in 1569. It was already in existence at the date of our letter 1524 and an actual account of such a court is given in 1528, a reference to which has been made. The exact origin is not yet historically investigated. Documentary forms of privileges come before us in century XIII when the differentiations had been thoroughly established and when the main point was as yet a defence against the aggressions of purely royal power. Another need for united action gradually asserted itself in the rise of the cities with their self-government and augmenting purchases of domains of field and forest. It should also be noted that the Ritterschaft in different lands formed Gesellschaften or societies of nobles which aimed at self-discipline; they sought the ethical elevation of their peers individually and socially within their circle and the general morale of their body in political relations. They made regulations for the suppression of vices current among themselves; they always subscribe themselves as zealous defenders of religion. Organizations of this kind were especially frequent in South and West Germany where the millstones that threatened to grind their order to powder were more active. The revolt of which Franz von Sickingen was the head and which von Hutten, von Berlichingen and von Cronberg actively supported, made a final venture and expressed in its fatal campaign the expiring wish for an independent and controlling element in the government of the empire as next to the Caesar and to be

his choice, free arm. It is to be observed that the Ritterschaft of Silesia took no part in this violent effort to give the body a higher significance, for the bonds between the Ritterschaften and the Fürsten were much closer than in Swabia and Franconia. The nobles themselves did not have the differentiations which were so prevalent in the South; the cities, save Breslau and Schweidnitz, were more harmonious with the feudalists who also filled the offices of State in country and town directly and with a good deal more of succession. Moreover the unions in Schwenckfeld's land were more inclusive and their Recht or *judicium equestre* was very much more compact and exclusive. To create a new nobility on the part of the court was almost impossible until the intrusive arbitrariness of Austria gradually created a new body of officials and nobles directly responsible to that desolating crown. Indeed up to the Thirty Years war the Ritterschaft of Lower Silesia held out pretty well. The very publication of the tractate of Georg von Wentzky was a sort of protest against the invasion of their privileges. Liegnitz maintained itself better than any other region against the selfish Austrians as long as a Piast remained to wear the title, and the last ones almost reflected the virtues of their ancestors. The Ritterrecht as it has come to us had two chief objects: The certification of individual claims to nobility; the redress of injuries inflicted by one member upon another. Contest with the princes was practically eliminated because as a rule the Herzog or Fürst was the more or less active head of the order and presided collaterally whenever a Ritterbank was convened; the first appeal for its session had to be made to him and the final decree of the sovereign had to be proclaimed before any act passed by the Ritterschaft could be valid. It should also be noted that the Bishop of Breslau was recognized as a secular Fürst who could be appealed to as having power to summon such a court in all save such cases as involved any shedding of blood. So that the present Bishop as already a noble and again as a Fürst would recognize the double applicability of the appeal by Axleben and Schwenckfeld to the careful methods used in the Ritterrecht. This council went under the name of the Ehrentafel or the Ritterbank. It had to be convened by a sovereign who had also to preside with his councilors. Twelve recognized and approved nobles constituted the court who chose their own Marshal as the acting chairman, and a chancellor as their scribe. Accurate minutes were kept. There was a definite ritual for opening the court and trying the claim or the charges. In the case of injuries a committee of them had been previously appointed to attempt a reconciliation. There were formulas for convening the court and for the challenge of the accuser and of the defendant with other interesting details which would be out of place here. All processes in the matter of injuries were of a conciliating nature and there

was ample room for apology in case of lost temper or unwonted outbursts or drunkenness. Everything was done to prevent the duel and the starting of a perpetual feud between members of their own caste. No challenge from so-called inferiors could be taken notice of nor could any testimony against a noble by any person of lower birth be considered. The point which comes before us in our letter is the first, the certification of the shields. The Silesian rule was strenuous; to be competent for the Ritterrecht four shields were requisite. The coat-of-arms of the father and of the father's mother; and of the mother and of the mother's mother had to be produced and verified by two competent noble witnesses familiar with the facts. This would guarantee that he was of pure blood from four genuine lines and that the marriage of the father and of the grandfather had been valid back to the line of the great grandfather. It would also prove that there had not only not been any alliance with the common people but also no bar sinister. Under this usage Schwenckfeld and Axleben and the Bishop himself had been reared: they were members of this very exclusive order of nobility. When the shields were accredited by the unanimous voice of the jury the sovereign made a proclamation of the same and the registers were deposited in the chancery rolls as well; this afforded an unquestionable demonstration which therefore could no longer be challenged. The law itself allows no right of revision and no appeal from the decision could be made in any direction. Under such a regime it would be difficult to confer any patents of nobility that did not have to wait four generations for its establishment and still longer unless the recipient married into the already substantiated nobility. We have already alluded to the fact that Hans Magnus served upon such a court in 1528. It is not less interesting to know that his descendent Leonhard von Axleben zu Reichen wrote a treatise on the Ritterrecht the Ms. of which is in the Fürstenstein Bibliothek and a copy of it is now in the Berlin K. B., which was formerly in the Breslau Staatsarchiv; it is entitled: *Processus beß Ritter Rechtensß* 1590. The work was written synchronously with that of von Wentzkhy, but each composed his own treatise without knowledge of the others intention. Both existed in Mss. only for a long while; that of Axleben remained so while that of Wentzkhy came into print in 1615 through Johann Perfert who edited it and was also a member of the bookfirm of Hans Eyerling and Johann Perfert in Breslau, although the book was printed in Leipzig. Fuldener in his Schlesische Bibliothec mentions this work p. 25. That of Axleben has a particular interest in that he gathered his facts not only from documents but from the testimony of the oldest living nobles among whom his kindred and friends were so prominent. The structure of this work is quite different from that of von Wentzkhy; like the other however it is mainly a

discussion of Injuries. The work concludes with a long protracted case in which he served as an advocate. Similar organizations were founded in other parts of Germany: for example such a Ritterschaft was formed at Landau for six years in 1522 August 13, its basis is religious and its objects were the promotion of morality in their order, the maintenance of fellowship and of defensive measures against any invasion of their rights. We mention this because the later friends of Schwenckfeld were concerned in its organization. Some of them as the Freybergs and the von Neubergs had taken part in the campaign against the movement of Sickingen because of their connection with the Swabian League, so divided in practice after all were the inferior nobility as to the best means of restoring their independence and hard-wrung privileges. It was at the Nürnberg Reichstag of 1523 that they presented once more their list of grievances against the aggressions of the princes and the great mercantile monopolies and the Reichs-Kammer-Gericht with its procedures against them. The Swabian Ritterschaft after many unsuccessful attempts at adjustment had a preparatory meeting in 1560 on February 19 at which they summoned a general convent or Rittertag for August 7 at Munderkingen. During its sessions forty-four articles were passed which received the royal approval in 1561, June 30. These momentous events in which the friends of Schwenckfeld were engaged occurred in the closing years of his life and brought an immediate and favorable relationship between the King and the Ritterschaft for which they had been vainly striving since the days of Maximilian. The Rittergesellschaft of Franken founded a similar series of regulations in 1590, and others later. The best known and most commented upon of the Ritterrecht is the one formed in Lusatia in the period when it was a Margravate. In this the machinery of imperial intrusion had been effectively established and was made a substantial, indeed belittling preface to the old system. This was after the peace of Westphalia; and we would simply draw attention to it because its ritual is the one usually alluded to in the Lexicons, as in Zedler. The most interesting work of Roth von Schreckenstein, *Geschichte der ehemaligen freien Reichsritterschaft in Schwaben, Franken und am Rhein*. 2 Bde. Tüb. 1859—71 is often ill-tempered by reason of his anti-Protestant stand-point. It is furnished with ample references and bibliography. Excellent archival material for the history of the Silesian Ritterschaften exist. They afford a subject worthy of exhaustive study for they were unique in structure and procedure. Nor is this topic without its bearing upon one of Schwenckfeld's most Christian books which he wrote in Strassburg, but had printed in Augsburg: *Vom Christlichen Streyt // vnd Ritterschaft // Gottes*. M.D.XXXIII.

XXVI. The sympathy with the memory of Hus had gone beyond his own land, where indeed it had suffered much eclipse especially as to his

doctrine of the Church through the Prague Compactates and the generally vacillating if not Romanizing course of the Utraquists; the Taborites, the Orphans, the Waldensians and the Brethren had been put into the background; the Curia had once more triumphed in large and repressive measure, especially after Podiebrad's death. The German Reformation revived the interest in the great Reformer. Men began to trace parallels, to make inductions, to revive prophecy and to calculate the interval between July 6, 1416 and 1517. It was not so very long ago, not more than a century, that the candle was put on the candle-stick; the flames at the stake in Constance had but increased the volume of light and heat. Eck in the debate at Leipzig had contributed to this resuscitation by his charge on July 5, 1519 against Luther of reproducing the Bohemian heresy. The Calixtines did not fail to send Dr. Martin the writings of Hus. Gradually more intimate relations with the Utraquists ensued and the Brethren also sought correspondence; their confession, especially the views of the Lord's Supper, did not satisfy Luther nor were they on their part pleased with the lax views of the Christian life which the Wittenberg community and especially the students exhibited so that there was a withdrawal from further approaches by Lucas and his followers. These interchanges were in general synchronous with our letter. Carlstadt considered the aspects of controversy with Rome as likely to end in martyrdom just as Hus had been offered up to placate the Romish god of authority. He is frank enough to acknowledge his dread of the fire-death; he would prefer flight from place to place as the best way to testify; not however that he would shrink from the ultimate trial.

The student in the Karsthans defends the Hogstraaten policy of imposing silence upon the heretic; had Hus and Jerome been allowed full free-speech they would have belabored the entire Council, an impudence which was not to be tolerated. Augmenting attention was given to the writings of Hus from this time onward. Luther himself, Wenceslaus Link, Johann Agricola, all had a hand in popularizing the story and the thoughts of the martyr. The latter even concocted a heavy tragedy which was named after him; it proved the occasion of no little scandal. The allusion to Hus on the part of our authors would bring the question of the abuse of authority and the rights of person, of truth, of liberty very vividly before the Bishop. Schwenckfeld had evidently become a reader of the writings from the very conception of the Church which he here brings forward. He was well disposed, as we shall soon see, not only to the Utraquists but to the more stringent elements embraced under the term Pickardism whose system furnished him with a number of parallels and suggestions. Emphatic as was his Germanism, he hailed all that was good and free and right in other cultures. Our authors might indeed have quoted an

experience of a few years before and nearer home. Stephan of Breslau was committed to the flames in that city in 1398 because he dared maintain: „Ich glaube, wie das göttliche Gesetz mich lehrt, weder mehr noch weniger“. We have already seen how on May 11, 1520 the Chapter proposed to suppress the works of Hus which were then offered for sale in Breslau and how they sent the Archdeacon Lengesfeld and Canon Weidner to Bishop Thurzo who was then already ailing, begging him to issue letters of inhibition to all kinds of book-venders; they were also to persuade the magistracy to take action against the sale and circulation of these works. It is evident then that quite an interest in the Bohemian reformer's views and history had been stirred up not only through the Leipzig debate of scarcely a year ago, but, probably by the Utraquists and the Picards themselves, for we have seen how they carried their literature into the Wittenberg stronghold and instituted a correspondence as well as a degree of affiliation with the Saxon leaders. The books against which the prelates and canons took such stringent action were most likely from these Bohemian and Moravian sources. It is a fact of no little importance that there was an awakening so favorable to Hus just parallel with the growing significance of Luther.

XXVII. The Council of Constance among many incidental points concerned itself mainly with the healing of the schism, the test of the doctrines of Wiclif and Hus and the reformation of the Church in its head and members. Our letter refers chiefly to the second point best illustrated by the trial of the Bohemian reformer. The overshadowing question was which is the chief authority, the Council or the Scriptures. The Silesian prelates put the stress on the Church as represented by that assembly. D'Ailly and his coadjutors refused to entertain the appeals of Hus to the Gospel and even to Christ; they demanded only implicit obedience and retraction. Any definite proof as to the right of their position was not brought forward, and this is the very omission which Axleben and Schwenckfeld call to account. The article as to the nature of the Church was also practically settled. The divine institution was nothing else than the visible organization set forth by this great convocation itself, although just then unfortunately for the soundness of the claim there were three heads to it. To Hus on the other hand the Church was the congregation of all believers or of the elect whose sole head is Christ above. And now the prelates of our letter stood for the view that the Church could not exist without the pope and his cardinals in Rome while Hus held that the Church could exist without his Holiness and their Eminences, and with this view of the martyr our letter expresses its agreement. The action of the Council in burning Hus is an unquestioned historical fact. After his condemnation he was degraded from the priesthood and then handed

over to the secular arm with the recommendation of mercy. The Empire knew how to interpret this formula. No one therefore disputes about the result of the action of his judges, but how they dared reach such a tragical conclusion in the teeth of the rights of conscience as guaranteed by nature and the Scriptures remains unanswered. The unjustifiable process against Hus rises in a progressive series to the climactic wrong. It began with ignoring the written and sealed testimonies of the Grand Inquisitor, the titular Bishop Nicholas of Nazareth, and the Archbishop Conrad of Bechta to say nothing of the certification voluntarily made by the Bohemian barons. Again he was treated as a heretic before he was heard; a warranty of jurisdiction was fictitiously framed and enforced without regard to the rights of person; that is he was prejudged and deprived of his liberty before he was brought to the bar. In the next place the violation of the letter of safe-conduct is one of the blackest crimes of history. It was a slap in the face for Sigismund; the imperial dignity humiliated itself before the unrighteous churchmen. A huge outrage was perpetrated upon national law such as none but a soulless ecclesiastic could be guilty of. Hus was a freeman from the Bohemian point of view; if he was to be imprisoned as soon as he voluntarily put himself in personal relationship with his accusers, then either he should have been told beforehand that he was to be regarded as a criminal against the Council, or his accusers should also have been imprisoned and been subjected to similar treatment. In other words this was but the frightful abuse of power by the majority. The methods of incarceration were the grossest breach of law from one stage of insulting injury to another until the flames choked his breath. As soon as the cardinals by subterfuge got him into their hands the wickedness began and became cumulative; from his lodgings he was surreptitiously taken to the Dominican cloister, thence to the Schloss Gottlieben in the custody of the Bishop of Constance, thence to the Franciscan convent everywhere loaded with manacles and given unwholesome diet and lodged in filthy quarters. There is nothing even in law much less in Christian charity that can justify such treachery toward an untried man. It is all idle to seek refuge in the times. The ecclesiastics devised such a system in spite of the fact that the entire moral sense of that day revolted at the inhumanity; surely men who professed a scriptural standard of life in any form whatever had no business to invent such cruelties. And further the absence of any comparison of the reformer's writings with the Bible, the perpetual summons to obey, the appeal to false traditional sentimentalities and to vicarious consciences are all indicative of the lowest moral conditions of his accusers. It is impossible to build up ethics upon the subjection of the conscience to the keeping of others. The refusal to grant him an advocate was another element of injustice. This unrighteousness

was ten times aggravated by saying that it was not lawful to furnish a heretic with an attorney. This was the very point in dispute, and even if he were presumed to be an offender against the dogmas of the Roman Church, should he not have been allowed some one skilled in the usages of courts to plead his cause? To deny him the customary privileges of defense was in itself the violation of the spirit and practice of a genuine process in a court of law. No one can defend such a perversion of first principles under the shelter of the times. The laughter at his appeal to Christ indicated a hardened conscience, it must have sounded like the dry cackle of demons. No less shocking was the observance of certain technical ceremonies all of which had in them the very essence of cruelty toward a sensitive nature; the spectacle of the degradation was a fitting sequence to the heartless processes which led up to it. The utter disregard of the protests of his deeply devoted friends who stood by him from almost the day of his entrance into the city until the final tragedy, and of the petition of the two hundred and fifty Bohemian nobles has in it the ear marks of an Antichrist. To burn Hus and let John XXIII and his two rivals go is a parody on the sense of justice. What conceptions of righteousness were regnant in the minds of such men as D'Ailly and Gerson when they could be so stout for the death of the great Magister and so lenient with the successors of St. Peter? No less terrible was the moral rot which fouled the mass of attendants who constituted the army of the Council.

While Hus was in prison events in the homeland had passed to the practice of utraquism; the cup was given to the laity. Although Hus asserted that the participation in the chalice was not essential, yet when the Council proposed to abridge the liberty of the Christian and to contradict the institution of Christ he claimed it to be the duty of every communicant to insist upon his divinely chartered right. In that the Council preserved the traditions and theories of work-righteousness, it may be said to have also determined what, from the Roman stand point, a real work or service of Christ is. It will be observed that our authors allege that the Council of Constance was dominated by the Dominicans or the black monks so called from the color of their mantle whose cut varied among the different orders; and that the theology which ruled its definitions was that of Thomas Aquinas who himself was a Dominican. The signs of their ascendancy probably lay in the following facts: the general zeal of that body in the prosecution of heresy; the first incarceration of Hus in a Dominican convent; the master of the palace delivered the opening address both at the trial of Hus and Jerome; the theology of Aquinas ruled the council in the doctrine of the Church, in the theories of transubstantiation and concomitance and in the subservience of the conscience. The very best synchronous account of this Council is found in the tractate

written in this year 1524 by Wolfgang Capito who of course sympathizes with Hus and Jerome of Prague. It is entitled: *Antwurt W. Wolffgang Capitons auff Bröder Conrads Auguſtiner ordens Provincialß vermanung / so er an gemein || Eidgenoſſchaft jünſt || geſchriben hat.* The same thought engaged the minds of our Silesians and of him who was the subsequent host of Schwenckfeld in the city of Strassburg, whither Capito had come in 1523.

XXVIII. On July 7, 1523 we find the Breslau Chapter appointing a committee to debate the question of creating a new official, a concionator or adjunct-preacher in the Church, to whom certain days for preaching should be assigned and the best hour for holding the service whether before Vesper or after the late breakfast, somewhere about noon, should be determined. The matter of his salary was also referred to the same. That this was an ancient usage we have remarked elsewhere. It is Krentzheim who tells us that by the command of Friedrich II Valentine Crautwald expounded the Pauline epistles publicly in Liegnitz, an incident which Abraham Scultetus repeats in his *Annal. evangelii* under the date 1523.

XXIX. The story told by Pol about the removal of the picture of Mary is not bad. The picture was mounted in the cloistered walk of the monastery of the Eremitic-Augustinians at St. Dorothea. It had been reared by a monk whom his brethren called the *Todenbiſchof*, the dauber. Mary was accustomed to turn her face and weep when the gifts of the faithful were shabbily mean. On May 1, 1517 Thurzo ordered her removal; the monks however inspired a lot of devotees to beg the Bishop for its restoration. Very well then, said he, since you do not want to lose the picture and I too would like to have it by me and we both need to be satisfied, look now, here you have your part of it. He handed over to them that section of the picture which represented a monk kneeling before the Mother of God; the rest I will keep for my own use.

XXX. A student of secular law, after the ordinary academic course in the liberal arts was expected to attend the lectures on the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* together with its declamations and disputations. He was expected also to be familiar with the imperial statutes and the various recesses of the Reichstag together with the phases of diplomatics. He must also be familiar with natural law and ethics. Nor could he be lacking in the study of what we would call international law, then in its rudimentary state. So also he would have to be well-informed in all forms of legal procedure and practice. The equipment of a Silesian lawyer however would not be complete without a thorough acquaintance with local institutions such as the privilegia of all grades; the Landesrecht; the Fürstenrecht; the Ritterrecht; the Kirchenrecht in some measure, especially as

expressed in the statutes enacted by provincial and diocesan synods. The decisions of the Schöffengericht would also have to be a part of his outfit, and this would require a knowledge of the Magdeburger Recht as well. Of course he would have to familiarize himself with the formulas, procedures and practices of Silesian legislation and judicial courts.

XXXI. Among the social evils which our authors give prominence to is that of the custom of drinking healths. They speak of drunkenness not only as an evil but they draw special attention to what had become a prescribed usage among the nobility, as the toast and the prosit, so that they who should be patterns of the virtues for the other positions in life had by their drinking excesses proved the saddest corrupters of the social order. The Church had been powerless in arresting the vice. The petitioners are of the opinion that the evangelical ban might be instrumental in at least mitigating the evil. Probably they had in mind not only the general discipline of those who were addicted to intoxication, but the prevention of the desecration of the Lord's table by such drunken, sottish professors of religion. It is an old accusation which imputes to the Germans boundless indulgence in strong drink. The Reformation called forth much literature on this subject; the references to the swinish, guzzling habits of all classes are frequent and the legislation against brutish revels in connection with this dissipation was abundant.

The vice of drunkenness was aggravated and spread by the habit of drinking healths, of toasting, of trolling and of challenging to pour down in one gulp large quantities of this or that inflaming beverage. The evil infected all classes but was particularly rampant among students and the nobility of all grades because of their ill-regulated social habits and the continuous round of carousals and banquets in which they sought their pleasure. Not the German alone need be saddled with the charge as the contemptuous Italian was wont to do; no nationality was free, it was only the larger degree and the more potent medium of inebriation that made the difference here and there. Brewing and distilling were universal arts and parts of any regular household economy, although not infrequently a sort of monopoly was created for the sake of revenue or as class privilege. The facilities for intemperate revels were enormous; and a dissuasive book of the period ingeniously shows: *wie das zutrinden nur durst mach vmb mit sich bring*. It goes on to expand the fact that the more and the oftener the liquor is imbibed the more violent and insatiable does the thirst become. Schwenckfeld was no less familiar with the beastly wassails in the universities than he was with the habits of courts and the festivities of society. The Quodlibet throws a world of light on the entire compass of dissolute and bacchanalian customs that reigned in the student body; no reformation by the Word of God checked the dissipation in Witten-

berg any more than in Frankfurt a./O. or anywhere else. The animal revelations of the inner man around such a jovial and bibulous board are well illustrated in the cut which adorns the Quodlibet, representing the ass, the sow, the calf, the sheep, the dog, the bear, the goose, the wolf as gathered about the round-table on which sits the monkey who upsets his mug. The goose is idiotic enough to hold the flambeau for the spectacled bear to read from his open book of student songs: between whiles bruin turns his head to watch the spiggot of the barrel. The ass has his beaker, the sow a bucket, the calf a jug, the sheep seems choused out of his potion, the dog has a huge flagon and the wolf has his jug to the left of him more intent upon taking surreptitious advantage of his fellows than he is to fill himself. It is the acme of a student carouse the sequence of which would have to be sought under the degraded round-table. But it was with the developed manhood that Schwenckfeld now sought to deal; if his peers could be reached he knew that their cure would filtrate downward to all classes educated and non-educated. If some persuasive, restraining power which touched the standing and public respect of this better world could be brought to bear, both men knew that it would influence all classes; many nobles were in full accord with this purpose. That the evil was acknowledged and deplored the literature abundantly shows; that all manner of devices were adopted for checking it is no less evident, but none sufficed to arrest the quantitative and qualitative indulgence in all sorts of beverages. It should be understood that reform movements in this direction are by no means a peculiarity of our day. Let us bring forth a few proofs out of the large stock of evidence on this point. The poem called the Ritterspiegel, a fine specimen of the middle German language and a product of about the middle of the fifteenth century, exhorts the knight and his squire alike to guard against inebriety. It inculcates as a first principle that they be moderate in quaffing the cup and that they know how to govern appetite under any temptation.

Di erste ist dar her mezig si,
An tranke und ouch an speiße.

In 1494, Ad vincula Petri, August 1, there was a convent of the Ritterschaft of Franken at Neustadt a./Aisch which considered not only the questions of feuds, the encroachments of the Brandenburg Margraves and the rise of the cities, but on this very part of Zutrinken they pledged themselves to total or partial abstinence; in the latter case reducing the quantity allowable to be consumed to one-half whether in lodging-houses or in taverns. In 1505 on October 2, the eminent Johann Trithemius wrote a letter to his brother Jacob, in which he warns against the excesses of the Trinkgelage or the heavy drinking bouts. In 1512 Johann von Schwarzenberg is reputed to have published a work entitled; *Sendbrieff*

von den Ständen der Hölle an die Buttrinder. The dark powers are aroused lest the sweeping decrees passed by the Reichstag at Cöln, 1512, near the close of the session against the drinking of healths should avail to prevent drunkenness. The devil felt secure, if the heads of the social order should keep up the custom. The letter appeals to all practiced tosspots to redouble temptations to drink in the most seductive ways. The influence of the societies formed against the habit must be overcome; youth is to be won to indulgence; the aged sot cannot give it up of course; women and maidens are to be encouraged to lift the glass. The arguments universally used to dissuade from indulgence are answered from infernal points of view and the slaves of the habit are to have Satanic rewards hereafter. A poem at the end depicts in octavo rhymes the frightful consequences of inebriation:

Die Trundenhēyt bringt Herzenlehd/
 Erregt viel Sünd/ darzu Bosshēyt.
 Die Trundenhēyt erzürnet Gott/
 Verfaumbt sein Lob/ veracht sein Gebott.
 Die Trundenhēyt schwächt Ehr vñ Gut/
 Bringt Haber vñ grossen Vnmut.
 Die Trundenhēyt gibt schampar Wort/
 Oftt Wunden tieff/ vñ manchen Mord.
 Trundenhēyt benimpt Verstandtnuß/
 Veraubt der Sinn vñ Gedächtnuß.
 Die Trundenhēyt schafft liegen vñ triegen/
 Bey jr bleibt nichts heymlichß verschwiege.

u. s. w.

The whole tract is a skilful satire of the powers which reap eternal profit from the debasing excess. Some are inclined to attribute its authorship to Johann Neuber who served as the chaplain of von Schwarzenberg.

Early in the sixteenth century unions were formed among the nobles which had as their central object the enforcement of moderation in their own order, a type of which was the one organized in the Steiermark in 1519 and called the St. Christopher Society; there were many others mostly named after patron-saints. It should be noted that these associations were specifically reformatory and had solely in view the mitigation of the orgies everywhere felt to be so terrible. These were voluntary endeavors to solve one of the chief problems of practical sociology. In 1517 the nobles of Franken again founded a fraternal and neighborly union whose first thought was to maintain such traditional customs as were commendable on the basis of a virtuous life, and to cultivate those qualities which should adorn knighthood and make it exemplary. Especially did they

aim at the abolition of the social glass as the corrupter of the soul, body and property. Indeed they strove to pass other sumptuary resolutions suggesting a modification in costumes, especially those of women, with the feeling that extravagant dress was an exponent of luxury and was therefore depleting the coffers of the nobility while it enriched the money chests of commercial companies and houses. It was in 1522 on the 13th of August that a confederation of the nobles of Swabia was formed for the period of six years. Apart from its support of Franz von Sickingen and its general attitude of self-defence it stood for the moderation of the drinking habits and the frightful bouts which had become the daily routine of life. The resolutions themselves are animated with a deep, earnest, moral tone as if that assembly were moved by the noblest spirit of practical reform beginning with their own order. It was in 1524 that a short tractate was issued entitled: Vom zutrindēn laster vnn̄d mißbrauch die schentlichen darauß erfolgen/ Darmit heẏt die ganze Teutſch Nation besetzt ist. Gedruet zu eplenbrugg durch Nicolaum Widemar. Anno MDXXiiij. In this little pamphlet the incommunities following from the vice of drunkenness or excessive social swilling are depicted under nine heads. Of all the chief depravities of human nature not the least is the shameful and dishonorable abuse of the friendly cup. Every one, even he who is addicted to the tankard, has to acknowledge from the patent proofs that the injuries which result therefrom to the soul's honor, body and good are incalculable. First, since it is directly prohibited by God, it must be a danger to the conscience and lead to perdition. Secondly, excessive indulgence brings with it other sins: conspicuously do scandalous profanity together with the mockery of sacred persons and institutions follow in its train. Thirdly, it leads to a disregard of all relations of the household and of friendship; it also rouses to such a development of temper as often ends in murder. Fourthly, it drives one into a state of untrustworthiness; all confidence in him who habitually fills himself with wine is destroyed because over-tipping renders him incapable of mastering his duties; nothing can be entrusted to his custody. Fifthly, the heating nature of drink stimulates the passions to commit all manner of crimes against purity and chastity and the disruption of domestic relations is one of the inevitable fruits. Sixthly, the train of physical ills follows in its wake so that life is shortened and the death which ensues is degrading. The man who daily soaks himself is in constant peril of divine judgment which will not always sleep. Seventhly, the destruction of the nutritive powers surely results and the will is weakened so that it can offer no effectual resistance to the rage of appetite. A change comes over the toper's entire conduct in his pursuits and in his very inward nature; it is the ruin of the home, the wife and the children. The striking reflection is made:

How many capable people do we see daily who have lived in honor having adequate means and blessed with wife and children and who might have accomplished great things did they not surrender themselves to idleness; did they not by daily indulgence neglect and delay the seasonable partaking of food; did they not lapse through their laziness into the uttermost misery. Eighthly, it destroys the wholesome development of mind and of the habit of industry and of all capacities for bettering life. Ninthly, to drink a health requires a companion and the tone of friendship begins to sink. The sot not only drags down others but he ends by consorting with the basest sort of human wrecks. The currency of the vice in the higher classes is deplored because the example to those in humbler stations is disastrous; in short the degenerate custom is a fearful infraction of the divine law and produces an unchristian state of things. The writer concludes with the reflection that it is patent how at present there are few occasions of friendship, society and communion in which one can participate without the temptation of the social glass and the solicitation to excess. Indeed the standard of moral judgment is so perverted that he is esteemed the greatest who can fill himself the fullest. The individual must awake to his danger; those in high social positions must take heed against self-indulgences; they should deliver their dependents by Christian methods from this public vice. For truly the axe is laid at the root of the tree and the wrath of God is near; this very imminence should lead each one to consider and turn to God his Saviour. Amen. As an example of the attempt at restriction by the local authorities we may take an instance from the regulations adopted by the magistracy of Nürnberg in 1526. They regard the abuse of the social glass as the cause of many other vices and in itself as a misemployment of a creature of God, granted for the well-being of men and to be received with thanksgiving, in consequence of which not only fearful punishments are now being inflicted by heaven but an augmentation of these may be expected. An honorable council in order to defend God's honor and to fulfill its obligation to its own powers is determined to root out this evil from the city and its outlying districts. Hence in case of indulgence beyond what was absolutely necessary they proposed to subject each offender to two days imprisonment with a diet of water and bread or a fine of a gulden for each day, without reduction. In case of total obfuscation five days of confinement with a similar restriction of diet was prescribed or a fine of a gulden per diem must be paid. The moneys thus collected should serve for the relief of the poor. In case of repetition the terms and fines were to be doubled for a second offence and tripled for a third and so on. The council held itself empowered to increase the punishment at its discretion.

As an instance of the effort to suppress the disorder in a principality

an Außschreiben durchs Chür vnd Fürstenthumb zu Sachsen/ etlich nöttige stück/ zuerhaltung Christlicher zucht / belangend may be cited. It was issued in 1531 and was but a reiteration of like electoral undertakings; the pity of it was that these electors were, to say the least, quite hearty swiggers and like the most of us were better at telling others to do as I say and not as I do. So here they very kindly exhort the preachers and the nobility and the subjects of the Fürstentum and the country to be diligent in warning the people to abstain from the vicious, inhuman, unchristian and swinish social glass with its carousing sequences; they must indicate the offence, disadvantage and injury to soul, honor, body and goods together with the manifold dangers which arise from this abuse. Another point of the advice was to show how a heavily loaded drunkard is robbed of his reason and resembles the ass or the cattle which have no ratiocinative powers; and further they should show how God would be moved to wrath on account of such excess; indeed he has inflicted upon us for some time past the sot himself as a punishment; it is precisely the tippler who is the chief plague of the German nation itself as our experience daily shows; for just observe how many persons of high and low degree, capable people, have become brutes so that they are impotent to do any honorable, manly deed or to give counsel or to manage affairs; moreover they lose their health on account of their irregular conduct and at last have become utterly corrupt and have perished miserably. Hence we call upon all classes and conditions to reflect upon these facts, take them to heart and to restrict the excessive social drinking custom. If this is not done out of the regard due to your ruler it should be out of reverence for God and his Word; especially for the sake of the young and for the sake of personal dignity, health and well-being. You should also restrain all who are dependent upon you from this habit and train them to a Christian and inoffensive life. The special system of fines and restraints previously enacted by the court is renewed for all who do not conduct themselves according to this order. Of course the work of Sebastian Franck is so well known that it need be only recalled. In 1543 Melchior Ambach issued a translation of three sermons of St. Augustine against inebriety; it was entitled: Von Zusauffen / vnd Trundtheit, sampt iren / schönen fruchten / Drei Christliche Predige. Franckfurt, Herm. Gülfferich. He had a Puritanic vein for he published a tract against dancing in the same year. The Church Directories as they arose one after another for the most part cautioned against intemperance; as a specimen of which we would refer to the Kirchenordnung Vnd Reformation unser Albrechts vnd Philipsen Gebrüder / Erben zu Nassau / zu Sarprücken vnd zu Sarwerden/ etc. Gedruckt zu Franckfurt a/M. 1576 where in E^b one reads Von Gottslästern v. vollsauffen.

We have passed over the acts of many of the Reichstage, whose helpless wail sounds vigorous enough but ended only in advice which the framers themselves immediately broke during the dry and thirsty sessions of that inefficient body. We have also omitted any reference to the views of the better known reformers. Luther himself while deploring the direful tendency to revelry and debauch felt that it could not be made an occasion of discipline by the Church. One of the most striking illustrations of the bibulous fluidity current in social channels may be drawn from a bit later period. It is the story of the Hofmeister of that enormous scape-grace and ne'er do weel Friedrich III, the depraved son of our noble Friedrich II. Nor less infamous did Heinrich XI turn out to be as soon as he had the major reins. Hans von Schweinichen's *Denkwürdigkeiten* is an exceedingly interesting book for many reasons. He could pass the muster of the Ritterbank with his eight shields; he could write a confession in which he defined the doctrine of the Trinity and the consubstantiation view of the Lord's Supper to a hair; but how he could also drink! What bumpers gurgled down the throat of the decadent prince and his obsequious trencherman! What tons of intoxicants that reckless crew of rollicking retainers consumed in every part of Europe! Scarce a night set in with its stars overhead or its storm beating violently but saw these giant bacchanals utterly and swinishly fuddled. A boose was nothing; it must be a stupid soak, if the night was to be called jovial. Certainly a very exact dogmatic Lutheranism did not benefit these hilarious devil-may-care Silesians.

XXXII. The fact that the authors were laymen is brought into unusual prominence. It is designedly made conspicuous and emphatic. They are addressing a bishop who began his career as a layman; he had looked at the Church and its stupendous hierarchical development with critical eyes; as jurist and as a leading state official he had wondered what was to become of the constant attrition between the two great powers that contended for the imperium. He had measured the dimensions of the ecclesiastical colossus with questioning eyes and marvelled whereunto this pseudo-Peter would grow and what this sort of hybrid Cæsar would do in the long and apparently unending struggle. He had found many faults in the Curial evolution and let his mind be known pretty freely about some of these defects. Whatever may have driven him finally into the bosom of the over-shadowing power he could not blot out the memory of those introductory days as a lawyer and politician; nor was he a coward who shirked his previous convictions; nor does he seem to have been of that haughty temper which buried the man of affairs in the narrow but high and unscalable walls of ecclesiasticism. The energies of his laymanship followed him and broadened his administration in many important lines. Moreover he did not cease being Hauptmann of Glogau for some

time after he had entered the Church and his secular predilections were revived when he became Ober-Hauptmann of the whole land in 1536. The lay ideas and the lay practicality were therefore quite dominant in this extraordinary man. As non-professionals our authors cannot help reminding him of his first estate and of the events and opinions connected therewith. It was a way of suggesting to him that he had to deal with just such folks as he himself had been. The Church ought not to isolate itself from the sphere of a genuine humanity. It should not be a separate world which set itself to boss and hetchel an inferior and recalcitrant realm by putting on affectations of superiority and cultivating the Pharisaic temperament. The two friends plead for the humanization of the prelates in all financial and spiritual functions. After all these dignitaries were nothing but men, and fraternity from that standpoint of equality and identity should be their chief delight and purpose. They were not the patrons of the universe; they were only feeble parts of it. The condescension which they practiced ill comported with the professions of brotherliness so volubly repeated in vow and service-book. The cockiness of the prelates is what our authors would ruffle. The fine feathers of their traditions, their chartered rights and their uncompromising prerogatives which they pruned and prinked is what the petitioners would pluck. It is a real battle of the laity with the priestly snobs that here takes place as a comedy to light up the graver matters of appeal and reformation. And they do succeed in making the hierophants look like prigs and sophists. Certainly their coxcombry could not be much pleased with the pictures drawn of them in chalk and charcoal by these masters of caricature. The spirit of liberty animates these laymen and they must speak out their judgment about these pretentious swells; the high plumes must be docked and the rustling garments must suffer the jostle of horseplay. A little rough and tumble from the sketch of such worthies made by a prophet or an apostle might benefit the upstarts and suffice to let them know what the populace thought of their puffery and Romish toadyism. To be told that you are an enemy of the Gospel when you flatter yourself that you are the pillar of the great Christian institutions must at least compel these petticoated gentlemen to look into the mirror that is held up before them. It was therefore a fight of the laymen with the prelates and this inner circle of lofty Churchmen. And the laymen dealt vigorous, sure and swift blows. They kept the wind knocked out of their adversaries in this open and square set-to. They left them no time to recover their breath, for one argument or implication after another is shot out. The only security for the sacerdotalists is behind closed doors where one catches an occasional sound of fluttering gowns. The Silesian prelates were several times made sorely conscious of what the lay nobles thought of them and the

popular estimate was not much higher. The contempt for the clergy of which these flustered worthies complain is due to their pretensions and their lordly airs; it was the neglect of spirituality in themselves and in their relations to the world that aroused this regnant disgust. It was not the simple office of a true minister of Jesus Christ nor was it the faithful steward of the mysteries of grace that evoked the rising dissatisfaction. The prelatie disposition is not yet dead by a great deal and it is not limited to any one communion. One can lay his finger upon many a living representative of its contemptible airs among existing denominations. The laity must kill it and will, it is their duty to maintain the fight till the Christian and human priest obtains his equality by flooring all these smug pretenders, whatever their colors. The graft and jobbery in spiritual goods is far viler and more degrading than the same crimes which are now so excoriated in matters temporal. It was a harder thing then for laymen to assert their primeval rights than it is now when the laity have been considerably enfranchised and have attained the recognition of their prerogatives to a degree so sweeping and influential that it assures them of ultimate triumph. Then the contention had just begun. It is the attack upon exclusive religious privilege that we are speaking of and especially of its tendency to acquire property in all forms for itself and so to move out upon the possession literally of the world. It was what is now called ultramontaniam; it was curialism then; it was a theory of theocracy indeed but with some one usurping God's exclusive throne. These two therefore were Martin Mar-Prelates before those famous tracts for religious liberty began to be printed in 1588. A wit once said: Canterbury is the higher crib but Westminster is the richer manger: the ambition to reach either describes the prelatie spirit together with a haughty, insolent tone toward the dissidence of dissent. The more special points on which our petitioners make remarks from the standpoint of laymen are: the criticism of the council of Constance for its refusal to print the testimony on which they grounded the condemnation of Hus. The arbitrary wickedness of the procedure was only augmented by the secretion of the original protocols. Justice and the vindication of justice are even aims of the State and of ordinary Ritterrecht in its trials of contending nobles. Their lay minds cannot grasp such hues of fairness and justice as the Church sets before them in its prosecutions of heresy. To them the ecclesiastical method seems to savor of untruth, fear and arbitrariness. It is a distinct challenge to the prelatie to publish those procedures, if they want to justify the Council of Constance as a final authority and the burning of Hus as a precedent. Was that trial really according to recognized principles of law and equity? Was it conducted and concluded on sufficient grounds of duty and conscience? Was it according to the Scriptures or according to

the malign constructionist habit of getting rid of a troublesome heretic at any cost? A martyrdom that required the breach of an imperial oath and the violation of a written pledge had an ill-fated beginning for the moral status and the judicial competency of the judges of Hus. If the inception was so wicked was the sorrowful sequence less so? To this day the explanations are pitiful as well as exasperating and the challenge remains unanswered.

They put another question as laymen with stress on that fact as covering and accounting for their innocent ignorance in not knowing the answer so obvious to an ecclesiastic, and yet with a shrewd chuckle because they were consciously putting the prelates in a hole. The origin of that Church to which these supercilious dignitaries exacted the uttermost obedience is what our friends would like to be instructed about. Please tell us from what root that Church has sprung for which you claim such tremendous supremacy and finality over our consciences? May we as Piers Plowman not anticipate you by solving the poser ourselves? Surely the real Church ought to be the offspring of that very Gospel; it did not create the Evangel although it had a voice in determining what sacred books were in harmony with themselves; but it had its birth in that very truth which the records present concerning the sayings of Christ. Its authority is derivative and not autogenetic. It knows nothing of itself or of its founder save what those narratives convey. Hence the Church cannot be the fountain of authority and you pretentious sacerdotalists are an arrogant lot to assume exclusive jurisdiction of the Christian religion. The Church had to bow to the Word that created it and you should do the same.

As laymen too they confess that they have nothing to do with a Church founded on such autocratic and prelatic assumptions. They are glad to recognize any legitimate government for the assistance and education of the conscience, but for its complete control no one but Christ. An order of ministers who hold and conduct their office from and in accordance with the New Testament they would gladly respect. It would be their duty and privilege to further the plans and the activities of such a body of men. This is again a challenge of prelacy as inconsistent and unwarranted in its ostentations, gasconading and swagger. It had constructed its own system on the false interpretation of certain scriptural expressions, and a still more heinous application of them, whose development was in irreconcilable contrast with the simple democratic ideas of Christ. And now these stolid and mitred usurpers demand universal, unquestioning obedience, exercising a jurisdiction for which they hold no certificate or diploma from the power they proclaim themselves to represent. The laymen can and do talk right out to such tyrants. They are capable not only of defying

such despots but they hoist them out of their stolen seats. The ultimate sovereignty is God's and he has given its vicarage to the whole of humanity as his representatives; the sub-sovereignty lies in the people; the laity are the bosses who create the functionaries; and the functionaries must be the servants of the people. There is a reverberating trumpet in these lay words which must be sounded again and again in the ears of all tyrants who lay down final laws for the humiliation of the moral sense. Another lay accent is upon the individual's inherent right when duly educated to read and expound the Bible publicly. The democratic and equalizing nature of that statement cannot be gainsaid. What is more, they not only talked about it but Schwenckfeld certainly did it. He spoke and read and explained and when he had done that much, he did not hesitate to preach and the crowds went to hear him, a layman without a hood or a cap or a rag of holy vestments, and he did that in the churches of which the prelates claimed exclusive possession. About Axleben's and Schwenckfeld's own parish churches in which they had a direct property claim there could be no question. But the latter also went everywhere else in city, town, village, cloister, fearlessly declaring the evangel which had saved and enlightened him. It has been one of these *ex post facto* assertions that he was a canon of the Dom at Liegnitz and so had certain prelatic rights, and this has been repeated time and again; but one sees from this epistle that such a story is false. One must smile when Luchs in his *Schlesische Fürstenbilder* calls him Pfarrer Daniel Caspar von Schwenckfeld. He is a layman as was Axleben; this is certainly his own declaration in this letter, and he boasts of it because he knows that sacred prerogatives and endowments are lodged in that position primarily. It is the foundation of all other analogous and legitimate positions and therefore greater than anything of its offspring can possibly be. No indeed, no shadow of that sacerdotalism had ever mantled him. He has the proud distinction with some others of having stood up for the democratic ideas of his Lord in the face of the antiquated autocracy as well as the new tyranny that sprung up with pretenses as shabby and untruthful and almost as virulent as the old. For public functions and for leadership let it be observed that our authors demanded a fitting mental and spiritual preparation. But such an education was not the exclusive property of an order. Any man could enter it and pursue it without any but the inward call to prepare and to act. Culture was requisite to qualify him to impart what he had learned from the Gospel directly or from the Word or from the experiences of life: his own and that of others. Imposition of hands, a tactual succession of any kind imparted no sanctity, no indelible character. Hands should be laid on the head of any one who was mentally and spiritually qualified to instruct, to guide, providing that he had the inward

urgency which came from the Holy Spirit. And where such a free imposition did not exist, or the dominant powers gave it a sacerdotal or magical cast, there the sovereign layman could resume his individualistic right. Now it was precisely this view of the sufficiency of the laity which Jacob and the prelates most resisted, if we may trust the minutes of the April convent in Breslau. He especially regarded this as an intrusion into and an overthrow of the restrictive rights of the Church, her indelible character and her sacrament of ordination. And we cannot but believe that such an expression was called forth whether from him or from the prelates, in direct opposition to Schwenckfeld's assertion of liberty and his open and repeated action. Both the bishop and the prelates would and did certainly draw the line between the clergy and the laity with unyielding firmness. This wall of autocracy in their judgment had to be maintained and defended at all hazards and against all possible assaults. With its overthrow the entire structure would collapse. Their business would be bankrupt. The whole assembly of the nobles rose in protest and refused to second the Bishop in his assault on the religious rights of laymen. This representative body of the laity in effect warmly approved of the reformatory methods and the efforts in which Schwenckfeld labored so energetically. Christ was a priest after the order of Melchizedek and not of Levitical blood. Not one apostle was taken from the ranks of the existing sacerdotal body. Nobody is anything in the Kingdom until he has become a little child, and then all distinctions are erased except for conspicuity of character and service, and such offices as these are in the nature of things not fundamental; they are not of the essence of authority in religion. There is no escape from this democratic conception of our relationship to God as our Father and to the entire family of men as our brethren. These two points are basic; they are of the inmost substance of the faith, and are therefore determinative of all resulting facts. To subvert these certainties is to put all else in terrible jeopardy as the history of the Christian religion has time and again, nay, we may say continuously proved. And one must therefore admire these two men for standing fast on this ground and not allowing themselves to be silenced. Schwenckfeld remained through life a layman and through life preached his Lord with an effect that few of the exclusives could attain to; and he used his pen in the assertion of his right from the day he gave himself to Christ until he fell into the arms of his Lord after over forty years of conspicuous devotion to the supreme interests of the Kingdom. No man could say he had downed him, from Luther to Illyricus, from Leo X to Pius IV, from Zwingli to Beza, from Bucer to Marbach. His was the first and the longest continued reformation triumph wrested by the laity from the curialists and the gowned ministers. One main idea from their view point as laymen very naturally

concerned the meaning of the Church. They essayed to give their own conception as over against both the vulgar opinion and the prelatic definition. Theirs is a simple and scriptural conclusion and comprehends all believing souls wherever found, irrespective of the existing divisions in Christendom; it is limited to no age and is circumscribed by no place. Infinitely superior is their elucidation to those of their opponents who are loaded down with a mass of unsavory history, utterly irreconcilable with the development of the Kingdom of light. The laymen then it is who elevate the standard of the free, spiritual, universal Church. It is the inner brotherhood of the regenerate children of the day whose light is not hid under a bushel; and that was much to say in the teeth of prelates armed with power and anxious to use swords rather than the superb scorn and threats to which they were now reduced. A layman presume to enter the hallowed courts! A layman to eat of the holiest offerings! What! a layman to penetrate into the innermost sanctuary and have the effrontery to meddle with the sacrificial blood? A layman to offer us advice and interfere with our orders and liturgies and canons! But the intruder was in and could not be expelled. The war of liberation had begun and the freemen were on the ramparts never again to be dislodged from their vantage point. Ulrich von Hutten, Johann von Schwarzenberg, Hartmuth von Cronberg were of a kind not to be driven back from the maintenance of the layman's right to minister in the sanctuary. They knew no service but the direct ministry of Christ just as Hans Magnus and Caspar Schwenckfeld, and they dealt sturdy strokes upon the battered helmets of the prelates.

The layman too was bound to make himself felt in the formation of confessions and in the scientific aspects of every branch of theology which is a most lordly sign of progress. If anywhere, surely in the realm of religion which is so largely an expression of experience as having in itself a revelatory quality one must listen to the testimony of individual and non-official character. It is our inner soul life that aims to bring us as near as possible to the essence of things, away from the purely relative; it carries us therefore into the inner shrine of being; and surely there the witness of discipleship should have the prominent voice. The God-taught are far better than the book-taught for getting at the actual substance of truth. At any rate the hand was on the ark not to be taken back or to be stricken, because it was righteously there; Levite and priest were no longer a privileged class; the theocracy had shed its pupillage and vassalage. What light would be thrown upon the development of the Church for example were the professors of general history to handle it as they handle State documents! What new radiance appears in Hellenistic Greek when a larger Grecian tackles it! How differently would dog-

matic history have read had unconfessional hands put its joints together! How much more generously would doctrines themselves have been stated had educated laymen been allowed a hand in the framing of them and how much nearer truth and life withal would these tenets have been! Schwenckfeld and his associate did not shrink back from the largest assertion of their right in this respect and how far in advance of their day they were in the very process of formulation, we can readily see in the expression of their belief as evangelical Christians here recorded. In subsequent summaries of faith the cart was never put before the horse by Schwenckfeld as was the almost invariable habit of the schooled theologians with their cramped and perfunctory Aristotelian method. Schwenckfeld did not always say the same things in the same way, for there was more than one tune in the pipe of God. The spirit from his point of view needed variety of form and order and utterance. If there was a better critic of the Augsburg Confession, of the Marburg Colloquy, of the Wittenberg Concord or of the contradictory definitions of ubiquity, we have yet to find him. Indeed he was a massive theologian although a layman; without university degree or warrant of Wittenberg ordination he sailed into the erudite recluses regardless of their protests. He was a man who believed and studied and humbly patterned his life after that of his Lord and on this basis expressed his convictions; he judged it to be a part of the Christian's duty to challenge, examine and sift the variety of theological craft that floated on the troubled sea of those times. That in itself was a revolution of splendid import and calculated to stir up the greatest sort of riot among those who claimed to be the only Sanhedrim. Here was a woodman in the woods unlawfully according to the prescription of his day; and with his axe he was hewing at the biggest trees on his own hook; and he rescued many a cord of good wood for the frozen poor. This step alone should enforce the acknowledgment of his heroic qualities. He was a greater evangelist than Dwight Moody or Henry Drummond, and that four hundred years ago. This insurrectionary act was maintained in a land whose splendid genius too often runs to seed in prohibitions and strict lines of demarkation between the professions; a noble land whose chief sin is its precisian regularity and strict interpretation of law according to the letter. Literalism is a worm that may gnaw at the vitals of the most masterful and imposing civilization. We therefore glory in Schwenckfeld as he swung his axe and evinced no fear of the shouting theologues. Many a time he broke through their serried lines with his incisive, quiet courage; no matter how they formed their defences or their attacks he turned their flanks or penetrated their centre. While he lived they could not bind him. Happy is it for any science if there be skilled laymen who can prevent the incrustation and frigidity of the schools. Similar tenets

as to the emancipation of the laity were held by others. Hans Sachs wrote: *Disputatio zwischen eynem Chor herren vnd Schuchmacher / darinn das wort gottis / vnd ein recht Christlich wesen verfochten wirt. Hans Sachs.* This is a discussion between a Canon and a Shoemaker wherein the Scriptures and a genuine Christian life are defended. The point which is here of particular emphasis is the triumph of the uneducated cobbler over the cleric. The Canon is made to say to his cook: Only see, my dear cook, how very mischievously the laymen speak against us ordained as we are; I believe the devil is sewed up in that cobbler, he exasperated me terribly and had I been twice as well educated he would have mounted me on the ass; I declare I won't give him any more work to do but I'll hand the jobs over to Hans Zobel, he is a good simple fellow, he don't bother himself much about the holy Scriptures and the Lutheran heresy, and indeed it is not fitting that the laity should concern themselves about such matters, nor is it seemly for them to dispute with their pastors, for Solomon says he who leads a simple life does well. Why to be sure I ought to have cast this very proverb into the crazy cobbler's teeth, may be it would have stifled him. The cook adds: O my dear sir I was all the time very anxious because you could not overcome him by the Scriptures, lest you would take your slipper to him. The Canon replies: I was afraid that the people might raise an uproar or else I would have thrown my slipper into his face. Christ or Paul could not have wiped the dirt away although they took three days to the job, no matter how much confidence he has in them. The cook can only exclaim: I am greatly surprised how the laymen get to be so capable. Nor does the calefactor or fireman who at the suggestion of the cook is appealed to, make it easier for the angry churchman. The duty of the laity is finely enforced by Conrad Distelmair himself a layman. He seems to have had a university training and he certainly states his opinions with clearness and intelligence. His treatise was published in the same year and is entitled: *Ein trewe Ermanunge: das ein heber Christ selbs zu seiner seel heyl sehe / vnd das schwert (das ist die heylig schrifft das Alt vnd new Testament) auch selbs zu seynen handen neme / sich der seynb damit were / auff das er nit mit falscher leer überwunden vnd verfuret werde. Conrad Distelmair von Arberg Anno 16: M.D.XXiiij.* He prompts the laity to appropriate the promises of Christ about the sword of the Spirit. It had lost its glance and become rusty. Indeed, it had been cast aside as useless and was mired by the feet of men. Although the Romanists say it does not behoove the common man to read the Scripture this in reality is just the very thing he ought to do: it is the first of obligations; he must consciously devote himself to such a perusal and to acquiring an intelligent apprehension of its contents because the Scriptures show us the way of individual salvation and confirm the superiority of

the laity. The curialists like bats and owls are afraid of its light; they blink at the sun; they repeat the idolatry and ignorance of Jeroboam's days. The poor men and women have all alike a clear brain; God has made and redeemed them and desires them to be saved. Priests and monks and universities must not claim exclusive intellects, for nobody can be learned in spiritual things unless they be taught of God. It is your duty then to purchase a copy of at least the New Testament rather than to buy bread; for the Word of God is the bread of life; even if you are too poor to buy then beg it, yes far rather than ask for a piece of bread. Do not say by way of excuse that you have enough of the Gospel from the pulpit; you get but a piece from that source and that the least important. What do you understand of a gospel which is sung in Latin during the mass unless you have read it before at home in your own German tongue? No, you must read the New Testament with thoughtfulness for yourself. All the more now for we must be on our guard lest it be again withdrawn from us. The next duty of the laity is to secure preachers trained in the Gospel. The old style pastor is sunk in his ancient mossy bogs and slime, and has no taste for the fresh spring-water; his head is unequal to the new ideas; he shakes his grey locks with his long ass-ears over these innovations and claims that the elders knew what was right and wrong, and is content to rest in the ancient discipline. He also adduces the university education where there was little said of Christ or Paul, but much of Aristotle. Are not Thomas and the subtle Scotus better than these assailants of the Pope and the Cardinals? It is the duty of the laity to be so familiar with the Gospel that they can think for themselves and can insist upon a new life in the pulpit; let the lying prophets cease their falsehoods. Pray that the grace of God and the Holy Spirit may not be withdrawn from our princes so that the layman may have his evangelical rights recognized and defended. Of no less interest is the work of Pamphilus Gengenbach entitled: *Der Leienpiegel. Der Leie spiegel sancti Pauli des alten gloubens wider den nütwen. Den rechten gloubē zeig ich an, Paulū ich für ein fürsprach hā, Bin gmacht zū nuß bē gemeinen man.* This is really an exposition of St. Paul's statements as to faith and works mainly from the epistle to the Romans with a bit from the Galatians, the object being to ground the layman in his belief and to awaken the consciousness of his liberty in Christ. Among many songs of the "man of the laye" it might be well to recall the *Religio Laici* of Dryden written before his embrace of Catholicism, in which he versifies many items discussed in our letter. A prelude to the present-day lay movements in religion may also be found in the verses of that Silesian soldier and poet, Friedrich von Sallet; his *Laien-Evangelium* contains many noble Hegelian interpretations of the Gospel:

Deshalb ja sind wir Edens Ruh' entnommen,
 Zu Kampf und Arbeit aus des Friedens Klarheit,
 Daß wir nicht hüten, was uns überkommen —
 Nur was wir selbst errangen, sei uns Wahrheit.

Und hab ich in der Förschung Dämmerungen
 Manchmal vielleicht des Lichtes Pfad verloren —
 Heiß hab' ich nach dem Ewigen gerungen,
 Und seiner Fahne treu mich zugeschworen. —

Hier geb' ich meinem Volk, was ich erbeutet.
 Vom Feldzug rasten meines Geists Kohorten.
 Sieh, Herr! daß er auf neue Siege deutet,
 Bis daß ich sprengte deiner Hofburg Pforten.

XXXIII. From November 1523 onward there had been freezing weather. In spite of the cold there were heavy rains followed by inundations that lasted far into the next year. By reason of the shortage in crops, prices rose to a considerable height and the distress became wide-spread. The pressure of tithes and taxation on the farmer was therefore still more harassing as indeed it was for all classes of the community in this period of agitating change, when so many economic problems arose in connection with the graver overthrow of religion. Men who owned farms had to be diligent students of such conditions, for the welfare of the entire community depended on their foresight and skill. It was therefore a solicitous time in which these two neighbors wrote this letter and surely they were well qualified to show the evils of the papal subtraction of money from the people, especially when so much of that was secured under false pretenses. It was the problem of poverty with which they had to contend and to find some methods of relief. Every Reichstag was busy with the grievances that rested so heavily upon the general purse. Luther too had presented a formidable summary of the evils connected with the Roman fiscal system in the treatise *An den Christlichenn Adel deutscher Nation: von des Christlichen standes besserung*. It was Ginsburg who in 1524 wrote: *Nich wundert das sein gelt ihm landt ist. / Ein schimpflich doch vnsechlich gesprech dreier Landtfarer / vber heß gemelten tyttel. Lese das buchlin so wirstu dich furo hyn verwundern / das ein pfennig ihm landt blieben ist. M.D.XXiiij.* The source of the national poverty is found by one of the disputants in the wars, general and local, which devastate the entire country. A second contends that the fault lies in the merchants and trades-people who introduce useless and worthless wares upon which the Germans spend their money. The third and successful logician finds it in the growth of the Romish Church. The mischief begins with the moment that a Church is

founded. All the accessories involved in such a building lead step by step to enormous and unprofitable expenditures. Not a little humor lurks in the sketch of this octopus. Another instructive insight into the economical circumstances of the Empire as well as Switzerland is found in Zwingli's treatise: *Welche vrsach gebind ze ufüren / welches die waren vfrürer sygind / vnd wie man zů Cristlicher einigheit vnd fryden komen möge*. The Curia had vast farms and colonies in Italy and Sicily. It had a fixed system of taxation for all aspirants to the higher dignities and for those just elected to new positions. Besides these habitual annual returns it had resorted to special methods for raising money, as that by the jubilee system and particularly by the sale of indulgences. The local diocesan revenues were gathered from the properties which had accrued from royal and princely gifts in Silesia. Many of the villages belonging to the diocese had been subjected to grievous losses or had been entirely destroyed, so that the Church was considerably impoverished. But its possessions grew apace through testamentary bequests, through gifts of jewels and of wax and other ceremonial necessities, through fees for masses, burials, baptisms, marriages etc., through pilgrimages, through agricultural and industrial undertakings, through a regular system of decimæ or tenths. The fact however that the Church was prodigal in its expenditures for the poor must not be forgotten. Moreover the relationship between it and its tenantry was on the average milder and more beneficent. Both systems operated disastrously in the long run. The method of relieving indigence augmented the evil, for the dependents trusted in the resources of their patron, while the better treatment of the laborer promoted universal discontent for obvious reasons. It is to be observed that our authors in confronting the sociological difficulties laid it down as a first principle that the Church must have an adequate support. Friedrich II guarded with great jealousy the rights of the clergy with regard to their incomes even after he had adopted the new faith, as we find in the protocol of the Chapter in Breslau dated January 26, 1524, a few weeks after the issue of our letter. The minute mentions the fact that he had prohibited his subjects from neglecting to pay the rentals, interests and tenths due the ecclesiastics unless the person had a direct individual exemption paper from the prince's officials and not only from a clerical superior. It was in 1525 that the Herzog painstakingly renewed this edict. We may almost consider this course of action as inspired by the authors of our missive, especially since that prince's Apology of 1527 reaffirmed the same principle. In a period when the whole system of finance in Europe was on the eve of a radical change, our authors proposed no violent remedies but held on to what was least obnoxious in the old method. They deemed it prudent to move forward by gradual adaptations rather than to upset the preva-

lent economy by one blow. What however, was morally wrong in itself they thought should be instantaneously abolished.

The changes which they suggest concern 1) monastic mendicancy. Of course this would involve the reorganization of the mendicant orders. These had a calendar or chronological method of begging so as least to interfere with one another in their rounds. There is plenty of evidence to show what a draining evil this became. The idleness and unproductive effects engendered thereby are notorious. It put pauperism on a throne. We may add to this the debasing effect of privileged indolence. The number of unproductive creatures among the clergy in proportion to the population is something incredible. Breslau alone had four hundred altarists very many of whom failed to read the stipulated number of masses. The like evil diminished the vitality of every town and city. It is reported that ten thousand masses were sung at Breslau yearly in one church. These facts together with the troops of monks and nuns, so many of whom indulged in almost habitual idleness or in profitless repetition of service books and breviaries, constitute a mass of drones which the human hive of that time could scarcely brook, and yet in surveying the bad features the good must not be forgotten. Another contribution to idleness was the increase of holidays and the elaboration of Anna worship; one altar to this presumptive mother of Mary was erected in Liegnitz in 1516. 2) The use of magical instrumentalities as a means for enriching a church or a cloister; a number of such had arisen in Silesia, the most prominent of which are mentioned in the text. These agencies beguiled many a groschen from the pockets of the stupid peasantry. They were a sort of slot-machine without its virtues and compensations. 3) The stationers who served as the outposts and local agents of the indulgence commodities. Among the grievances brought before the Reichstag at Worms in 1521 was one directed against these itinerant venders somewhat in this wise: They call themselves by various names: the mission of the Holy Spirit, of St. Anthony, of St. Valentine and so on. They go about yearly to the cities, to the market-towns and to the villages. They engage in all sorts of deceptive and minatory practices to secure money from the people, a percentage of which falls to their share. Although their conduct is so unchristian and scandalous, yet the bishops encourage instead of restraining them. Hans Sachs in his *Die Wittenbergisch nachtigall* has a word about them:

Auch kömen stationierer
 Anthonier valentiner
 Die sagen viel erlogner wort
 Daß sey geschehen hie vnd dort
 Bestreichen fraw vnde man

Mit ein vergulten eßelß zan
 Vnd erschinen auch geltes krafft
 Schreiben leit in jr brüderschafft
 Holen die zinß all jerlich jar
 Darnach kumbt ein erfame schar
 Heyst man zū teusch die romanisten
 Mit grosen ablaß bullen kisten
 Nichten auff rote kreutz mit saien
 Vnd schreyen zū frawen vnd mannen
 Legt ein gebt ewer hylff vnd stewr
 Vnd löst die seel auß dem fegfewr
 Bald der gulden in lasten klinget
 Die seel sich auff gen hymel schwinget
 Wer vnrecht güt hat in seim gwalt
 Dem helfen sy es ab gar bald
 Auch gebens brieß für schuld vñ peyn
 Da legt man in zū gulden ein
 Der schuldstrick sein so mancherley
 Das heyst mir römisch schinderey.

In an illustrated treatise of this period called *Das Alt vnd New ewig Testament* occurs this sentence: Aber leyder jeh zanden sich die amptleut vmb die schmutzige empter, wie vor zeiten die Stationierer vnd die bettel münch vmb den schmutzigen bettel sack/ Dieber junder nempt das ampt an es hat vmb gibt viel zu reiffens/ schencke/ zum dienstgelt das wir die schultis vff kirchweh laden zc. At the close of the *Neu Karsthans*, wrongly ascribed to Hutten, we find an agreement between Juncker Helferich, Reyter Heintz and Karsthans which consists of thirty articles, the twenty-sixth of which reads: das sie den Stationierern, wo sie die vff den strassen ankommen, ire pferdt nemen, die sedel raumen, sie mit truden schlagen, wie vil sie pfund haben, wol überschlagen, darnach mit dem heilighumb faren lassen wollen. In the fourteenth article of the so-called *Regensburger Reformation*, 1524, this proposition is laid down: Item. Es soll auch layn Stationierer hynfuro zugelassen werden/ es beschehe dann mit massen vnd also/ daß solchs wol angelegt werde. The *Wittenberg Ordnung* of 1522 also prevented these traders from entering that city. It was in the days of King Wenzel that the royal debts to Breslau were paid by his share from the sale of indulgences. Quarrels sometimes broke out between the Italian, the Saxon and the native venders or between the different churches of the city, if one got a privilege for disposing of such merchandise above another. Rome was on occasion compelled to make a compromise between the local church, the magistrates and the Curia, at the rate of a third apiece. On March 3, 1518 the Chapter voted to petition the Bishop not to allow the further barter in

indulgences, because the people had learned to make sport of the trade, and because the inhabitants were poor and the local money-market had become stringent by reason of the complications concerning mintage. In spite of this feeling and protest a new papal campaign was started a little later, ostensibly to benefit the churches of Silesia and the ban was threatened against all who should resist the sale. The Chapter was feign to avoid a conflict with the papacy and so kept quiet. In 1519 the Chapter felt that their supply of wax was abridged because the monks were permitted to sell indulgences. It was in 1520 that the general of the Bernhardine order was publicly ridiculed in the streets of Breslau when he proclaimed a new papal deal in the forgiveness of sins. We see then that there was a struggle between the local ecclesiastical authorities and the Curia on this question. The Chapter had felt the impress of Luther's criticism of this doctrine and practice while Rome remained unmoved and equally determined to carry forward the traffic; but the awful profanity of such commercialism in spiritual things had drawn enormous sums of money from Silesia and the writers wanted to assure the Bishop of their sympathy with the attitude of the Chapter. It should be noted that the system of indulgence was not originally nor always financial; it was equally lavish in the remission of sins past, present and to come, but this sort of prodigality cost nobody anything save the paper on which it was printed. In the Missale of Bishop Thurzo occurs such a list of indulgences for *Corpus Christi* day which was formulated from the grants of Urban IV, Martin V, Eugene IV.

<i>De ieiunio vigiliæ</i>	.CC.dies.
<i>De primis vespers</i>	.CCCCC.dies.
<i>De completorio</i>	.CC.dies.
<i>De matutinis ip̄i festi</i>	.CCCCC.dies.
<i>De prima ipsius festi</i>	.CC.dies.
<i>De tertia</i>	.CC.dies.
<i>De sexta</i>	.CC.dies.
<i>De nona</i>	.CC.dies.
<i>De secundis vespers</i>	.CCCCC.dies.
<i>De completorio</i>	.CC.dies.
<i>De missa ipsius festi</i>	.CCCCC.dies.
<i>De processione</i>	.CC.dies.

Summa tria milia dies secreti dies: Faciunt in summa decem annos: minus XL. dies.

That is, for the observance of certain hours and other features of one feast-day indulgences were promised for almost ten years. Similarly for the octave of this festival.

<i>De matutinis</i>	<i>.CCC.dies.</i>
<i>De prima</i>	<i>.LXXX.dies.</i>
<i>De tercia</i>	<i>.LXXX.dies.</i>
<i>De sexta</i>	<i>.LXXX.dies.</i>
<i>De nona</i>	<i>.LXXX.dies.</i>
<i>De vespers</i>	<i>.CCC.dies.</i>
<i>De completorio</i>	<i>.LXXX.dies.</i>
<i>De missa</i>	<i>.CCC.dies.</i>

Summa cuiuslibet diei per octauam. M.CCC.dies. Faciunt annos quatuor: minus. LVI.dies. That is, for the celebration of the hours and the Mass on this octave of the transubstantiation festival sins were remitted for well-nigh four years. 4) Another sociological factor which concerned our authors particularly as landowners was the general protection of the financial interests of the peasantry and of the farming community. They desired to insure them against the inroads of beggary of all kinds whether of the mendicant orders or the professional tramps or the unworthy paupers in their own midst. Owing to the system of work-righteousness a great stress was put upon the exercise of charity without any regard to the character of the recipient. It was not so much pity for the needy subject as a selfish desire to heap up one's credit in the bank above. There was no lack of indiscriminate giving. Gengenbach in his *Liber Vagatorum* may give the reader some idea of the extent of this social degeneracy. Our authors had in their mind the redemption of this proletariat as well as the defence of the farmer. An equal mischief resulted from the arbitrary taxations imposed by the village-priests. To be sure he had certain claims of tithes but the collection of these was not an easy matter, if a community or an individual were impoverished. He felt himself compelled at times to resort to certain penal expedients whether of ban, imprisonment or distraintment, which caused much suffering and yet it was inflicted in the name of the Church. His fees also for every type of service were felt to be onerous. A different method of administering Church finances would relieve not only the peasant but the priest. These evils were aggravated where the services were performed by vicars or by rotating substitutes. Our petitioners desired as well to deliver the villages from the ill-regulated, uncertain and too often exorbitant taxation of the diocese or of Rome. By educating the village inhabitants the writers hoped to save them from the condition of ignorant perpetual servitude and to plant some hope of betterment in their hearts. They had no respect for the tenet of men who insist on keeping laborers within a pale of illiteracy in order to make sure of a supply of hands to do the shoemaking, tailoring, tilling, ploughing and reaping. 5) Axleben and Schwenckfeld express a particular sympathy with a worthy class of the poor whom they

call *Arme gemeine haußleute*. These are contrasted with the shameless beggars who can secure enough to keep soul and body together without labor except such as holds out the hand and makes whining petitions. The class here designated was ashamed to ask alms; a great many were disabled by reason of age or infirmity; those who had their strength were often unable to procure stated work and consequently were ill-nourished and poorly housed. But they were stationary and in homes and were not vagabonds. In some communities a kind of oversight was kept and a degree of provision made for them. The generally unhappy condition of this people is well illustrated by the proverbs concerning them: *arme leute kochen dünne grüße; armer leute pracht währt über nacht; zween tage weiß brot, darnach jammer und not; es ist viele speise in den furchen der armen; arme leute haben bald abgepeist*, and many other such, which the reader can find in Grimm or Wander. Solicitude in their behalf would necessarily require the study of individual cases and an actual register of name, abode, age, capacity; it would provide work for those who were able; it would adapt relief according to necessity; above all it would conduct itself toward such dependent classes in a becoming Christian spirit; all perfunctoriness and sharpness should be far from any wholesome ministry to the poor. It was in the beginning of 1522 that the authorities at Wittenberg passed an *Ordenung des Gemeyn Beutels zu erhaltung Hauß vnnb ander armen bedurfftigen leutthen, bey nuns zu Wittenberg auffgericht. Wie es damit gehalten soll werben* etc. Its eight provisions are well worthy to pass as the first Charity Organization Society of the Reformation. It may be found in Barge's *Life of Karlstadt* as Anlage Nr. 13. It is not impossible that Schwenckfeld at least may have been familiar with these reform measures in Wittenberg where he had been a hearer if not a matriculated student. However that may be our authors certainly put their finger upon one of the chief underminers of the social system in pointing out the abuses of charity and in seeking to liberate the virtuous poor from their worst competitors, the professional insolvents.

True to their cautious suggestions in making radical social changes, they do not discuss the secularization of Church or monastic property directly; nor do they find a panacea for communal disorders in a return to the first usage of the Christian community in Jerusalem, as some of the early reformers advised; in some respects the general *Ordnung der Stadt Wittenberg* partially imitated this. Nor do our authors discuss the common purse *Der gemeine Beutel* which was everywhere instituted, but rapidly degenerated into mere collections for the poor. They only aimed at introducing ideas which could assume a great variety of shapes as the needs of different communities might require. It may be remarked that Silesia and Germany in general were not visited with an influx of mendi-

cancy such as came upon England by the abolition of monasteries and other secularizations of ecclesiastical foundations. This was due to the very different methods pursued.

XXXIV. We are very well persuaded that what they thus suggested to the Bishop they themselves had done among their own husbandmen and employees. They had not waited for somebody else to make the first move. They had allowed no further intrusions and exactions of the mendicant system; no stationers could peddle forgiveness, retroactive, present or futuristic where these proprietors had control; their clergy had at least their permission to marry; there was no concubinage allowed to disgrace the hearth of their parsonages. Their clergy were educated. The vernacular had displaced the Latin mass and other antique, liturgical elements. There was no more lenten or other prescription or instruction so satirical of the facts. There was no longer that hopeless, squalid poverty on their estates which was the very mockery of institutional Christianity and of the spirit of love. There were organized forces of instruction for old and young and a developing scheme for systematic education. There were searching eyes that watched for opportunities of improvements within, so that the betterment of outward conditions might be accelerated. They were already aware of conspicuous and encouraging fruit. The religion of these two men was not only individual but social. They recognized both laws of the one divine code as inseparable and equally obligatory. They had set to work in the Spirit; and the signs of righteousness and peace and joy were already apparent. For them the Kingdom of God was real and present.

XXXV. The subject of celibacy had created a confusion of practical sentiment in Christendom. The utmost rigors of legislation had not checked the growth of revolt against the inhuman denial of the liberty of the individual to marry or not to marry. The University of Paris advocated the enforcement of the canonical restraints in its discussions of articles for the Council of Constance to consider. That Council itself legislated in no equivocal terms; but there was no very elevating response. The volume of clerical concubinage and of clerical adultery was neither arrested nor turned aside; and opinions about the wisdom of statutory bachelorhood continued to be divided. The general topic is best discussed by Henry Charles Lea, *An historical sketch of sacerdotal celibacy*. The civil law in many places as in Breslau tried to remove disabilities from the sons and daughters of the priests. Now the marriage of the clergy and of the monks had become quite general. After Luther's frequent tractates concerning it, especially that of 1523 *Vom ehelichen Leben*, and Carlstadt's announcement of his purpose to break through the celibate bonds in his startling and somewhat comical *Sendbrieff melbende seiner*

Wirtſchafft, the agitation ceased to be novel. How now to arrest the headlong exit from cloisters and lonesome parsonages became the question, and a hard struggle it was for the papacy to recover its lost ground both because of the clamor of the clergy and the religious as well as the widespread feeling of the people in its favor; and still more because of the unsavory concubinage in which so many clericals were living; these scandals had converted the name of asceticism into a hideous mockery of even the letter of such a law, to say nothing of its spirit. Such pictures as Kettenbach and Symon Reuter draw of the effects of celibacy upon the conduct of the confessional and upon the generally sensual and debauched life of those under the celibate vow are not overdrawn. They themselves had lived under the regimen and were familiar with its appalling consequences. See the Schugrede. Jedem Christen wol zu wissen. | Wyder das falsch anlagen/ der Papisten | vnd Mönche. Welcher titel du am nach | geen den blat verzeichnet syndest. | Item | Die Wittenbergische | Nachtgall. | Symon Reuter | Von der pfaffen Ehe. | (Item | Georg Schöniichen zu Eyllenburg | an etlich der vniuersitet zu Leypp. | (Item | Die Wittenbergische Nachtgall. The series of instructions for the clergy by Johann Eberlin are remarkable: Wie sich eyn diener | Gottes wortts hyn all seynem thun | halten soll/ vnd sonderlich ge-|gen denen/ wilchen das | Euangelion zuuor | nicht geprediget | ist/ das sie sich | nicht er-|gern. | Johan Eberlyn von | Ghenczburg. | Wittenberg. | 1525. There are thirty-two points in all. In the twenty-ninth he exhorts them to marry and to live openly and lawfully in their own homes. He reminds them of the consequences of a celibate life and refers them to his Pfaffentrost and Luther's book inscribed to the Teutonic Knights. The whole domestic economy, wife, children and servants, should be regulated according to St. Paul's first Epistle to Timothy. The comprehensive aim of the marriage of the ministry is to benefit the moral development of the entire community.

But our attention must be limited to matters nearer home. The contention of our authors is for the liberty of individual choice on the part of the priests, because any interference with such freedom is unscriptural; and because the priest has a human nature and because of the awful reflex on the moral conditions of the communities where the restriction is a dead letter. We have already referred to some acts of the Chapter concerning this subject; but a picture of divided opinion in that body lies in the fact that Heinrich Ribisch was elected a member of the Chapter of St. John the Baptist on July 31, 1516, a few months after the death of the Scholasticus Schroofheim; yet this humanist Ribisch had seven years before maintained a discussion before the University of Leipzig on the question whether a man should marry. The pros and cons are brought out with the greater stress upon the pros. His *disceptatio* was published

in 1509. This very Chapter after adopting him as a fellow-canon instituted many proceedings against certain members who lived in open and determined common marriage, as we would call it, against whom however Bishop Thurzo proceeded with striking reluctance. While the majority of the canons were resolute opponents of clerical matrimony they did not repress the debaucheries of the Sand-Insel. The conditions in other parts of the diocese were no different. It should however be remembered that there were always those ecclesiastics who preserved a scrupulous asceticism; not every one violated his vows in this respect. Now from the time that the regular marriage of the clergy and the religious became so frequent and general the determination to restore the old canonical usage grew into a fixed purpose on the part of the Chapter as we have already seen. The wedding of Johann Schnabel, priest and organist of St. Elizabeth, had created more contention on the Sand-Insel than almost any other. It is of moment for us because he was a friend of Crautwald. Schwenckfeld himself, like Crautwald, remained unmarried for reasons satisfactory to himself; he asserted his freedom in this respect as in others; hence his judgment of this matter is all the larger and wiser. He never indulged in any satire of the mated ministry; on the contrary he always upheld the dignity and sweetness of the home life, clerical as well as lay.

The decretals of canon law, the energies of popes, the reiterations of councils had been directed to the promotion of celibacy, only to aggravate the disorder in the very citadels of the faith, even in the rooms of the Vatican and in the very persons of Roman senators and sovereign pontiffs. There were monstrous magnates of sensuality who were clad in the richest of symbolic robes. What materials do not the careers of Pius II, Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, Pius III, Julius II, Leo X afford? Can one find anything more infamous in human records than the morals of some of these fathers of Christendom with troops of their cardinals and manifold underlings, apart entirely from any canonical prohibition? But how immeasurably heightened are their crimes, if the law of celibacy be a true scriptural standard of the priestly life. If those pestilential critics from Lemnius and Cochläus to Jannsen and Denifle had turned their elderly leers from the innocent domesticity of Luther to the real orgies of these their spiritual paternities, would they not have had a most ample amphitheatre for the full play of their sotadic imaginations? Here, right on the hearth of holiness, were absolute riots of indecency and shameless prostitutions not only of sacred marriage but of that rite as a blessed sacrament; yes, and there was a multitude of these venerable rakes over against the one moral hero whom they would impale. Each of these critics might select one subject from this large company,

dozens of their holinesses, and double dozens of their eminences. Had not these refined artists who spend their ingenuity in dissecting the moral life of Catharina von Bora better pry into the haunts of the *hetaeriae* and of those women of pleasure whose emancipated careers were led under the shadow of the Vatican and the palaces of the cardinals? Is there not sufficiently attractive stuff in the boudoirs of the daughters and daughters-in-law and niecés of these very immaculate Benedicks? Some of these gentle dames had lost all sense of inward shame; they no longer felt any natural aversion to the violations of blood-ties. Surely here is a large hunting-ground for these delicate sniffers, German and French. Since these exalted dispensers of the body of Christ have such a history, why not write some celibate bibliographies in Macchiavellian or better yet in Boccaccian prose, or magnify them in the Latin amatory meters of the early renaissance?

XXXVI. Pope Calixtus II, although a native of France, espoused the extreme curialistic positions. With rare energy and indomitable will he fought his way against all opposing nominees and popes to the single possession of the tiara in Rome itself. He did not always hesitate as to the means by which to overcome his adversaries. The famous strife about investiture was settled by the Concordat of Worms, in which he made some concessions because of other weightier plans in view. It was through the Lateran Council of 1123 which the curialists delight to dub as the ninth ecumenical, that the canons concerning clerogamy, simony, prohibitory degrees, the peace of God, the prohibition of laic intrusion into clerical offices, etc. were passed. While arousing the spirit of another crusade he died. It was in July and August of 1523 that the Turk broke again into Hungary, the fright of which shook Silesia. Had there been one really wise head to manage the original crusade, the border-lands might have been spared the ever recurring Eastern question. It is uncertain whether the German translation of the canonical law had already been printed. The general title reads: Die verteiltschüt Text auß den | Webst-
lichen Rechten: vnd vil | andren glaubwirdigen ge-|schriffte: daraus sich meni-
klich allerley mag erfülben wie erbarlich bißher mitt gemeiner | Christenheyt
ist | gehandelt | worden. The section to which allusion is made in the text was thus rendered: Bapst Calixtus im canon *Pres-byteris vicisima septima
distinctione* | Wir verbietē genßlich dē priestern/ | euangeliern/ epistlern/ un
münchen | beschlößern zu haben/ vñ eeliche weyber | zu ne'men/ vnd richten
vñ | vrteilen nach auff sagung der | heiligen recht/ daß die heyraten | von sol-
chen personen verwilligt | vñ angenömen/ sollen zerbrent | vnd die personen zu
der puß | gehalten werden. On the margin stands Deß XVIII artidel Daß
der bapst den pfaffe den eeliche stät verboten hat.

XXXVII. We come now to consider the candidates for the bishopric

made vacant by the death of Johann von Thurzo; the sketch is derived directly from the *Acta Capituli* and the Ossolinski collection. On August 2, 1520 two messages were brought from Neisse; the first was from canon Weidner, the second from canon Tryssler, both alike bore tidings of the sinking condition and the approaching demise of Bishop Thurzo. On the heels of these two letters came a third announcing his death. With his departure began a new era in the history of the diocese; a more churchly spirit associated itself with a few of the fresher currents now agitating religion and theology; it proved to be a period of gentler liberality, only it was not indifferent nor humanistic; it consolidated itself sufficiently to overcome hostility from within and from Rome; it guided the helm for some three generations. Matthew Preuss who had written the minutes during the previous incumbency continued his services as scribe for the Chapter until 1534. In the session of the prelates and canons on August 3, formal announcement of the decease of the Bishop was made. Against him no sharp, reproachful word of criticism now arose; he was in the peace of God. Three administrators of the affairs of the diocese were appointed, the Chancellor Stanislaus Borg together with the canons Stanislaus Saur and Matthew Lamprecht. Their first care was to make an inventory. At this juncture it was deemed unadvisable to hold the diocesan synod which had been set down for August 10, in whose sessions the financial matters between the Queen Regent and the Chapter were to have been discussed. The election of the successor was fixed for September 1, that being the legal interval of thirty days after the death of the former incumbent. Letters of convocation were approved and issued. The first competitor entered the field, by nomination at this meeting; it was no less a person than the Herzog Joachim the son of Karl I, Herzog of Münsterberg-Oels and Oberlandeshauptmann of Silesia. Joachim is of exceeding interest to us because he had been the pupil of Hess who also supervised his studies at the University of Prague; moreover Schwenckfeld as a youthful servitor at the court in Oels must have known him as a boy; at present he was about seventeen years of age. His father had previously proposed him as coadjutor, a suggestion which neither the bishop nor the Chapter would entertain. The son was devoted to the clerical profession and had imbibed some elements of evangelical thought; in many respects therefore the nomination was attractive to the princes and nobles; he was a Silesian magnate; he was imbued with the fresher religious impulses of the day; he had behind him a large influence through the suavity and popularity of his father. How Schwenckfeld himself may have felt toward the candidature of his young friend we have no direct means of judging; nor is there any record of Hess' opinion. That Schwenckfeld was attached to this princely house is plain from the fact

that two years after this date he sent his own intimate Andreas Arnold to be the assistant of Hess in Oels. In spite of this attachment we cannot avoid the conviction that the youth and inexperience of the nominee would be fatal objections in the mind of Schwenckfeld at least. For the Chapter however it was a sufficient bar that he was a Silesian prince: they wanted none such to preside over the diocese. They adopted the policy of receiving the nomination without immediate comment of their own, pleading, only that they must be allowed time for reflection. It was at this meeting that Friedrich II requested that his provost might succeed to the prebends of Wigand von Salza, just deceased, a fact which we have already stated; but the Chapter replied that they had promised these to Caspar Ursinus Velius, so distinguished for his erudition. In the session of Sunday, August 5, Johann Hess, canon of the Church of the Holy Cross, was designated to deliver the sermon in German at the funeral, as a person who had been exceedingly acceptable to Thurzo and had served as the official preacher of the Church of the Holy Cross, and one of their number was deputed to inform Hess of his appointment. On August 6, canon Myrowski was summoned from Warsaw to attend the election. Herzog Karl sent a communication asking to be exactly informed as to the hour of the funeral; to which a formal response was sent. A letter was written to Friedrich II explanatory of the capitular action with regard to the vacancy; and a promise was given that the provost should be regarded as a candidate for the next vacancy. This was evidently an afterthought to soften the disappointment of that prince, especially in this momentous period. On Wednesday, the 8th of the month, the body was brought from Neisse and was conveyed to the episcopal palace by way of the bridge at St. Peter's chapel. The remains were inspected and identified according to usage, after which the deceased was born into the palace, amid the tears of the assembled canons and clergy. On August 9 happened the accident of which a statement is made elsewhere. On Saturday the 11th the administrators announced the sealing of the effects by the Marschall and three of the canons stated that they had been present at the death of the late Bishop, together with Michael Jude, the physician of the Bishop, and Gregory Weidenbach his chaplain. On Friday the 17th the implements used for coinage, the privilege of which had been granted Thurzo by the Emperor Maximilian, were deposited in the archives. And now the name of the second competitor was declared, Dr. Jacob Piso who was commended by the Bishop of Wien, Johann II, Georg Slatkonja. This was received with the usual silence and reserve for future consideration. The administrators were enjoined to issue a public call to fasting and prayer for divine guidance in the impending election, in which observance the Chapter itself would join. The days were fast ebbing away, and the excitement was deepening; but

everything moved on with measured step and a wonderful serenity. Meanwhile Ludwig, the King of Hungary, had written a letter, dated Pressburg August 20, in which he expressed his grief at Thurzo's death and debarred the Chapter from proceeding to an election until they should have explained their rights through the medium of two members of their body; since there were a number of competitors no action must be taken without the royal prevision of the facts. This letter however was not at once conveyed to the Chapter. On the 19th came the expected blow which must have staggered the canons, although they had been anticipating it for days. The protocol gives no sign of agitation. The Markgraf Johann Albrecht of Brandenburg was nominated by the orator of the King of Hungary, Caspar Gotsch von Fischbach, in behalf of that monarch. Peter von Königsfelt, the orator and Hofmeister of Markgraf Georg of Brandenburg Jägerndorf, seconded the nomination. Here was a mighty combination of the sovereign and his keen councilor and in some sense controller. As if this weightiness were not sufficient, the most eminent prince of Silesia, Friedrich II, warmly espoused the movement, and added the puissant influence of Oppeln and Teschen of which Georg was the prospective heir. This would give the amplest guarantee to the security of the Church and its property, a protection which was distinctly pledged. The orator of Georg dilated on the erudition and virtues of the princely candidate and upon the additional significant fact that he had the support of the papacy and of Spain. Johann Albrecht was personally dear to the King of Hungary, to Friedrich II and to the Herzoge of Oppeln and Teschen. Thereupon the orator of the King imparted the sufficiently surprising fact that the pope had already appointed him as a coadjutor when the news of the incurable illness of Thurzo was brought to Rome. To this flood of powerful and warm praise the Chapter could make no self-committing response. They limited themselves to asking for time to deliberate until the morrow. That day, the 20th of the month, was made memorable for the display of capitular backbone and sturdy purpose to preserve its chartered freedom. The Archdeacon Lengesfelt made his reply in behalf of the Chapter in German. He insisted that the election must be free; the oath which they must take demanded the exercise of individual independent judgment; they must not be governed by any dictation of superiors or by any bribe of money or of promised promotion. Into the merits of the nominee he wisely did not enter. It was a manly protest against any effort at securing a compulsory choice. To be sure, far deeper things for the Chapter lay at the bottom of the well. They wanted no foreign prince; they had no love for the Markgraf Georg, neither for his politics nor his person. Above all they wanted no greedy Brandenburger; Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz was enough, to say nothing of minor members

of that aspiring and spreading house; the very dearth of money in the coffers of the family was already too conspicuous; they feared the further plundering of the property and treasures of Breslau which had up to this date suffered a continuous exhaustion, should a necessitous prince like Johann Albrecht hold the crozier. Was not this a master stroke of courage to thus assert their liberty before the King and before Georg the most potent prince in Silesia because he directed the mind of the King, and before Friedrich II the wisest and most capable of the rulers? But not only this, it was a brave deed to withstand the powerful Brandenburg House with its manifold affiliations and to defy Pope Leo X himself with all his cardinals, and the Emperor too! It was a noble day when the Archdeacon made that bold and simple speech, vindicating their chartered rights and maintaining the integrity of their oath. These were not simply words. The Chapter proved its independence by one of the most cogent deeds in papal history. Friedrich II and the orators were undoubtedly bluffed but they assumed a placable position; they passed by the kernel of the speech and fell back upon the fact that King Ludwig desired the election of their nominee, and that otherwise the royal indignation would be aroused were his authority not consulted. The letter of the King was then handed over which as we have seen restrained the Chapter from proceeding to the election before satisfying the royal mind as to the capitular rights and demanding that two canons be sent him bringing with them the charter evidence. The canons then had a private discussion as to what they should reply to his Royal Highness. After some days interval the Chapter was convened on August 23, and occupied itself with the further citation of the electors; this was probably an emphatic summons for all to be on hand, because now a week only intervened. The canons with great dignity agreed that a reply should be sent to the King, but that owing to the election no member could be absent; none could be spared to send upon the commission which His Majesty had desired. And now the fourth candidate was put in nomination. The Chapter at Olmütz suggested the Moravian Baron Heinrich Conrad von Kunstadt. This was received without comment; as a noble and as a Moravian he was eligible according to the Colowrat agreement. Here it must be borne in mind that Stanislaus, the brother of the deceased Thurzo, was bishop of Olmütz; it was he who erected the epitaph to his brother in the cathedral, bearing this inscription: *Joanni Thursoni Vratislaviensi Episcopo, & Provinciæ Silesiæ aliquamdiu Præfecto, Principi optimo, Religione & Pietate in Deum, Iustitia in omnes, singulari doctrinâ ipsi acquisatâ, & Doctorum, quos magna gratia & liberalitate prosequabatur, unico Patrono. Stanislaus Turso Olomucensis Episcopus, & Joannes Turso Plesnæ Dominus, Fratres Fratri charissimo ex Testamento mæsti P.P.* This may account for the

recommendation made by his Chapter. On the next day which was Friday, came a deputation from the magistrates of Breslau with the celebrated Hauptmann Haunold as spokesman. The Chapter informed them about the two candidates Joachim and Johann Albrecht; the others were not mentioned. The canons also made the statement that many distinguished persons had suggested Jacob von Salza as a worthy nominee. The committee from the city expressed themselves as ready to sustain this candidate, as a man thoroughly acceptable to them. As usual the canons did not verbally betray their own preference but wanted time for deliberation. This name then makes the fifth candidate for the vacancy. At the meeting on the 29th Herzog Georg of Brieg appeared in person to second the nomination of Joachim. We can imagine his plethoric figure and his abrupt and rather insistent manner. What reply they gave this pleasure-loving but affectionate prince is not recorded. He was not long to survive his own neighborly act, for he died in the next year. It is his widow, the Herzogin Anna of Brieg, who was a genuine follower of Schwenckfeld and who retired to the castle in Lüben after her husband's death, where she spent the remainder of her faithful and fruitful life. As a princess of Pomerania, Johann Bugenhagen was her subject; at her request that reformer wrote: *Ein Christlicher | sendprieß / An frauw | Anna / geborne herzogin von Stetin in | pomern zc. | Summa der seligkeit / auß | der hailigen | schrift | Durch Joha[n]em buggeha|gē auß pomern / pfarrher | der kirchen zu | mittēberg.*

At this same meeting the archdeacon of Gnesen cited Dr. Borg, the chancellor, to attend the synod of Lencziz, Lancicia, about to be held. But the canons excused him because the election was only a few days removed. On the following day, Thursday August 30, occurred an incident which occasions us some surprise. Dr. Jacob von Salza, Hauptmann of Glogau, was present at the invitation of the Chapter. He had previously attended to and completed the obsequies of his recently deceased brother, Dr. Wigand, and now besought a position and vote in the Chapter. In preparation for this, the suffragan, Heinrich von Fullenstein, had ordained him as subdeacon to which fact Heinrich attested, being then present. By reason of Jacob's holding the office of scholasticus he was assigned the place due to him. From this it would appear that Jacob had not been as yet ordained to the priesthood and that he had not hitherto attended the sessions of the Chapter. The consecration just effected seems obviously a part of the programme looking to his election. Let it be observed also that this took place just two days before the decisive vote. If this be so, then the recommendation now made by the archbishop of Gnesen was indeed a mirth-provoking inconsequence. But his letter approving the noble and high-minded baron Heinrich Conrad von Kunstadt for the

bishopric was then read. Dr. Lamprecht was appointed to deliver the Latin oration in the Church on election day. And now the last bells were ringing. On August 31, which was Friday, the oaths were made according to the formula kept in the archives. Each canon and prelate swore and promised to Almighty God and to St. John the Baptist, the patron of this church, that according to God and a righteous conscience he desired to nominate and to agree upon such a person as he believed to be the most useful and suitable for administering the spiritualities and temporalities of the same Church, and that he would give his vote to no one who should endeavor to persuade him to bestow his suffrage either by agreement, reward or by the promise of anything temporal or ecclesiastical, whether suggested by himself or by some other person directly or indirectly, or that had in it any illicit color. This was an iron safe-guard for the preservation of the individual conscience and the integrity of the verdict, so far as words were concerned. It had been grossly violated in some previous elections, and we can see that some of the princes were ready to use unlawful means in this case, but in the election itself there is no just suspicion of its abuse possible. With this solemn act the nominations were closed, with five candidates in the field. The Chapter waited for the morrow to begin the liturgical and practical stages of the election. What private conferences may have been held and what results had been reached thereby we can readily guess from the subsequent events, but there is no capitular record.

XXXVIII. The Election. This took place on Saturday, September 1, 1520; the minutes of the Chapter remark that it followed the prescribed rubric whose original was in the archives; and this is really the only comment which they make upon the impressive event. The form followed must therefore have been the one which Bishop Wenzel devised in 1383; there were doubtless some modifications, for as we have seen the oath was taken on Friday, whereas in this ritual it is placed in the progress of the rites and Otto has mistakenly put it there. There may then have been other changes which are not recorded. According to the old rubric the events occurred in the following order.

1) The public service. a. Before the election the church-bells were festally rung by which the people were invited to take part in the worship. b. The suffragan Bishop, Heinrich von Fullenstein, intoned at the great altar the high mass of the Holy Spirit during which the Eucharist was dispensed. c. After the ending of the mass the church-bells were again rung. d. The syndic who had been summoned to the election by the Chapter declared before the notaries and witnesses that these acts constituted the official opening of the election. e. After the intonation of the Sexta the Silentium of the electors began. f. All who were not directly

concerned in the election were then dismissed and the doors of the cathedral were locked.

2) The election itself. a. The prelates and canons now assembled in the high choir. b. The provost and the dean were absent, hence the archdeacon Gregor Lengisfelt presided; with a loud voice he reminded the electors that before engaging in the solemnity the presence of the Holy Spirit should be invoked. He required the vote of the Chapter on this question. This was collected and was found to be in the affirmative. c. The *Veni Creator Spiritus* was then sung with devotion, on bended knees, with the appropriate versicles and collects. d. The prelates and canons then took their seats according to some system of seniority either of appointment or age, upon the benches arranged around a suitably covered table in the middle of the choir. e. The archdeacon summoned two notaries and witnesses to be present for the exact recording and attestation of the acts. After these arrangements were completed the fact was announced. f. The notaries were then cautioned to the exact and truthful fulfillment of their duties and were required to take an oath on the Gospels declaring their purpose to do so and not to divulge anything without authority, by the help of God and all his Saints. g. The archdeacon declared that the absentees had been duly notified and asked whether any procurators had been chosen as their substitutes, and whether they had brought the certificates thereof with them. These credentials were then examined. At this election canon Myrowski was absent on account of illness and had chosen canon Lamprecht as his substitute. The rest of the absentees to the number of about twelve seemed to have paid no attention to their citation. There were altogether twenty members of the Chapter present in person, including Jacob von Salza. If such certificates were in any case to be disapproved, it was because they were contrary to the statutes of the provincial synods or to canon law. h. The archdeacon then required that any elector who was suffering under any ecclesiastical disability or censure should arise and withdraw; if the debarred person declined to leave, his vote was declared incompetent and was not counted, which fact was announced by the presiding officer. i. No attention was paid to those absent without excuse; for the time being they were viewed as non-members and the election proceeded and was counted valid without them. j. Certain capitulary statutes which enjoined some specific obedience upon him who was to be elected were made a subject of a particular oath. The archdeacon asked whether each canon was ready to keep this oath in case of being chosen. If a unanimous affirmation was made then kneeling they repeated the oath to that effect, along with the archdeacon. The main point of this oath was a pledge of sincerity and abstinence from the abuse of dispensations from these articles; in case of his vio-

lation of this promise he announced himself as a reprobate and as deserving of punishment and degradation, saying also that he would try to persuade his successor to be more honorable. These articles were then subscribed to by all present. It is evident that the Chapter considered itself superior to the bishop; he was thus made dependent upon its legislation. His jurisdiction was thus almost obliterated and as a consequence these binding obligations became an occasion of controversy. k. There followed another oath assumed by each one, that in case of his election he would not alienate any property of the Church nor make any interchanges of such without the agreement of the Chapter; indeed he must be zealous in procuring whatever had been lost. l. Then the archdeacon read the forms prescribed by the fourth Lateran council 1215, from the Chapter's: *Nec pro defectu* and *quia propter diversas electionum formas* as to the threefold ways of election: the viva voce vote, the compromise and the inspiration. He asked which of these the electors chose to adopt. The adoption required unanimity; in this case it was for the *scrutinium* and the result was announced. m. The presiding officer reminded the electors that they must not be influenced by recommendations on the part of others or be moved by any other cause than that of duty and conscience, according to the statutes and the holy canons, but to nominate only such an one as seemed to each member to be best fitted to advance the welfare of the Church; whereupon they all knelt and repeated the oath after the archdeacon. As we have seen this oath had been taken on the previous day. n. The Chapter then elected three tellers from their number of such as had their fullest confidence. In the selection of these the archdeacon named three canons and then all the other members in their order also mentioned three. At the request of the Chapter the archdeacon announced the result, upon which he declared that the election of tellers was closed. o. These tellers then made oath that they would conscientiously discharge their duties of collecting the votes secretly, beginning with themselves; in case of necessity they would make further investigation by comparisons of numbers and that they would announce the result either as unanimous or as was the evident choice of the majority. p. When this oath had been made the archdeacon asked once more whether these tellers should have full authority to conduct the election. The three tellers thus elected were the archdeacon himself, the cantor Johann Furschild, and the canon Peter Jon. q. The tellers then withdrew along with their notaries and witnesses into the little choir where they admonished one another to discharge their duties conscientiously. They then proceeded to gather their own votes, each two stating their choice to the third. r. The members of the Chapter were then summoned by a little bell, according to their rank, to come into the little choir one by one. The tellers addressed each voter

as he came in somewhat after the import of the oath. After which each one gave his vote by word of mouth. s. On the completion of the voting the tellers returned to the choir and proceeded to the table where they stood and reported that they had carefully examined each vote secretly given and had recorded it; they asked the electors whether they should announce the result. Having received official permission the announcement of the votes was made and in this case it proved that there was no necessity for further investigation. t. The Bishop-elect proved to be Jacob von Salza by a unanimous choice. He then arose and thanked the electors for this their estimate of him but deprecated their selection of himself and besought them imploringly to elect a more worthy candidate. u. Whereupon the first elector reminded him that he had been chosen by a divine inspiration and should yield to the wish of his brethren. Upon this pressing presentation of the Chapter he assumed the office in trust upon the divine help and supplicated the canons not to forsake him but to support him with loving and brotherly assistance. v. Then instead of repeating the previous oath he pledged himself not to alienate the property of the Church but to zealously assist and promote the interests of the Church and of the individual and collective members of the Chapter; he averred that this should not be a mere promise of words but a struggle to fulfill to the uttermost his engagement. w. The tellers with the notaries and witnesses were now empowered to prepare a bulletin announcing the result of the election to the public, which was done according to the prescribed form. x. There followed the congratulations of the Bishop-elect by the prelates and canons.

3) The public closing service. a. Under escort of two prelates and the oldest canons, with ceremonial reverences and embrace, the Bishop-elect was conducted before the high altar. b. The Te Deum was sung and the cathedral bells pealed. c. Jacob subscribed the new articles which virtually surrendered his initiative and deprived his office of its significance. This signature would make it impossible for him to begin a reform, even if he would. In the nature of things it was a false yoke and a pledge which no freeman should ever have given. d. The archdeacon then announced in German the name of him upon whom their united votes had fallen. e. The Lord Bishop-elect was then led to his residence under the escort of two prelates or older canons. f. The service was closed with the customary versicles and collects. g. On the exit from the church small coins were scattered by an official among the people.

As a liturgical form there is much of majesty and solemnity in the order of the election; but one cannot avoid some reflections. The quantity of iron-clad oaths is startling and their contents annihilate the sensitiveness of human honor and conscience. They are cumulative suspicions. Under

such a halter the good could do nothing and the bad would flourish. Further, this entire ceremonial was but a show-piece. The Chapter had already agreed upon Jacob von Salza, even the minutes betray that fact. The life of the thing preceeded the mechanism. What was it therefore to invoke the Holy Ghost? What import and earnestness was there to his declining the office which he knew perfectly well that he was going to accept? Again, since the regimen was exacting and the result was unanimous, did Jacob vote for himself? The other four aspirants had been totally ignored; the momentous step was taken; the Chapter was in open rebellion against their King and against their Pope. Jacob von Salza, doctor of laws, statesman, soldier, churchman was their chosen leader in the conflict. The form with German translation is published in Heyne II, p. 346—358.

XXXIX. From the election of Jacob until his enthronement. On the same day, September 1, after the choice of the Chapter had been announced came some hours of anxious reflection as to how the Pope and the King would take their action and with what frame of mind the defeated candidates together with their supporters would receive the news. There was indeed much occasion for alarm. Good as was the backing of Joachim those concerned in sustaining his candidacy could be overcome by other inducements. As a matter of fact Joachim became Dean of the Chapter and subsequently was called to be the evangelizing bishop or Administrator of Brandenburg-Havelberg. Dr. Piso and the Baron von Kunstadt made no further sign. But Johann Albrecht represented a powerful combination; Leo X, the Emperor, King Ludwig, the entire Brandenburg house with the exception of Joachim I who seems to have been quiescent, Herzog Friedrich II, — how were these critical elements to be overcome? Such was the paralyzing quandary pressing on the Chapter. On this selfsame day they chose Roman procurators; the Chapter commissioned six to plead their cause while the Bishop selected four out of their number to surrogate him. They were to argue with words and money in the most influential quarters. The letter of the King dated Pressburg, August 26 had apparently not yet arrived and indeed there is no mention of it whatever in the minutes. It was a certain enlargement of the previous one, commanding them to obey his order. He reproaches them for not having sent him word by this time even of the death of the Bishop. At the petition of the Markgraf Georg, he had sent Caspar Goch, his Chamberlain, who was to nominate Johann Albrecht, a brother of the Markgraf. They are ordered not to proceed to an election before notifying the monarch as the laws demand. Jacob Piso, his own secretary and preceptor, would be sent to them. As we have learned, Dr. Piso had himself been proposed for the vacancy. The Chapter is commanded to

appoint two of their number to wait on their sovereign with copies of the capitular privileges. To this letter the prelates and canons made no reply although they sent Caspar Ursinus Velius to communicate verbally with Ludwig; for on the 16th of September the monarch complains of their contumely in neglecting his order. Ursinus had been at the court but had no exact knowledge of the statutes relating to the election. The king assures them that their temerity in disobeying the royal authority will be punished. At this date he does not seem to have been notified about their procedure in the choice of a bishop. Meanwhile the Bishop-elect had written to the Cardinal Strigo soliciting his intervention with his fellow-collegians, to which request His Eminence replies on September 26 expressing his gratification over the result of the election. He promises to use his own very limited influence which can only be exercised through letters that are at best unsatisfactory. Under the same date the Chapter wrote to the Pope announcing once more their choice of Jacob in preference to the Markgraf of Brandenburg who was ineligible because of the concordat made with the German nation and the privileges of the Kingdom of Bohemia. They deprecate a revival of the previous lacerating conflicts with heresy. They commend the qualifications of their chosen colleague and pray for the papal approval. On September the 29th the Pope came into possession of the first communications of the Chapter. There is no official statement as to his mood on reading the defiant act, but he immediately referred the document to a certain unnamed cardinal for examination. Now the volume of solicitations and recommendations rolled in upon the unwilling Leo. Under date of October 8 the King of Poland writes from the field on his way to settle affairs with the rebellious Albrecht. He considers Jacob as the man for the place since the law of the land requires the choice of a native. To elect Johann Albrecht is to play into the hands of the enemy of a nation so devoted to the Curia as is Poland; nor does he fail to commend his own nephew to the favorable consideration of His Holiness. On this very day, too, the Regents of the King of Bohemia wrote to Leo. They praised Jacob in large terms. They opposed vigorously the Brandenburger; of course this indicates a breach with the Markgraf Georg whose control of the King they naturally resented. The election of Johann Albrecht would be against the canonical privileges of the Breslau diocese, against the compactates of the Church of Bohemia and against the Golden Bull. They close with warmest commendations of Jacob. On the 19th of October the Chancellor together with the canons Junckhermann and Putschel were sent by the Chapter to Rome to press the confirmation of the Bishop-elect. This points to the uncertain mind in which the capitular body now found itself owing to the delay and the augmenting efforts of the Brandenburg party to keep the Pope true to

his engagement. On the 22d of October the Ober Burggraf, Baron Zdenko Leo von Rosenthal, communicated directly with Leo. He expresses his delight over the election of Jacob von Salza. No one is so equipped by virtue and experience for rescuing the imperilled face and restoring the fortunes of the Roman Church. He has heard with dismay that the Pope has supported the cause of Johann Albrecht contrary to the princely concordats, doubtless misled by the recommendations of kings and princes who have been surreptitiously gained, for the documents were sent without the usual seal of the kingdom and without knowledge of the royal councilors as well as in direct opposition to the King of Poland, the sole guardian of Ludwig. He pleads that they only who are familiar with the condition of the country and of the parties at strife can tell how dangerous this procedure will prove to be. He felt it to be his duty to acquaint His Holiness with these facts and the likelihood that still greater commotions would arise in case the local privileges and the Golden Bull were violated. The nobility to a man would have sent letters of expostulation had not a severe pestilence hindered. He assured the Pope that all ranks were united on Jacob. Let the papacy not separate a loyal people from their allegiance. The next day the city of Breslau sent its appeal to the Pope in behalf of the postulant, defending the series of local and national rights and commending the newly elected Jacob in affluent phrases. They speak with decided warmth against reservation and collation. On the day following, October 24, the Chapter craved the Cardinal de Grassis, who controlled the affairs at Rome pertaining to Poland and Gnesen, to espouse their cause. They had sent communications to Poland and to Rome in behalf of Jacob whose career they sketch; they allege their own privileges, the rights of Bohemia and the definite pledges of the Golden Bull. They hope that the Cardinal, lover of equity of justice as he was, would surely support their claim. Only two days after, the Chapter directs a letter to the Pope defending their action because it was in accordance with the custom which the papacy had previously always acknowledged; they depict the worthy career of the elect and the need of determined action against the heretical uprising. All were concurrent supporters of the postulant. Their action was not any injury to the authority of the King of Bohemia, and the claimant for whom he stands should not be admitted. The fear of an approaching crisis grew upon the Chapter. The procrastinated decision and the organized insistence of the Brandenburg forces incited the friends of Jacob to prepare for a possible outbreak. Signs of disaffection appeared in some of the towns and villages belonging directly to the diocese. On November 8 a meeting was held at Neisse at which were gathered chosen representatives of the vassals and subjects of the Church along with the administrators. The account of this meeting and

its subsequent movements are preserved to us in a document entitled: *Acta per administratores ecclesie post mortem domini Joannis Thurzo episcopi* 1520, which was written by Valentine Crautwald, the notary of the episcopal chancery, who continued in this office several years longer and proved as acceptable to Bishop Jacob as to Thurzo. The chief administrator, Dr. Saur, made an address to the assembled guests, some thirty in number, in which he showed the fitness of the Bishop-elect for the office and pointed out the nefarious practices of the Brandenburg party in trying to subvert the Chapter's unanimous choice. He exhorted them to remain loyal and to reject all overtures coming from the opponents. What miseries would not follow even to subsequent generations were a foreigner to be intruded into the see contrary to their established rights! After a private conference of the guests they heartily agreed to the choice of Jacob and promised to withstand any approaches of the enemy. The administrators animated their dependents to put all their towns and villages in a state of effective defense. Certain statements were made which show that the representatives did not deem the political horizon so alarming; they also gave some detail as to the present military status of the see and engaged to put everything in suitable order. The day after this assembly Sigismund sent his provost to interview Ludwig, obviously in behalf of the postulant. On November 10 the Lords of Bohemia sent a long petition to the Pope stating that the choice of Jacob was legitimate and that he was a man in every way qualified to meet the existing difficulties. The endeavor to substitute Johann Albrecht was in distinct contravention of their privileges and of the Golden Bull. It would create dangerous tumults and repeat former disastrous outbreaks. Among the five signatories we find the name of Georgius de Colowrat, *supremus iudex*. This was followed by a briefer but similar tone of appeal from the barons and entire nobility of Moravia. It was on November 10 at Neisse that steps were taken to repress certain factious elements that had been agitating Ottmachau and some of the other dependencies of the Chapter. According to Crautwald's protocol it was on November 11 to 14, the time when the new magistrates were wont to be appointed for the vassal towns and villages, that the administrators took the occasion in making the capitular appointments for Neisse, Patschkaw, Ottmachau, Zuchmantel, Ziegenhals and other places to ask a renewal of their oath of allegiance and to designate only such officials of whose loyalty there was no question. On the 3^d of December the Fürstentag was held at Breslau which demanded that the Chapter should turn over the government of the diocese to the Bishop-elect because of the danger that the towns and fortresses which belonged to the see might be betrayed into the hands of the enemy. Seven days after, Jacob himself appeared before the Chapter to solicit the

transfer of authority to himself in order to administer affairs with regularity and to prevent the treachery which seemed working in some quarters. He stated that he had exhausted every means to obtain his confirmation and had spent enormous sums of money for that purpose but without avail. He protested that he was not seeking to bring the apostolic chair into contempt; he was an obedient son of the Church, but necessity compelled him to petition for his enthronement; moreover he claimed that the right was on his side because both the native privileges and concordats of the German nation conferred it on him. The Chapter then granted him his wish and transferred the cathedral and the episcopal curia to him at once. This was a bold step, and in spite of his humble recognition of papal authority was essentially a rupture of the tie which bound him to that throne. If he could exercise a legal and responsible jurisdiction without having had the papal approval then in fact he was a capable and free agent. He did not need a Roman breve of permission. It is to this tremendously significant incident that our authors advert and make it a plea for the complete severance of the bond. And why not? Already on December 16 the Bishop transacted business in the name of the diocese in the transfer of certain mining properties and privileges to the firm of which Hans Thurzo, Freiherr of Wohlau, Steinau etc. was the head. He evidently regarded himself as capacitated by the local election to act independently of Rome, why should he not cast off the yoke altogether? After this risky movement we find the Chapter in December concerning itself about the supply of wax. They attribute the falling off of cereal gifts to the growth of the Lutheran infection. The question now was who should make up the deficiency whether the Bishop as representing the Church or the factories of the Church or the Chapter; to which grave alternatives they could give no positive answer. And so the Christmas holidays must have suffered somewhat. The New-Year had come, 1521, and the cunctator Leo had not yet been persuaded to recall his mental reservation. On January 18 the Chapter again concerned itself with the condition of the wax market. They appointed a committee to wait on His Paternity, for they now gave him his full title in spite of the Pope, in order to solve the lack which they again imputed to the Lutheran ungodliness. It was at the end of January that the Princes of Silesia supplicated the Pope to confirm Jacob as in harmony with the wish of the people, with the eminent qualifications of the Bishop-elect and with privileges and usages that had obtained the papal sanction for years. The signatories were Casimir, Friedrich, Johann, Georg, Carl and Zdenko Leo von Rosenthal who represented the King of Bohemia. Is it not astounding to find appended to this document the names of Friedrich II of Liegnitz, the nominator of Johann Albrecht, and Georg of Brieg, the

supporter of Joachim, and indeed Joachim's own father, Carl I of Münsterberg-Oels? What had wrought this stupendous change? It was in the fore part of February that the Chapter deliberated on the case of Dominicus Schleupner whose name appears in Schwenckfeld's letter to Hess a year and a half later; Schleupner was a student at Wittenberg by the favor of Thurzo. He had however given up his studies after the death of his patron, for in the dogdays almost all the students took a vacation; he was also influenced by the decease of Thurzo who had been his warm supporter and whom he had served as secretary for many years. On these grounds the Chapter approved of his withdrawal. It was probably about this period that King Ludwig changed his ground, for it was in this year that he addressed a letter to the Pope beseeching him to further the appointment of Jacob. He rehearsed his previous views and actions but had found the claims of Jacob so substantiated by numerous petitions and by the customary privileges of the Chapter that for the sake of peace and the removal of all grounds of complaint and dissatisfaction he now felt constrained to second the appeals for his confirmation. On the 23d of February the provost, Georg Sauermann, who was at the same time an imperial procurator had sent word that he was about to return to Italy; he had free access to the Roman court and was of great service in the impending negotiations; two of the canons were instructed to inform him in behalf of the Chapter that they approved of his return to Rome, and besought him to be studious of their interests. At the same date dean Sander was reported to be at Worms in attendance upon the Emperor. He was requested to continue his solicitations in behalf of Jacob and especially to watch the movements of the opposing party. A few days later on the first of March dean Sander was instructed to make no mention of the Silesian agreement which excluded foreigners from their episcopate, lest it might prove an injury to the cause. A similar communication was forwarded to the provost at Rome; a week later the *Vinum honorarium* was sent to the provost in recognition of the services at the apostolic see to which he was just about to return. On the 15th of March it was that Bartholomäus Rugersdorf, the provost of the collegiate cathedral at Liegnitz, therefore well-known to both our authors, was received into the Breslau canonicate and was endowed with the prebends of the recently deceased canon Myrowski; thus was the pledge to Friedrich II fulfilled, but too late to influence the election. On the 5th of the next month canon Weidner returned from his mission to the royal court along with the other petitioners whom the Bishop had sent. They brought with them two letters, the one addressed to the abbot of the Sand-Insel, the other to the royal orator of Prussia, Ambrose Scherkau, asking them to forward the election law of the Chapter. On April 15 the Bishop, before he

had the Roman approbation, on presentation by Georg, Herzog of Brieg, invested Jacob Syrchen as successor to Georg Trächtel who had resigned from the canonry of Brieg. [No. 1304 Cod. Dip. Sil. Bd. IX. p. 184.] The matter of the privileges again became a vital issue, for on the 19th of April a letter from dean Sander was read in which he pressed the Chapter to send some one to the Emperor who could give accurate information concerning these rights upon whose vantage ground the Chapter had asserted its independence. Similarly the procurator of the dean read to the Chapter a private letter which the dean had written him on the same subject. Copies of the letters were sent to the Bishop. Action was then taken in the matter of the election founded on the negotiations between the Chapter and Ambrose Scherkau who also represented the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The substance of these resolutions is not in the protocol, but the remark is made that affairs were having a good turn. On the second of May letters were sent to the Cardinal Jenensis, Jeneecz, who was at the court of the Emperor in the interests of the King of Hungary soliciting his aid in promoting the confirmation; and similar promotive epistles were sent to the Bishop of Ploch, Plocensis, who represented the King of Poland at Rome, and to their own commissioners in that city. Two days after, there was a convocation of the clergy before whom was laid the proposition of imposing a tax to support and safeguard the election. On the 10th a letter was forwarded to dean Sander the purport of which we can only surmise as similar to the previous missives. In June two facts of interest are recorded, the one referring to the transfer of capitular books to the new library and the other giving the welcome tidings that the King of Hungary had written letters to the Pope and to the orator of His Majesty in the city of Rome, each of them urging that Jacob should be confirmed by the apostolic see. A new difficulty presented itself in July. The Herzog Georg I of Brieg had appointed a meeting at Strehlen to which the subjects of the Chapter were invited and the advocate of the canons was sent thither. The matter under discussion was the contribution toward a fund for resisting the invasion of the Turks. The Chapter was at first disposed to resist, pleading their exemptional rights. A convocation of the clergy was also summoned but the Herzog finally prevailed although the contention stretched itself to the end of August. On the 7th of July Jacob made his formal entry into the city of Breslau through the Schweidnitzer Tor, escorted by Friedrich II and the Markgraf Georg von Brandenburg, amid the festal acclaim of the populace. Observe that this entry was made before there had been any sign of the papal surrender and before the Brandenburg faction had ceased its efforts to win the dignity. On the 11th of July the question of the jurisdiction of the schools was discussed. The Chapter felt that the magistrates had been instigated by

the Lutheran impiety to intrude into the educational rights of the scholasticus. Meanwhile Leo had surrendered his pertinacious opposition. It was on the 24th of July that the breve of confirmation was dated, but the news was conveyed so slowly to Breslau that on the 26th the Chapter despairing of obtaining the papal sanction had agitated the question whether their Metropolitan could not be persuaded to confirm their choice. The previous instance of Bishop Peter II 1447—1456 afforded an argument in favor of such a procedure. A committee was appointed to write to Jacob requesting his very circumspect action in the approaching Fürstentag at Grottkau about the diocesan contribution to the Turkish fund. On the 31st of August came the long desired papal approval. It was decided to have special services on the morrow by intoning the mass of the Holy Trinity after which the Te Deum was to be sung in the cathedral and in the churches of the Holy Cross, St. Elizabeth and St. Mary-Magdalene. The people were to be aroused to thanksgiving by appointed orators. The Bishop-elect was to be congratulated through deputies of the Chapter and a committee was also sent to the magistrates of Breslau informing them of the glad tidings with the remembrance of their helpful intervention. Since the scholasticus Jacob had now become the acknowledged bishop, canon Junckhermann was elected to fill that vacancy. On Sunday, September 1, 1521 the enthronement took place, a year after the election. It was not until October 8, 1521 that the new scholasticus Junckhermann and canon Putschel, after their arrival from Rome, narrated their experiences in the presence of the Bishop and the Chapter. They gave a minute account of the whole procedure by which the confirmation was obtained and of the enormous difficulties which the rival party had put in their way. It is a pity that the details of their story were not preserved. They brought back with them all the documents which had been forwarded as well as the apostolic bulls of confirmation directed to the Bishop, to the Hauptmann, to the Chapter, to the Breslau magistrates, to the clergy of the diocese, to the people of the diocese and the vassals of the Church. They received a hearty welcome and approval from their brethren. On January 27, 1522 the same commissioners together with the chancellor repeated the tale, but without adding to our knowledge of the facts; to their mind the Pope's recession was a corroboration of all the national and local liberties, which in virtue of the curial decision now seemed irrevocable. The practical question of reimbursing them for their financial outlay now arose. If we may credit Pol, this election had cost six thousand florins.

XL. Our authors refer only to the one candidate who stood in rivalry with Jacob von Salza: We indeed maintain that just as Your Grace when elected to the bishopric did not concern yourself about the pope in the defence of your own prerogative and advantage against his grant of the see to another.

And this they do because it was only this one person whose claim was instituted and defended by Leo. As we have intimated this was no less than the Markgraf Johann Albrecht, a brother of the Markgraf Casimir of Brandenburg who had succeeded his father in the government of Ansbach-Baireuth, and of the Markgraf Georg of Brandenburg who was the dominant councilor of King Ludwig in his minority and was accumulating a number of territories in Silesia with promises of still more. The Hochmeister of the Teutonic Knights, Albrecht, who made so much trouble for Sigismund the King of Poland in the effort to secure a more independent position with respect to his suzerain, was another brother. The Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz whom Luther had so transfixed in the matter of indulgences was a cousin, as was the Kurfürst Joachim I of Brandenburg. There were many other brothers; one of whom, Friedrich, was the provost of the cathedral at Würzburg. Another had entered the Spanish service and became an influential figure in the local politics of Spain. In consequence of the large family and the debts which Friedrich their father left behind him, it was difficult for all of them to make headway in a manner deemed suitable to their station. They had to be on the look-out for favorable openings. When Georg found that the health of Bishop Thurzo was failing, he fastened his eye on the see of Breslau as a desirable prize for his brother Johann Albrecht. It was easy for him to secure the friendly support of King Ludwig and of Friedrich II who had espoused Sophia, the Markgraf's sister, as his second wife. The elder brother Casimir gladly fell in with the scheme. The first move was to propose him as coadjutor, which however both the Bishop and the Chapter refused to entertain. The next step was to secure a position in the Chapter for the provost Bartholomäus Rugersdorf, as we have already noted; but this effort was thwarted until after the election of the Bishop's successor. Meanwhile Johann Albrecht had settled in Rome. He was scarcely turned twenty-one, having been born September 21, 1499. He had with him as a sort of Hofmeister, Georg Ferber provost of Rastorf. The young Markgraf was a man of intelligence, enterprise and push, his health however was not vigorous and a halt in his step gave him the later soubriquet of the limping Bishop. He had free access to the Curia and the provost of the Breslau Chapter, Georg Sauermaun, may at first have innocently aided him in this; afterwards of course he must have looked with disfavor on the young man's ambition. The regard of Leo was soon won and had a sterling and devoted ring. The attachment grew to be real, a rather unusual mood of the Medici. He readily fell in with the project of elevating the young aspirant to the distant bishopric, but first as a coadjutor *cum spe succedendi*. This he guaranteed with mental reservation, that is he pledged the position to the Markgraf as soon as the diocese

should be vacant, since the Chapter had refused to consider the proposition of Georg and Friedrich. The resident cardinals fell in with the scheme without any recorded opposition. Two wide-reaching motives probably persuaded Leo to adopt this plan; and the action had in it a very signal ecclesiastical and political wisdom. The Golden Bull had definitely surrendered the papal right to intrude into episcopal elections in Germany. Further, the Prague compactates had renewed that pledge for Bohemia, and Silesia was a dependency of that crown. Still further, the Breslau Chapter claimed to have a separate capitular charter which granted them the privilege of a free choice. Now was an opportunity to override all these concordats because the Chapter at Breslau had persuaded Leo to condemn the Colowrat Agreement just a little while before. They therefore had in so far acknowledged their immediate dependence upon the apostolic see, and had been trying to evade the provisions of that Agreement in their relations to the Silesian princes. No wonder then that the Pope felt justified in appointing a foreigner to that post when it should be vacant. We ought not to be surprised at this shrewd movement of anticipative mental reservation. Add to this that the bishoprics in Germany were a very uncertain quantity in the fight with heresy. Bamberg, Augsburg, Merseburg, Meissen were uneasy. If now by one bold dash the papacy could recover its mediæval claim over the chapters and sees, a large vantage-ground would be won for the impending struggle. A political motive may likewise have entered into this project. The Elector of Saxony was protecting Luther; the Landgrave of Hesse was known to be sympathetic; affairs in Württemberg were seriously disturbed. What house offered such a prospect of enthusiastic support for the now largely questioned power of the papacy as the scattered but unifying house of Brandenburg? The Rhine country, the Midland, the East, the North already held the plantings of the great dynasty which was to shape the future of Germany. To be propitious to that family whose Kurfürst was so outspoken and truculent an ally of the apostolic chair was to raise an impregnable bulwark against the disaffected regions. It was to hem them into the very narrowest quarter. Hence it was wise statecraft to exalt this candidate to a place which should hold Silesia true to the imperilled good of Rome. Another stake for the safety of the theocratic State would thus be driven in. We must not therefore be amazed at the triple tenacity with which the Medicean held on to his assumed position. He had stormed a vital key bastion and proposed to maintain it. Already in 1519 Charles had written from Brussels advocating the coadjutorship for the young Brandenburger, and he kept up his support of that candidate for a long while. The letter of Queen Anne which she doubtless wrote to the Emperor in fulfilment of her promise to the Markgraf Georg, dated August 28,

1520, may have confirmed the imperial mind in that resolution. The Dukes of Bavaria also proved tractable although they would like to have seen the Herzog Ernst in that position, a wish however which never went beyond mere talk. The action of the Chapter therefore in electing Jacob von Salza right after their desire to have the papal backing against the Colowrat Agreement must have come as a stunning surprise to Leo; it certainly aroused his indignation. When the tide of commendatory letters set in in behalf of their candidate it filled the cup to the brim. One can be scarcely startled at the tone and content of the breve of October 28, 1520 addressed to King Ludwig. Mention is made of the letter which that monarch had indicted to the holy see in favor of Johann Albrecht as coadjutor of Bishop Thurzo. Leo speaks of the young aspirant as his intimate friend. He with the consent of the cardinals had engaged by reservation the position of administrator to him for six years, at the end of which in 1527 he should succeed to the full dignity. A final decree to that effect had been issued and signed with the leaden seal; it gave the fullest explanation why the Pope had been constrained to make this move. He is confident that Ludwig will sustain the see in its original purpose. The Chapter is now besieging the apostolic chair to ratify their own candidate in spite of the appointment so solemnly made by himself. He formally commands the Chapter to receive Johann Albrecht as their father and pastor. In case of refusal the Pope would empower the judges or executors whom he had already appointed to carry out the induction. The sovereign would look to the peace of the Church and the honor of the see and doubtless sustain the Pope in carrying out his just purpose. This was a consummate assertion of papal autocracy; it sounded like an old time determination to establish absolutism in Germany and to recover the territorial jurisdiction so long ago lost. It was an expiring attempt to centralize the hierarchic influence at this most trying period of the old Church's history and to prevent the secessions which soon became the vogue. In some respects it was a master stroke even though it had so feeble an ending. The monitory breves were issued constituting the court which was instructed to proceed to the induction of Johann Albrecht as administrator and prospective bishop. The appointees were Bishop Johann of Meissen, the Markgraf Friedrich, provost of Würzburg, a brother of the nominee, and the abbot of Ahausen an Augustinian cloister in the Ansbach principality. The effort to organize this court began in November of 1520 and stretched its wearisome legal questions and its journeyings to and fro by the agents of Markgraf Casimir away into the New Year. The result was no comfort to Leo or to the Brandenburg party. Indeed the court was never convened; Bishop Johann refused utterly to serve, and this was an illustration of just what Leo tried to overthrow; Johann's

reasons are nowhere given, but unquestionably it was sufficient for him that the entire affair savored of an attempt to undermine the liberties of the dioceses, and he could actually snub the papal order and remain unharmed. Friedrich declined because he was an interested party; and the abbot after practicing a number of infelicitous dodges was finally brought to book, but by that time the venture had collapsed. The notary Feyerabend made a shrewd observation; he fancied the ecclesiastics were only juggling because they first had their private talks and then made their polite speeches; that is they too did not want to participate in any process which squinted at an abridgment of local freedom for the benefit of Rome. The papal chair took no further vigorous action. The Brandenburgers had been compelled to dip their hands into such pockets as were open to them ostensibly to pay the annats. It is a bit astonishing to find that these annats were paid by both rivals, and that the loser never recovered his contributions. The impecuniosity of Johann Albrecht was chronic and amusingly distressing. The Fuggers, Anthony in Rome and Jacob in Augsburg, lent money to either party indifferently at first, but gradually shut down upon the Markgrafen with the most ridiculous excuses. Georg had originally desired to borrow 2000 gulden from Friedrich II but that loan was prevented by the death of Thurzo. We read indeed of successive advances by bankers of 4000 ducats, 2169 ducats and 7000 gulden but also of more numerous failures to beat up the needful cash. As the power to give gifts declined the interest of the cardinals took a violent cold. Georg Ferber on February 2, 1521 begs that specie be gathered from somewhere, even if the Jewish money lenders have to be interviewed; the other party he avers has any quantity of coin at their command and spend freely while his protégé Johann Albrecht has not a groschen to his name, and bills to pay. With Leo himself the matter had a graver side; it was difficult for him to yield to the submergence of his two large ambitions. The local German lawyers were at their wit's end and found that they must seek the advice of the Roman curtsanen or advocates and intriguers to get at the ins and outs of the usages concerning the proposed court, its power of settlement and the intricacies involved in the objections made by the declining judges. Friedrich II on October 30 had taken a step backward; he suggested the surrender of the case provided that Jacob could be persuaded to give the provostship to Johann Albrecht together with such benefices as would yield a yearly revenue of from four to five hundred gulden; after all cash was the chief thing and not spirituality. This proposition he maintained subsequently a number of times as the best solution of their jeopardized interests. It was this festering, deadening poverty which the Markgraf Casimir tried to obviate when he proposed to a canon at Augsburg to give up his posi-

tion and its salaries to Johann Albrecht so that the latter might have something in his empty purse! The canon and the provost alike courteously refused; so desperate and unprincipled were the expedients adopted to keep the ship above water. It was on December 11, 1520 that Johann Treubel set out on his mission of securing among other things the further assistance of Friedrich II and of influencing the provost Bartholomäus Rugersdorf to overcome the opposition in the Chapter. But the latter having gained the position in that body was no longer interested in the question and disappeared from the scene. On January 6, 1521 Casimir went to Worms and remained there for some months to promote this and other schemes with the Emperor. We have seen how the Chapter sent dean Sander thither to checkmate him. The news of the changed mind of King Ludwig raised an aggravating obstacle. To win him back some eight princes were persuaded by Casimir to write to that monarch pressing on him the advocacy of the young postulant whose talents were so considerable and who had the warm approval of the Pope. One missive alone remains to us; it is that of the Cardinal Albrecht, dated January 25, 1521. Among the wild dreams of this drifting period were two other expedients; the one was to induce Jacob himself to resign in favor of his rival; this was too droll to be possible of execution. The other was to institute a legal process of ejection because Jacob was transacting the business of the diocese without having had the papal confirmation; his actions therefore were invalid. The wisdom of undertaking such a trial was discussed but apart from technical hindrances it was concluded to be impracticable by reason of distance, time and expense. One after another the supporters fell away. The King of Bohemia remained unmoved by the fresh princely suppliants. On February 21, 1521 Casimir seems to have penned his last plea. On March 10 the councilors rest from their advices, mostly negative. As late as June there was a new hand attempting to extract willingness from the Fugger firm in Augsburg but with no solitary ducat for the exhausted postulant. Friedrich II was enthusiastic for Jacob; Georg was dumb and studying how he too might best turn his coat inside out. The Cardinals were finally convinced that there was more spoil in Breslau than in Onolzbach. And so Leo resolved the tragedy into a comedy by a fiat that undid his own brave words and thus cleaned his feet on his own mental reservation, July 24, 1521. It was as bad a knock-down as papal audacity had ever received. It is to the credit of Leo's humanity if not of his administrative wisdom that he did not wholly desert his young friend. He assisted him in a still less successful attempt to secure the bishopric of Ploch. Subsequently the sleepless ambition to serve the truth in a high place found its rest under the patronage of Cardinal Albrecht as his coadjutor in lovely Halberstadt;

and later on he succeeded to his uncle's see at Magdeburg. He remained loyal to Rome and had a stormy career in Halle and Magdeburg. If now we ask ourselves whom did Axleben and Schwenckfeld support among all these claimants, we may quite safely conclude that the youth and inexperience of Joachim and of Johann Albrecht would alone disqualify them for so august an office as that of a Shepherd and Watchman, whose functions they had learned to magnify with prophetic rhythm. No matter what their personal predilections might be such emotions could not weigh with them in the affairs of a spiritual kingdom. From the tone of this letter we can infer that the candidacy of Jacob von Salza stood for the most desirable qualities. He had expressed frequently his desire for a reformation of the Church in this or that particular; they knew his sterling qualities; they were cognizant of his very prominent abilities; they had large expectations of his courage and inflexibility; and he was to all intents a Silesian. Surely their sympathies must have been with the overwhelming majority of the nobles to whose side the princes also finally came with one accord. This narrative is based on the Mss. of the Berlin Geheim-Staats Archiv, contained in Rep. 50:7. Vol. I and II together with its adhibenda, and also upon material in Rep. 46. 3^b; the Ossolinski collection; and the *Acta Capituli* of the Breslau Diöcesan-Archiv afford much help. The article of Troska in the ZGAS., Bd. XXIX, is an excellent study of the subject; and the article of Otto in Bd. XI gives side lights on the same.

XLI. Not an unwise wish is this which desires the judgment of a pious, honest man whose educated conscience would compel him to say, on a survey of the moral conditions prevalent at the Roman court, whether anything could be worse than this place which arrogated to itself the control of heaven. They themselves were well aware of what was going on in the so-called capital of Christendom, what were its ruling motives and what its determined methods for accomplishing them. Copernicus, who will become momentous for us, could have given them such an estimate when he read his lectures that contained the germs of his system, in that city; the canon of Thorn however kept a discreet quiet about the paralyzing scandals of Alexander VI, the Borgia, whose magnificence and profusion in the Jubilee year must have amazed his Prussian simplicity. And when Julius II was on the throne Jacob himself could have given such a report while a student in Italy. Our authors knew that they were appealing to one who had a thorough knowledge of the facts, if only he could divest himself of his artificial conception and speak out like an unprejudiced judge. There too were Friedrich II and Axleben himself who could have said a word had they turned aside in their five weeks delay in Venice to see the sights. Hutten has left us his impressions of this time not only in his

poems but in the *Vadiscus*. Erasmus in both his visits, 1507 and 1509, might have said graver things than appear in his praise of folly or in his apologetic answer to the blasphemies of Jacob Stunica. Luther has given us frequent glints of this perverted culture derived from his visit to Rome, when his eyes began to be opened to the difference between his romantic imaginings and the glaring realities. Hadrian VI himself, the Fleming, now just passed away, might have testified to this corruption by a formal report; certainly his own actions as well as his renovating plans were in direct rebuke of the prodigality, the paganism and the profligacy of that court. And for the Schwenckfelder, it might suffice to hear what Adam Reusner reports of the fearful eight days sack of Rome, just a few years later, when the Connétable Bourbon and Georg von Frunsberg terrified the white livered Clement VII, and broke the false splendor of the heathenized city. His *Historia Herrn Georgen Bunn Herrn Caspary von Frundsberg, Batters und Sonst/ beyder Herrn zu Mündelheim/ 1c. Keyserlicher Oberster Felbt Herrn* is indeed a remarkably vivid and accurate work, but he does not describe the internal aspects of the city before its fall. He tells us however of one Giovanni Baptista of Siena whose prophetic cry echoed through the doomed place during the holy week; and this may sufficiently reflect Adam's own view of the moral conditions of the capital which the armies were about to besiege. Giovanni, half clad in rags, regardless of food, went through all the streets and alleys of Rome, driven by the spirit of prophecy. To all classes he predicted the impending wrath of God and called to repentance. On Maundy-Thursday when the bull *coena domini* was publicly read he mounted the statue of St. Peter before the great cathedral and lifted his voice against pope and cardinals, summoning them to confession and conversion. He addresses the pope directly, accusing him of attempting to exalt himself above God, sitting in the temple of God as if he were God, pretending to save and condemn as if heaven and earth were at his command. He charged him with violating the spouse of Christ. On Saturday evening before Easter he went from the Campo-flora to St. Angelo crying: Woe to Rome! Unless you repent, it will go with you as with Sodom and Gomorrah, for your sins are greater than those of Sodom; if you do not cease from your traditional, iniquitous life and conduct, you shall perish in your sins. Similarly on Easter morning when Clement was going through his pompous ceremonies, Giovanni again mounted the statue of St. Peter and spoke to all the people the same warning appeals; he reminded the pope of his illegitimate birth and that as a wicked shepherd he had forced himself into the sheepfold and was leading the people to destruction. Many other sayings of his were left unrecorded because everybody in that formal city regarded him as a madman. As he dismounted the guards smote him in the face and carried him off

a prisoner to St. Angelo. There he repeated his prophecies to the Swiss Guards who then removed him to an outside dungeon; but nothing could repress his aroused spirit; he told them that his incarceration would not continue long; nor did it; in the ensuing overthrow he was liberated. His was a voice possibly started by Savonarola, who had perished a quarter of a century before for similar predictions about Innocent VIII and the Medici. Probably no one of our day has given us such a graphic, dramatic, panoramic description of the circumstances then current as Gregorovius in his *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, Bd. VII und VIII, and in his *Lucrezia Borgia* as well.

XLII. There is no doubt that in Silesia as everywhere else the external reverence for the clergy and the monks as officials was on the decline. This is illustrated by a number of incidents. We have already seen how irreparable the conflict between the princes and the Chapter appeared to be. It rose not only to the height of the Ultimatum of 1503 but serious threats were made of driving the ecclesiastics from the land. The double-dealing of the prelates in the matter of the Colowrat Agreement did not diminish this feeling. Many a Fürstentag, many a Landtag gave evidence of an ingrained hostility which refused to be quenched. The robber-knights made indiscriminate inroads upon the villages and properties of the Church; they showed the people how powerless the orders were to resist these terrible foes unless they had the protection of the princes. There could be but one effect of such lawlessness upon the standing of the clergy in the popular estimate. The sense of the usefulness of sacred things was at the vanishing point. This decline of regard was also fostered by the mutual jealousies of the clergy and the monks. Their contentions were a public scandal in which the sympathy of the ordinary men and women was mostly with the monastic bodies. The chief arms for holding communities and individuals in subjection had come to be gravely weakened; ban and interdict were little respected. A monk or sympathetic priest could easily be suborned to render the necessary religious services, and the fiercest denunciations came not only to be discounted but ridiculed. The reverential spirit had taken its flight and in its place left only a formal etiquette and servility. This is illustrated in a dialogue between a barefoot friar and a cook, entitled: *Eyn freilutlichß gesprech / zwischen // eynem Parfusser münch / auß der Pro-vingß Oster-||reich / der Obseruanß / vnd einem Böffelma-||cher / mit namen / Hans Stöffer // gar lustig zûlesen / vnd ist // der recht grundt*. The minutes of the Chapter on the date of April 23, 1522 complain how the Lutheran poison has been disseminated and has produced a spirit of discourtesy among the masses so that they greet the Catholic clergy with insults and jeers. On the last day of April the statement is made of the mocking sports enacted at the Ring and in the streets of

Breslau. Similar indignities were offered to the clergy and monks in Brieg and Liegnitz. The most sensitive thing in the world is the money-market. When the revenues began to fall off, when interest and tenths were withheld, when the supply of wax was seriously diminished, when the number of newly founded masses began to fail, the Church had a sure indication that the people were neglecting it. The views concerning the permanent bindingness of vows had undergone a startling decline; those who held to their validity and obligatoriness became objects of suspicion and disrespect. The different standards then coming into recognition naturally cast reproach upon the mediæval models. Many dialogues, as notably those of Hans Sachs, set this feature forth. Popular language itself began to express in larger measure the spirit of contumely. The very term Pfaff had something derogatory in it. The word priest was combined with terminations which reflected upon the abuse of power by this order. Priester-Groschen was a degenerate coin in Silesia. Opprobrious epithets abounded which need not be here enumerated but which were a thermometer of the public feeling both among the cultured and the uneducated. The unworthy tricks resorted to for the purpose of deceiving the ignorant and extracting their money certainly did not elevate the religious leaders in public opinion. This occurred in Silesia particularly with reference to wills, the sale of indulgences, the magical pictures, the pilgrimages and the undue stress put upon redemption from purgatory. The immense development of lay-brotherhoods was a practical revolt against the fees, which though small in themselves yet amounted to much in the aggregate, for burial, for masses and for the commonest religious rites. The natural effect of a decline in the attainments which should characterize the clergy together with the moral state of the average priesthood and the monastic bodies swelled the volume of distrust, scorn and even indignation. No more wholesale testimony to this contempt of the clergy can be cited than the treatment which the peasants in their revolt subjected them to. The sack of Rome itself is a graphic evidence of the same. Rensner has given us a painful portrayal: Die Landsknecht haben die Cardināls Hüt auffgesetzt/ die roten langen Röck angethan/ vnd sind auff den Eseln in der Statt umgeritten/ haben also jr Kurzweil vnd Affenspiel gehalten. Wilhelm von Sandizell ist offtermals mit seiner Rott/ als ein Römischer Papst/ mit dreien Krone für die Engelburg kommen/ da haben die andern Knecht in den Cardināls Röcken jrem Babst Reuerenz gethan/ jre lange Röck vornen mit den Händen auffgehebt/ den hindern Schwanz hinten auff der Erd lassen nachschleppen/ sich mit Haupt vnd Schültern tieff gebogen/ nider gekniet/ Fäß vnd Hand geküßt. Alsdann hat der vermeynt Papst mit einem Glaß voll Wein den Segen gemacht/ vnd Papst Clementen einen trund gebracht/ die angelegte Cardināl sind auff jren Knien gelegen/ haben ein jeder ein Glaß voll Wein

außtrunden/ vnd dem Papst bescheid gethan/ darbey geschrien/ Sie wollen jetzt rechte fromme Pápst vnd Cardinal machen/ die dem Keyser gehorsam/ vnd nicht wie die vorige widerspenstig/ Krieg vnd Blutvergießen anrichten. Zu Letzt haben sie laut vor der Engelburg geschrien: Wir wollen den Luther zum Papst machen/ welchem solchs gefalle/ der soll ein hand auffheben. Haben darauff alle ire hand auffgehebt/ vñ geschrien/ Luther Papst/ vnd viel dergleichen schimpffliche lächerliche Spottreden gethan. Grünenwald/ ein Landsknecht/ schrey vor der Engelburg mit lauter stimm: Er hett lust/ daß er dem Papst ein stück auß seinem Leib sollt reißen/ weil er Gottes/ des Keyserß/ vnd aller Welt Feind/ sey/ der sich vnderstanden/ Italia vnd Neapels mit Krieg vnder sein Hand zu bringen/ vnd den Keyser zu vertreiben. No canons or councils, no bulls or breues could restore genuine respect after such scenes. Indeed the popular forms of veneration had long ago lost all inward meaning. A sense of the picturesque, a superstitious dread, a love of splendid shows alone survived in the majority. The need of character vindicated itself. Ambrosius Blarer, who later was a violent opponent of Schwenckfeld, wrote in 1524 Ermanung an eyn Ersamen Rath der Stat Cöstanß/ Euangelische warhafft handtzûhaben. On the title-page the doggerel indicates sufficiently how the people were beginning to regard the mere ecclesiastic:

Ir gwaß ist veracht
 Ir kunst wirdt verlacht
 Irß liegensch nit gacht
 Geschwecht ist jr bracht
 Recht istß wieß got macht.

XLIII. Bishop Jacob was determined to improve the moral condition of his diocese. In 1523 somewhere about June he had directed a missive to the Chapter requesting them to institute a preliminary investigation. The capitulars themselves had initiated such an inquiry of their own motion, probably in the spirit with which they had begun the reformation of morals in the days of Bishop Thurzo. So they set to work seriously on July 3. The statute *de honestate domorum et familiae* was read aloud and they decided that such a renovation must begin with themselves, and each one from the highest to the lowest should testify as to his life and morals. A week later two different opinions were developed as to the manner of conducting such a confession. To the majority it seemed better to use the method of the scrutinium which involved the utterance of their testimony to some three of their number. How far the process went is not recorded.

XLIV. From the text one sees that there was an extended discontent among the clergy. While they still hesitated to break away from the old Church yet the state of inward unrest could not brook a much longer suspense. Just how wide this inquietude had spread it would be impossible to state in exact numbers; but our authors were familiar with the facts

through contact with the individuals; they felt the general pulse constantly. We are warranted therefore in the induction that the revolt was ramified and imminent. This condition strengthens their appeal to the Bishop to be instant in conceding the terms of a conservative reformation. Breslau, Liegnitz, Lüben, Schweidnitz, Goldberg, Haynau, Steinau, Raudten and a number of other centres were deeply shaken.

XLV. Johann von Thurzo belonged to a Hungarian family which had amassed large wealth from mining. The Thurzos also acquired property in Wohlau which was in the neighborhood of Schwenckfeld's home. Johann, after his studies at Kraków became a canon of St. John the Baptist and then dean of the Chapter. On March 11, 1502 he was chosen to fill the coadjutorship during the declining health of Johann IV. His rival for the office was Fürst Friedrich, the brother of Casimir, Herzog of Teschen. The victory of Thurzo was indicative of the hostility of prelates and canons to the elevation of native princes to the see. On the death of Johann IV Thurzo was elected February 2, 1506 as his successor in spite of the opposition manifested by the nobles. Johann V, as Thurzo was now styled, showed his interest in the improvement of worship, he had already as coadjutor published a new Missale; this was followed in 1510 by a *Rituale*. These service-books were in use throughout his diocese and of course Schwenckfeld was familiar with them. The new Bishop also promoted the restoration of churches; ornamentations, ecclesiastical furniture and jewels were multiplied; new feast-days were added to the calendar. The brotherhoods obtained a singular expansion in his day. The unpleasant relations with the Chapter soon afflicted him and seemed to quench his ambitions, so that he withdrew into himself and gave expression to his ideals through the support of humanism. These internal conflicts also brought him into undesired controversy with the princes. The Colowrat Agreement was the fertile source of mischief; the canons sought every subterfuge by which to evade its enactments. Thurzo was persuaded with difficulty to support the embassy to Rome for securing the condemnation of these articles by Julius II. The Bishop also proved indifferent to the many attempts for the reformation of morals and manners made by the Chapter. He presented a rather humiliating spectacle when the determined canons forced him to acknowledge and diminish his own rather venal indulgences. But he was a great friend of humanism and fostered men of talent by supporting them at the universities; he especially favored their residence in Italy as the best fountain for the new letters as well as the most opportune path for church preferment. Such men as the very distinguished Caspar Velius Ursinus as also Valentine Crautwald, Stanislaus Saur, Michael Wittiger, Dominicus Schleupner and Johann Hess, a group of Reuchlinists, owed their advancement to his generous hand. Nor did

he lose their affection even after the Chapter had opened fire on his private life. Particularly intimate was his correspondence with Hess so much of which has been lately recovered. Crautwald was his notary whose skill as teacher, poet, Græcist, Hebræist was not his least attraction. Thurzo's feeling toward the Reformation was overestimated by Luther and Melanchthon, for the Bishop had but little appreciation of the inward meaning of that revival. It is true that the wonder-working picture of Mary was removed from St. Dorothea in Breslau, but that was not indicative of anything but a rationalistic idea of church reform. Indeed he seemed too complacent to undertake decided changes in even an Erasmian sense, although a devoted admirer of that master and an occasional correspondent. The incident related in our letter was probably communicated by Crautwald and is noticed nowhere else. It does show a repentant mood and a new understanding of the functions of a New Testament bishop. A frame of mind so contrite would certainly join in the Chaplain's last leading confession as read from the Bishop's own Agenda: Do you believe that you cannot be saved nor enter into eternal life otherwise than through the merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ? Put therefore your entire hope and confidence in this same most bitter passion and death of Christ. Commit yourself wholly to his death, doubting nothing nor despairing of the compassion of God. For the Lord Jesus Christ suffered and died in your behalf and in behalf of us all so that he might effect the salvation of us all. And he himself will save your soul. Amen. Had he risen from his sick bed, he might have instituted an evangelical reformation of his diocese especially since the most of his favorite pupils embraced scriptural opinions. The effort to appoint a coadjutor who should also be his successor met with no approval from him or from the Chapter. Carl I of Münsterberg desired his young son Joachim, the pupil of Hess, to be appointed. Pope Leo X had already by mental reservation engaged the see to Markgraf Johann Albrecht who had scarcely attained his majority. On August 9, 1520, at the beginning of the vacancy, action was taken by the Chapter to check the public rumor that the body of the late bishop had been consumed in part by the burning of the sarcophagus. It was true that a portion of the bier and a slight section of the pall were charred by the upsetting of a candle while the body lay in funeral state in the chapel of the episcopal palace at Neisse. Those to whom the custody of the remains were committed had locked the door and were absent for a brief period during the reading of the psalter. The archdeacon Langesfeld and canon Sauer were deputed to invite the magistrates and a number of other persons, dignitaries and nobles to investigate the matter and testify to the exact facts. Whereupon the notaries of the deceased bishop, Valentine Crautwald and Erasmus Pogrell, drew up a public state-

ment giving an accurate account of the condition in which these witnesses found the body. This document is one of the earliest known writings of Crautwald. The estimates of Thurzo vary for the most part according to the confessional attitude of his critics. The curialists prefer to say little, while the reformers exaggerated his inclination to embrace the innovations, a tendency which has been followed in evangelical narratives until recently. Fibiger as apologist praises him for matters in which the bishop showed no earnest interest. Otto gives by far the largest and most liberal sketch of his life, judiciously avoiding details in some questionable points. Meyer paints the darker shades through the colors furnished by the Acta of a hostile chapter; alas! that the episcopal confessions prove that the accusations had a real warrant. Certainly his letters and his relationship to his cultivated intimates reveal a fine capacity for friendship and an appreciation of the best things in literature. He was an easy-going man of the world whose quarrels with his Chapter closed up one avenue of usefulness and made him disinclined to support their violent methods in resisting the secular powers and in stemming the tide of heresy. Apparently he was not alive to the authority of the Scriptures and the claims of the spiritual life until it was beyond his power to manifest anything but the aspiration for an opportunity. Much detail is to be found also in Gustav Bauch's writings, especially in the sketch and in the larger biography of Valesius, as also in the ZGAS., and the CpbVevKS. cf. CbBw. XXVII. 435.

XLVI. No city has a more interesting history than Breslau. None had institutions more significant; none had a more varied or animated life. It had been devoted to the Curia as few others; it had suffered in the Husite wars for its unshaken devotion to the Roman see. It was filled with churches and monasteries; it had an excessive routine of religious services the year round. It had warmly sustained Jacob von Salza during his struggle for confirmation. But the latent hostility to the lawless monks, nuns, altarists, and even prelates now began to manifest itself openly; no community made so rapid and resolute a stand against these overgrown and offending bodies. Nor must its commercial importance be lost sight of. Its guilds were powerful and active. Here too was a most refined humanistic circle which at the same time concerned itself about politics and religion. Educational reforms were now also initiated. The innovations in religion had long been brewing and had just ultimated in the call of Hess from whom the grateful Bishop could not entirely withhold his sympathy. Several presses were in active operation publishing many editions of humanistic and reformatory works. The city therefore presents a very striking illustration of the fermenting social conditions which characterize the opening years of the sixteenth century.

F.

Before analyzing the subjects involved in this plea and apology it will be well to preface a consideration of its general theological and ethical purpose and scope. It is a serious and striking petition for a thorough reformation of the Church and its membership within a given province; this would lead in turn to the higher discipline and conduct of the local society. It proposes an experimental and in so far an isolated movement. It is the melioration of a diocese that is here suggested; the single see of Breslau shall act for itself but as one whole; it shall strike out its own path, work out its own methods, achieve its own results and so become a pattern for other innovating regions to imitate. Let it be observed that it is a tentative enterprise even if profoundly earnest. It is not a general step at the outset; it is not an appeal to the Church universal; nor is it a treatise on the theory of a renovated communion. It says rather: whatever others do, let us begin in our own well-defined province and prove the possibility of effecting such mutations on a partial scale. One demonstration will soon convince neighboring states; the circles will spread out wavelike over the whole area of the Church. There was a wisdom and sanity in this plan far beyond some synchronous projects because it did not start with the notion of a radical reorganization; it took what was at hand and sought to put a new principle into the centre. There was already a unity of sentiment back of such an endeavor; the most powerful individuals in the State were in favor of the experiment and were anxious to accord it a warm support; the common people were waiting for it with eager expectancy and unrest; many pious priests were hesitating, and yet hoping for the signal to enter upon the yellowing fields.

It is doubtful whether at this period there was anywhere so large a community, so united and so enthusiastic, as was Silesia. One man's energy had brought them up to this very propitious and decided ground of vantage. It was not one city but many; it was not one principality but nearly all outside of the prelatie dependencies, and even in these there was not a little discontent with the old regimen; it was not one noble but a multitude of knights and lords; it was not one village but all the farm-

ing communities; the entire population seemed to be like birds watching for the level lines of the dawn. Schwenckfeld's activity in writing and speaking during the last three or four years was not without its matured outcome. He understood the geography of the opportunity; he was familiar with the centres of reflection and debate; he and his friend were convinced that the time for harmonious action had come, the soil was ready for the higher tillage. The chief difficulty in the way of promoting the unity of the change was in the state of the Church itself. The hopeful element in this however was the wellknown and frequently iterated strictures of the Bishop himself, for as a statesman he had given unhampered expression to his own sentiments that such and such points certainly required to be improved or done away with. There existed many abuses which in his judgment needed extirpation. Moreover he had shown a manly regard for the interests of his see against the intrusion of Rome and had acted with rare spontaneity in a grave crisis. His stirring qualities added force to the divers omens for good and seemed to constitute him a model leader for so urgent an occasion. The prelate opposition, which however was not wholly of one mind, was the most dangerous and disturbing foe to the scheme; but a resolute bishop who would behave with the relative freedom in this present larger case which he had exhibited in the minor Hess matter, would easily overcome the Chapter and the abbots. Whether an unbroken reform could be effected without the Bishop was a debatable question; if the various cities and principalities again acted independently, as they in that event doubtless would, there could be but a meagre hope of accomplishing any combined undertaking auspiciously. The disintegrating elements which had paralyzed so many Silesian attempts at political unity would probably prevail in ecclesiastical matters, and become a serious detriment to any concordant propagation of the Gospel.

The writers are prepared to acknowledge the authorities in their personnel as now existing, provided their institution and functions are warranted by the New Testament. They would make as little commotion in prevalent organizations as possible; only what was radically wrong and manifestly irreconcilable with the divine revelation would they abolish instantaneously. Hence they create no difficulty about the established bishopric; they recognize with frank gladness the prelates and clergy who are fulfilling their duties in simple accord with the pastoral epistles. They favor such educational systems as are pervaded with the Spirit of Christ. They do not quarrel about monastic forms of life, if the cloisters do not maintain idleness and do not exact unscriptural vows. They are not perplexed about ceremonies or symbols that are purely instructive, providing they do not disagree with the ideality and simplicity of Christian worship.

The following principles are to underlie this local diocesan reformation. Love must be the law and motive regulating individual and relative life. Christian society must be regarded as a brotherhood of equal rights. Spirituality is the supreme element of man's constitution and the highest ideal of life, this is fostered through the regenerative act of the Holy Spirit. From the number of those thus newborn is constituted the Kingdom that is not of this world. Any office work must be undertaken with a profound sense of the equality of believers and of responsibility to God; the spirit of the prophets and apostles must be revived. The key of the controversy with the old order is found in the tenet of authority. This must reside in the Scriptures as the record of the living Word as over against the assertions of prelacy, canon law, councils and the Church of Rome. The restoration and application of this tenet of authority will effect changes in the statement of doctrine, as to what good works are, as to sin, mediation, forgiveness, faith, the Church. It will remove a long list of standing abuses. It will necessitate a deepening of all education both of the clergy and of the people. It will compel a revolution in the methods of training, calling and ordaining the ministry. It will demand a free circulation and use of the Scriptures for individual and social development. It will simplify worship in all its features. It will gradually change the polity, prohibit the oppression of the conscience by force and establish Christian liberty as the basis of all relationship. It will renovate Christian experience. It will institute manifold sociological reforms. A climax which involves at the same time an organic revolution is the separation from the jurisdiction of the Curia, whose unhistorical and unevangelical yoke must be cast off. The diocese should become independent and self-governing. It must abdicate all secular powers and the use of the sword. The evangelical discipline must be restored to exert a spiritual influence for the elevation of the ministry and laity alike. Reconstruction and reorganization should at once begin. Such are the essential elements proposed in the petition.

I. The salutation has in it the Pauline thought of grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; the divine origin of all good in all relations is grounded on the impartations of the Trinity, for while the Spirit is not directly mentioned here, his office as the fulfiller of these graces is brought out consistently and constantly in the letter. This greeting is an evidence of the influence of that apostle upon the structure and the sentiment of this letter.

II. The ascription of customary, ceremonial titles was a matter about which Schwenckfeld and his friend raised no question. It was not a trait of theirs to stamp a moral image upon such historic usages; if these styles of address had any exaggeration in them, they would fall away of them-

selves when higher principles of Christian equality should have fair play; meanwhile a man should live up to the significance of his mark of distinction whatever that was based upon; a Right Reverend should be worthy of human regard by his upright devotion to God and men. If he was called a father, let him be such in spirit and deed to his people. A bishop should be an evangelical overseer; a gracious Lord should administer his superior function and mastership with grace in manner, with compassionate beneficence in his acts. The question as to the equalization of men in this respect does not as yet disturb nor does it divert them from the radical tenet that a reformation in such things is not a root-principle but a fruit. Changes in social habit and intercourse that are not in themselves fundamental had better be left to the leavening elements of the Gospel. They sift and refine themselves with the progress of Christian sentiment and the exercise of some approximate efforts at brotherliness. To make a radical demand for the thorough expurgation of such secondary fictions and methods of dignifying station or office is unwise; Christ nor the apostles proceeded in this way. The education of the race by slow degrees is the conservative process; it does not do to stand society upon its head. Such seemed the prudent course to our authors in the treatment of what to them was a subordinate matter. They would not agree with such opinions as the Friends promulgated over a hundred years later.

III. Our joint authors now present what was Schwenckfeld's favorite theme. The basis of their appeal and of their argument is love; the elements here quoted are such as best advance their propositions and are all of them relative; the positive features of patience, friendliness, unenviousness; the absence of such weaknesses as boastfulness, the sense of self-importance, unseemly behavior, self-seeking; the resistant quality of slowness in provocation; the unsuspicious nature which does not take its imaginings and mistrusts as final facts but rather conceives of good, sincerity, frankness as primarily actuating others; the generous impulse which has no sympathy with forms of unrighteousness but finds its source of joy in the exposition, the struggles and the triumphs of truth. Love does not write history like Tacitus nor biography like Dr. Samuel Johnson. How much is lost when we overstate the evil and lose sight of the boundless expanses of good in human nature, and the volume of beauty which ornaments the daily behavior of men and women! A newspaper is not invariably a faithful reflector of the actual average of experience. Much of our individual spirit misconceives the motives of others; much of our judgment is a base misstatement and a false reckoning of the inner springs of action. Human conduct is not all Sahara; even in that enormous sand waste there are rich treasures; while beyond lie wide stretches of fertile

fields and luxurious hill-sides with sweeps and depths of quickening waters. It may take two-thirds of sea to sustain the equilibrium of the continents. The very charm of the varied reaches with their alternations of form and substance is not to be subtracted from the summary. The very determination of love to seek the truth is already a search for the good. The factor of righteousness in humanity is not to be ignored as a Diogenes or a Rochefoucauld or a Swift or a Schopenhauer would seem at times to have done in their survey of the infirmities of the race. Our authors are bent on magnifying the true solvent of individual and collective life. It remains the root idea in Schwenckfeld's system and in his estimate of human success and failure.

IV. Such are the elements here selected as those which should eminently characterize a bishop. He must have these features in order to be a type; rich and full is he to be of these invigorating traits which are an engine distributing ennobling impulses to his people. A bishop should therefore interpret and judge human conduct and procedure in this spirit, and put the best explanation possible on the motives and the deeds of the men and women about him. He must be a constructor and conservator of human good, not a waster and destroyer. It is his province to rise into the higher atmosphere. From this and the previous document we learn definitely that love is the key to the Schwenckfeldian system. Not only is it the way to the understanding of the divine personalities, not only is it the best method of interpreting the cosmic order spiritual and material, not only is it the most effective rule for personal and relative conduct, but it is the description of the mystery of Christ and his cross and our relation to its energy and blessing. In other words love is greater than faith or hope, a truly Christic and a truly Pauline doctrine. The real path to justification is through Christ's love for us and our love to him, which indeed involves faith in him, but love is more comprehensive, containing the other. Justification by faith is therefore a content of justification by love according to this system. The process of redemption is personal and not supremely and first of all forensic. Now mark that Schwenckfeld had attained this position in 1523. He had not accepted the Lutheran statement as a final one, nor had he made it the corner stone of his structural thought. The simultaneity of the divine acts and of the psychological movements does not preclude an analytic view of the content of these interchanging vibrants; but the chief thing not to be lost sight of is the personality in the midst of these separated psychic strands. All the steps involved in the concrete are the mutual acts of spiritual beings.

V. By this recall of the controlling system of love they completely forestalled any misconception or false attribution of evil intention to their

present solicitation and apology. Though they had bestowed upon him the wonted titles which had accumulated about his office and used the same in addressing him with dutiful reverence for his station and in recognition of the capacity which he had manifested as a statesman and the kindly disposition which for the greater part he had exercised hitherto as a meritorious officer of the Church, they nevertheless remind him of their essential equality in Christ. He is a brother, although a bishop, to whom it is right to address a fraternal plea. As Christians together it is a duty of each to awaken the remembrance of that perpetual and underlying fact; the obligation increases in proportion to these social forces which build up dignities and evolve offices and compel men to act for one another representatively; necessary and helpful as these positions are, they yet tend to encrust their recipients in a case of formality as if they were essentially and substantially something different from their electors. Such a wall between Christian brethren, sons of the same Father, must not be allowed to arise or exist; if it begins to show its hateful head and temper that moment the primitive fact must be reasserted. Therefore the more the creature soars the more he must turn his heart back to the origin and primitive roots, if there is to be any real continuation of the fellowship in the Lord and any visible Kingdom or republic reared thereon. Even the frigid winter must yield to the renewals of spring. There is room for no toplofty aims, no assumption of a blue blood, no fabrication of unscalable barriers, no centralization of dignitaries behind steep escarpments of form and ceremony, no insurmountable walls of glitter and circumstance by which the loftiest prelate might desire to isolate himself from his fellows. Brethren in Christ are to be vitally and primarily democratic, faithfully coequal; they are to treat one another from that starting and regulative point. The ethics of Christ are of just that practical out and sweep, however impossible some crude modern thinkers consider them to be. Schwenckfeld did not belong to that category of reconstructionists who take shelter under the name of Jesus and yet eviscerate all that he claimed to be and all that his hearers record him to have said. That sort of rehabilitation of everlastingly fixed moral tenets to accommodate and harmonize them with an equally disastrous and grave misinterpretation of cosmology or of sociology, is not a product of the eternal unfluctuating, unfluid Mind. Natural nor moral law as fact needs no rectification or restatement; our misconceptions of them do. The modern cosmologies and views of the world will also go under the clouds along with the erratic lights of the past interpretations of nature. Schwenckfeld and his friend were men who believed in the Christian system as an exposition of divine and human love, as on that account a possible one to realize in life; they set to work at it and carried forward their spiritual

commonwealth with unslacking enthusiasm. The realization of democracy is the best realization of the individual, and if both are advocated and advanced in the spirit of love, as near as may be under human failings, that will be the best scholium of man's nature and will evolve the richest unfolding of society, both of Church and State, and therefore of the natural universe itself as a moral and religious instrument. It is the ethical view of the universe which requires no readjustment to prevalent cosmological theories, which needs must ever shift their sails to some new quarter of the blowing wind. The love of the Father is an explanation so sufficient that no owl-faced wisdom need look at it patronizingly. The swelling of portentous waves hurts nothing; the really deep sea remains undisturbed with the surface play of hurricanes or of zephyrs. Love is the moral law and hence the universe itself must express it no matter whether you are Ptolemaist or a Copernican, a physicist or a geologist. Love is also democratic and therefore a leveller; it does not move in eccentric or elliptic orbits either in the relations of heaven or in the relations of earth. The circles that bound the realms of the spiritual are subject to no permanent perturbations. Its method of activity is not sporadic; it does not drop at intervals from its lofty heights to shower a bit of meagre beneficence in some waste heart; it has no patronizing dignities under whose guise it stoops with a stiff spine to fill some empty vessel with scanty grain or to pour myrrhed wine into some supplicating glass. It is not afraid of man's arrogant and pompous airs and does not squirm before any majesties; it does not hesitate before entering any slum nor does it halt in ministering to the leper because of some infectional scare. It is too humble to magnify itself by reason of being arrayed in shining vestments; it is too inherently sovereign to cringe before titles and clothes; it is too refined to adopt a bully-rag style in its behavior to high or low. That the world is slow to comprehend the universal claim of Love to rule and finds it difficult to yield to this gentle, but positive raying of the Spirit, is true; that the politician and the merchant and the cosmologist complain of its impracticability is also a disheartening fact, but that men and women are slowly learning that steadfast character depends upon obedience to this law is equally certain. A suffering humanity compels its recognition and performance. Society compels sacrifice. It is not an overstatement to affirm that no one has ever more earnestly asserted and no one more exemplarily proved that the mission of love is democratic than did our main author. And so here he and his friend claim the shelter of its broad wings and appeal to the equalization that this law must produce.

VI. By this claim of brotherhood our authors assert and exercise certain rights all of which are reenforced by the nature and laws of conscience; these rights are the guarantees of liberty. The first is the right

of inquiry, of criticism and of judgment with regard to everything that concerns the self or its relationship. The obligation of informing that judgment and making it competent for its duties is naturally presupposed. The whole letter abounds with such an expression of independence, in the open challenge of the Bishop, in the comparison of present conditions with scriptural standards, in their own confession, in their frank survey of existing parties and of these practices which they characterize as abuses, in the explanation and application of the Scriptures. Further there is the right of petition which is directly exercised in the very plea they make. The entire missive is a masterly declaration of personal rights and a prayer that these may be acknowledged and certified. In this is involved the right of protest against varieties of wrong whether as injuries to the person, to society or to the true conception of the Church. The right of self-defense springs naturally out of this. The fact that the second part of the letter is an apology demonstrates the maintenance of this privilege. There follows the right of the individual to make changes and improvements in the conditions over which he is master or which he can influence by persuasion. Again there is the declaration of the right of secession when the situation has become intolerable to the conscience. Moreover the right of combination is declared whose object is to stand up for the defense of these previous prerogatives. We see that these two friends have associated themselves for this purpose; they do not hesitate to intimate that others are in sympathy and ready to support legitimate measures of innovation. It must however be put in the forefront that the whole array of these rights is not linked with the use of any other force than that of argument and persuasion. We shall see how Schwenckfeld at least exercised his right of resistance at a later date. We have here then a remarkable example of what a declaration of the rights of man consists in and still more emphatically what are the prerogatives of a Christian. It is a platform instinct with purpose; it announces deeds already done and invites to further aggressive movements.

The duty of mutual correction and especially the criticism of a degenerate church system with its deluded priesthood is enforced in somewhat halting and colloquial style, but with honest fervor by a certain weaver, named Utz Rychssner in this same year. Ein schöne vnderweysung/ | wie vnd wir in Christo alle gebüder | vñ Schwester seyen/ dabey angezaigt | nicht allain die weltlichen/ wie sy es | nennen/ sonder auch die gaisstlichen | züstraffen/ wa sy anders in dē leybe | dessen haubt Christus ist wölle sein | auff die geschrift gotes gegründt | vñ darauß gezogen/ zu nuß | allē die das götlich wort | lieben seindt: | Vñ Rychssner Weber | M:D:XXiii: Jar. He bases his vigorous strictures on the fact that we are all of one blood whether in Adam or in Christ: and hence as brothers and sisters we are on an equal level;

whatever is imperfect in another, especially if that affects our higher life in God, should be rebuked and changed.

VII. The reasons for this address are manifold indeed, but the dominant one is the propulsion of the Spirit. The acknowledgment and assertion of this power of the Holy Ghost to stimulate and direct the thought and feeling and will is, as we have seen from the beginning, a prominent factor in Schwenckfeld's concept of religion and of the religious life, to which his friend also subscribed. They put themselves in their mental attitude under the immediate government of Christ that his purpose might be wrought out in them. They identified their entire career with the course of God in the world. They dutifully conceived of themselves as parts of his world-plan. Their conception of what a genuine relationship with God consists in was of that surrendered quality. Their prayer was that they might be used, and so they believed in both the direct and the indirect impact of the divine upon the human spirit. They begged for guidance and they felt guided. Their own decisions and activities were parts of the gift and energy of the Spirit to be consecratedly used. They tested themselves by the conditions of the Spirit's rule before they were assured of the inward harmony and of the divine choice as instruments. It was not a fatalistic or a pantheistic concept of the heavenly energy; very much the contrary, there was no conversion of the personality into an involuntary mechanism and no submergence of the individual in the all, but an enlargement and quickening of every consecrated natural gift and diversity of talent so that this very plurality might effect a higher unity. Under this drive of the Spirit they could not keep silence but spoke their minds with freedom, all the more because they conceived that they were prompted in conscience by the law of love and helpfulness. So they sailed into the untried sea and pushed their brotherly apology into the teeth of the gale. They courageously asserted their right of petition and their right of self-defense. This inward momentum had an access of occasion in the multitude of souls whose salvation was dependent on the energetic evangelism of the Bishop. The cure of these neglected hearts was placed in his hands and that was the chief thing that called for action without delay. It was not the splendor of his office; it was not his appanage of prelates and canons and notaries; it was not his relationship with distant Rome that was the chief thing calling for the exercise of his acknowledged gifts; it was not the question about what Breslau or what Sigismund thought, or the Metropolitan of Gnesen felt, or King Ludwig was agitated over; it was the condition of these imperilled souls in his custody, their spiritual health, their real happiness. In the discharge of that supreme duty would lie his own approval and disapproval and his own right to claim participation in the divine remedy

for sin. This is the urgent summons; this is the point where the battle presses most anxiously; the immediate provision for the spiritual necessities of these thousands in his wide-extended diocese whose ecclesiastical and sociological conditions were in such direful confusion and whose degradation was so unpromising. These democratic brethren did not flinch from expressing the gravity of the situation, not only as concerned these dying men and women but as it bore upon the personal salvation of the Bishop himself. Did he neglect an adequate reformation of these deplorable exigencies how could he expect the Chief Shepherd to release him from his personal responsibilities and give him a special dispensation from fulfilling the imperatives of faith?

VIII. The chief desire of their loyal and fraternal appeal is for the preaching of the pure Word of God and the Gospel of Christ only, without any human additions. What are meant by these terms? Obviously there is a distinction made between these two phrases: the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ; they are not to be regarded as synonymous; the writers would scarcely have been guilty of such tautology. When Schwenckfeld speaks of the Word of God he refers to the eternal Son of God, the living Logos or revelation of the Father both as manifesting the paternal will and as himself the natural Son, divine and incarnate as well; whose power and wisdom are unfolded in creation and redemption; who inspired the evolutionary course of salvation and declared the purpose of the Father through secondary agents and instrumentalities, finally appearing in the flesh and speaking directly the divine words which are spirit and life. Schwenckfeld maintained that the Bible and the Scriptures are nowhere called collectively the Word of God. He does not use the later distinction made between the living and the written word, nor does he employ the definition that the Word of God is contained in the Scriptures, a sentence which both the Irish articles of religion and the Westminster shorter Catechism set forth. It is noteworthy that the Latin edition of the thirty-nine articles as well as their English version is careful to avoid the use of the expression Word of God as an equivalent of the Scriptures. It applies the Verbum Dei solely to the divine Son. The distinction made in this letter is elaborated in the subsequent correspondence with Cordatus and in the long controversy with Matthias Flacius. The expression Gospel of Christ is not limited to the records made by the four evangelists; it is rather a term to designate the complete christological aspect of the Scriptures. The Old Testament was the forecourt to the sanctuary with which the New Testament is still linked through the altar of burnt-offering. The sanctuary with its table of shew-bread, its candelabrum and its altar of incense illustrates the fulness of times. The ancient liturgy is a liturgy of Christ; the law is preparing for its summary; the Psalms sing the

coming glory; the prophets foretell the hero and his Kingdom. The seeds of the Evangel are all in that ancient garden; the flower and fruitage are but the later stages of that same garden among whose trees the human Christ moved and spoke and blessed and suffered, out of whose tomb he rose and completed his conquest of the world. Even in this phrase our writers are not so much concerned with the words of the record, deeply as they reverence and love them, as they are about the living Spirit depicted therein, who speaks as never man spake and whose acts indicate a heavenly and radiant power. These views although not developed in this letter lay in the mind of the writers or else they would not have made such distinctions. We must try to rise to that ideal of theirs which looked upon the Scriptures not as a letter but as a spirit abounding in vitality like a seed that had in it the power of an endless succession. It is the Logos who had told the mind of God to the world from its beginning; much of what he has disclosed of that paternal will is treasured in the canonical books and these alone have given the historical survey of our Lord's incarnate and redemptive life on earth and the incipient movements of the dispensation of the Spirit which he inaugurated. This Word of God then is the living Son of the Father and the personal giver of the Holy Ghost. The authors do not conceive of him as imbedded in dead letters of biography or of prophecy, but as walking among the golden candlesticks, as having life in himself and as breathing into all things the invigorating and eternally vivifying breath. He is the Creator at work; he is the giver of law, himself being an embodiment and incarnation of moral life; he is the voice resounding among the prophets who recorded truth or depicted experience or foretold the enduring elements and realities existent in the Kingdom of God. This Word became a babe in the womb of Mary, a child in his mother's arms, a youth in the temple, the Jesus of ineffable sayings and deeds, the vicarious sufferer on the cross, the institutor of memorial sacraments, the promulgator of reconciliation. He is not the subject of a memoir which is made superior to its hero; he is not the theme of biographical incidents in which the setting has become the chief thing; but one must trace the strides and surges of a measureless completeness of being in the utterances and descriptions; the commands and messages are to be felt as issuing from the heart of our Lord; their truth is concrete, aflame and burning. We must avoid the confusion of the letter with the spirit; most of all the record is not to be exalted above him who alone can give it efficacy.

IX. The danger of worshipping the letter is intensified when men begin to make additions to it and to clothe these supplements with equal or superior authority. Our petitioners insist upon the abolition of all such traditions. The Church of the New Testament was fettered with the same

literalism and legality that our Lord rebuked in those who affected to sit in Moses' seat. Our writers desire to strip these accretions from the original and exclusively authoritative principles of the Christian organization. They therefore protested against false gospels, acts, epistles and apocalypses; they allowed no precedence to creeds; no canons were inherently valid and the canon law must be corrected by the Gospel; no patristic interpretations could be final; no mere customs and usages whether local or general could be regulative of the conscience; no legislation of councils could claim exemption from criticism; no papal decretals of what name soever could bind the soul to unquestioning submission; no scholastic system of theology should control the freedom of thought; no doctrines, no polity, no ritual, no life principles of religion or moral conduct should be absolved from private judgment according to the Gospel of Christ. The unadulterated utterances of God and of the Logos and of the Spirit and the centuries of experience thereunder to the close of the apostolic era are to be the canon of the episcopal economy. The living text and not the elaborated exposition of the fathers and the wire-drawn glosses of summists and sententiaries or the subtle resettings of the scholastics are to be the ultimate grounds of preaching; for the purest, most liberal education of the people is what our authors are after. For them the Gospel is not to have its historical statements beclouded; no expansions of Canon Law or of liturgical agenda are to befog and mystify its simplicity. The literature of the Spirit, the records of the Logos, the narrative from the earliest protevangelium to the full life of the human Christ and his paracletic Spirit in the history of the early Church and in the prophetic moments of the Kingdom; — these are to stand in their unclouded simplicity without addition or subtraction. There are two comprehensive reasons for such an appeal. 1) The first that this Word of God or Christ is the sole food for the hearts of men; he alone is the aliment by which the spiritual nature is to be sustained and developed; to deprive one of this nourishment is to starve all the higher capacities within us, whether as milk or as meat. He and his thoughts are essential for the preservation and confirmation of the inner life. He is the medium through which the eternal essence is implanted within us through faith; it is the receiving of the Word which is to be developed continuously into the fulness of everlasting being, character and state. 2) Again that Word is an immovable rock on which the entire structure of the Christian life is to be built; it is the foundation which is subject to no change and is capable of enduring the shock of every storm. Nothing can prevail against it, so that he who is reared thereon is sure of the perpetuity of his house. Now in both of these images of food and of the rock there is not only latent, but patent the conception of something life-giving; these metaphors are

not simply descriptive of what is external or shadowy, they set forth an internal process as well, which the soul undergoes in all its properties and conditions and which it itself is to carry forward appropriatingly. The whole typification portrays something which is vital and permanent. It illustrates not simply an evolution of intellectual qualities as attributes of spirit or as an addition of virtues to the edifice of character but it signifies a concrete growth and upbuilding of the soul itself as substance, a subject which becomes more distinct in Schwenckfeld's psychology later on. It now suffices to state that in his view there is a communication of a real life-principle and it is an actual upbuilding of the nature into maturity, vigor and stability, and both figures suggest everduring processes; there is never any fear of a possible disintegration or collapse. Years and the eternal pulse and flow only increase the immortal activity and resultfulness. The inner elements of being therefore take to themselves this nourishment and capacity by their union with the living Word. The privilege of free access to such an education and its exalting development in the Logos is what both men heartily exhort and pray the Bishop to make available. They do not hesitate to enforce their plea by the prediction of the prophets as to the fatality which should topple over and crush the ungodly shepherds who ignore this right of humanity to have open approach to the sources of spiritual sustenance and to the building materials for the ethical structure. It is an awful responsibility which every obdurate age insensible to the eternal issues of official conduct so easily ignores. Few be the phoughmen that concern themselves either with the morning or the evening orisons of the lark that soars cloudward and drops by the clods which the share turns over. Few be the Piers who invert higher furrows than those they see on the ground before them. Many are the shepherds who perform their official routine with literal accuracy, but without an inquiry as to the nature of their avocation or the ends in view when they chose it or whether there be any real good resulting from its daily performance. The stolid perfunctionist is heedless and undiscerning of the divine presence and the ministry of angels and the brooding interest of noble essences as he turns his tread-mill. Many are the overseers who have really no soul for the marvelous possibilities that lie in themselves or in their flocks. Our authors draw parallels between the shepherds of Ezekiel and Isaiah and the watchmen of Jeremiah. The episcopal function is from the foundation a spiritual one; it should concern itself preeminently about the people's eternal welfare; while that does not exclude the temporal betterment, indeed very much the contrary, yet that consideration must be subordinate; the point to be particularly defended and reached is the preparation and safe-guarding of the spiritual nature. The neglect and betrayal of this trust has imposed upon it the heaviest condemnation

by the prophets; such a perversion and abuse of what is greatest for time and for eternity cannot but bring with it a frightful catastrophe for the criminal. And this very earnest picture of responsibility shows the vast superiority of this office to any other that man can serve in. It is this immense and overwhelming accountability for providing true nourishment and safety that should constrain the spiritual teacher to concede the largest liberty of access to the food and the rock. As for the people so for the bishop. The only justification for the existence of his function and the only authority for his guidance in the administration of his duties is the living Word of God. Any system which militates against the simple provisions which that Word and his Gospel have furnished is per se not obligatory and anything which hinders the freedom of approach is a wrong more criminal because more injurious than any other. To take an oath of allegiance to any spiritual government which assumes control of all religious matters and claims universal jurisdiction against the sole majesty of the Word is to bow to usurpation and tyranny. People and bishop alike are subject to the Gospel and both are doing it despite, if they frame any other constitution or recognize any power as above it. The shepherd whose crook is after another pattern, or who represents an alien interest, or the watchman who mounts other towers and descries other horizons, both alike stand for antagonistic and rival potentates. They imperil the safety of the divine image in man. They come under the weight of divine rejection and condemnation which the prophets so impressively and minatorily present. Then what has the Bishop gained if he represent a world-kingdom and not the non-worldly Kingdom of Christ? A man who cannot gain his own soul's happiness has nothing but an excruciating loss to show for all his advantages and opportunities. Thus plainly do our authors speak with no gilded words, with unpolished address, with no Sleidanic phrases, with blunt appeal, without flattery and without disguise; they have uttered their hearts as brethren not as subjects, they talk as democrats not as courtiers, as men of truth not as diplomats. Adulation does not comport with Christianity; the meaningless or fictitious manners of the court should not be the manner of the believer in Christ. The cosmetics and enamels of speech are foreign to a sincere people; the laces and decorations and sword of the diplomat have no place in a fraternal court. Truth can bear no such trumpery bedizenments and spangling orders. The etiquette of a genuine intercourse requires transparency and cordiality; a healthful communion of souls, whatever their race or color or language or habit, asks only plain dealing.

X. Both of these men were familiar with the mysteries of high life, which is mostly very low life indeed, just as well as the former Hauptmann of Glogau and the present right reverend Bishop. They had no

objection to refinement and courtesy but they did have to lies, flatteries, masquerades, servility and flunkeyism of the palace, secular and ecclesiastic. And so they quoted very forcible scripture to prevent any ambush or surreptitious conflicts about position before or behind or about office and power. But just that separative wall of outward dignity which claimed a series of humble bows required from them an augmented singleness and directness of address. Such accretions of power only signified tremendously manifolded responsibility and not a lot of new prostrations and phrases. A man in authority is so much the more a servant of the people and he therefore should daily cultivate the sense of accessibility and prove his feeling of obligation by more abundant provision for their comfort. This is the ethics of office in spirit and in practice. Eminently are these the ethics of spiritual offices to which the people alone have the right of election and appointment. There is no God-given succession and no magical historic tactualism which can take the place of inward fitness. The internal call must also have the seal and attestation of the outward call by the people. Here, if ever, the vox Dei and the vox populi become a unison. These two friends wish the companion of their former days to display an understanding in the Scriptures and in the business of the spirit corresponding to his acknowledged facility and fitness in speech and his worthily praised assiduity in secular matters in the years before his entrance upon ecclesiastical functions.

XI. The theme which our authors put at the foundation of their discussion is: what is the final authority in matters of religion and morality for him who professes Christianity and eminently for him who is called to teach it? What can righteously claim obedience from the whole personality of the believer in his personal and relational life? To what voice shall he listen as supreme and commanding in order that he may love God and his neighbor acceptably? Our authors affirm that such authority resides exclusively in the record of the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ. By authority is meant: 1) that which has the inherent right to demand obedience by virtue of its own religious and moral superiority; 2) that which expresses such a demand for submission in an intelligible and unalterable constitution or declaration of principles; 3) that which has illustrated the force of its precepts by an antecedent and contemporaneous life which is the occasion of that constitution, that is, a perfect personality alone can prescribe what shall be finally authoritative law for imperfect personalities; 4) that which is able to justify itself to the religious and moral consciousness of the individual by awakening, purifying and moulding the conduct on that plan, that is, it must be able to restore a correspondence of the spiritual nature; 5) that which is able to vindicate itself by rewards and punishments according to a just discernment and proportion,

that is, according to the quickened sense of desert. Of course the writers bow to the personal Word as final, but that Word has revealed itself in definite forms and utterances by which that constitution is established. This is found alone in the holy Scriptures. Hence Schwenckfeld always made this the ultimate standard and judge, although he believed equally in the immediate illumination of the Spirit and in an enlightened spiritual judgment or critical faculty. But he maintained that there can be no disharmony in any divine revelation; what light might be conferred on any disciple must be in accord with and an enlargement of the original principles of faith. Hence he invariably came back to the words of his Lord, direct or indirect, immediate or experiential, as the test of his own life his own feelings of divine direction and his own thoughts as they arose in his innermost contemplations. For him the Bible remained the canon of criticism by which the ideas and movements of men were to be inflexibly judged. It is not true that he ever exalted any personal developments made by the Spirit as equal to or above the statements given in the record of his Lord's life and sayings. You can find no trace of apocalypticism in the long unfolding of his speculations. He elevated the Scriptures as the alone adequate and sufficient portrayal of the mind and will of God, as the history of the eternal Word becoming flesh and uniting humanity with himself forever. On this covenant he remained clear, affirmative and undeviating no matter what satire, ridicule or polemic has asserted to the contrary. Of course it is not the dead letter of the Scriptures but the living Word and the perfecting Spirit which animate these records for the prepared and loving soul. For him there could be nothing greater and his sense of its judicial power became more and more intense. Other pretenders and usurpers of final authority are analyzed in the progress of the letter.

Dr. Johann Sonnentaller wrote a tractate in 1524 which is unsurpassed for its satirical acumen and its somewhat vehement criticism of existing theology: *Wasach* (warumb der vermeint | geystlich huff mit yren patronē / das Euangelion Jesu Christi nit annimpt / sunder schencket / lestert / vnd verfolget / mit kurzer Contrafactur der Pfafferey / Müncherey / | Nonnerey / Allen liebhabern der | warheit nützlich zu lesen | durch Doctor | Johan. | Sonnentaller. | M. D. XXIII. | Die Warheit überwindet. He first deplores the religious degeneracy and ignorance of the succeeding centuries as compared with the simplicity, godliness and honorable conduct of the early Church. He castigates the determination of the ecclesiastics to maintain their unjust authority in spite of the biblical truth which Luther had again restored; equally indefensible are their perverse theology and liturgy as built on Aristotelian principles, for whose introduction the University of Paris was mainly to blame. The struggles of the Sophistic rationalism to explain

the unsearchable mysteries of the Godhead and of grace and the effort of the Church to reduce these to terms of visibility and selfishness as over against the method of the gospel and of a reposeful faith are vigorously drawn. From these he turns to the abuse of the mass: and the priestly subversions of its real significance. He does this somewhat in this wise: It is pitiful to hear that the real fruit of the mass is so infrequently discerned and so unknown to us, yea even the parsons and the monks do not perceive its true import. They make nothing of the solemnity but a form which they compel folks to receive at least on Easter-day and in holy week, but its inner meaning they do not recognize. No body can really receive the Sacrament for another, therefore no one can read mass for another, although you pay for it. Substantially the mass is nothing else than a sign that your sins are forgiven if you go to it in faith. But the poor papists do not know this, but hasten to sell the sacrament every day for the contemptible fee it brings. The deed is worse than the treachery of Judas who sold his Lord for thirty pieces of silver, while these fellows sell him for a farthing or a shilling-bit. What a scandalous, devilish market it is to exchange the saving Sacraments for temporal goods; to sell masses for a gulden and masses for a farthing, babbling masses, masses for the repose of the soul, on the basis of a false foundation such as purgatory is. Well may the untutored folk consider the priests as neither doctors nor God's workmen. On this conceit of purgatory as a foundation stone, pope, cardinals, bishops, prelates, universities, pastorates, monasticism, conventualism, jurists, chancellists copyists, in short the entire papistical crowd together with all sects are built and to which they are all alike dedicated. It is nothing but a Vergilian fiction. The remaining points of this treatise are no less barbed with irony and bristling with satire. Against such papists as occupied an agnostic or a fatalistic position with regard to the Bible, as if the Scriptures were useless since they could not reveal the essential God on the one hand or save us from his sovereign fiat with respect to the individual on the other, Urbanus Rhegius wrote the *Kurze verandt- | wortung auff zwû gotß | lesterungen/ wider die | feynb der heyligen | schrifft/ Durch | D. Urbanû | Regi. | M. D. XXIII*. The arguments were a desperate device on the part of the Romanists to save the authority of their Church and prevent the recognition of the Bible as a sufficient judge for the individual conscience to follow. The reply was written in haste and shows the fact with a deal of unclear statement and not sufficiently wrought out reflections; he hoped to give the subject further study. It illustrates however the sort of rationalizing tendency to which some curialistic sophists felt compelled to resort in their extremity. They were glad to have the help of any dust which might be sprinkled in the eyes of the half awake. In 1524 Johann Fritzhans published a powerful apol-

ogy: Wie mann daß | Klar hell gotß wort pre-bigen soll/ Zu wider | den Dobenden/ vñ | wüttenden gotloffen menschen. While defending his forsaking of the monastery and his preaching of a pure Gospel, he is led to say of the old style of homiletic address: From the pulpit we heard nothing but the legends of the saints in regular series, indulgence, good works, how to stretch the conscience; also Thomas, Scotus, Aristotle, and similar truck were quoted; but nothing was said of the blessed, comforting message of the holy Gospel by which we should be consoled against death, the devil, hell and all temptation. A very quaint and illustrated anonymous writing: Daß Alt vnd New | ewig Testament. | Gnab vnd starcker fried in got | vnserm heil/ allen gotlieben | friedsamen menschen | vf erde die do sin | einß gutē wil|lensß Am|en makes the two swords refer to the Old and New Testament which the Christian is to wield incessantly, but of course wholly in a spiritual manner. He is at the same time to render all due obedience to authorities that are rightfully constituted; but both secular as well as sacred governments must only proceed against the wicked and must not exact what does not belong to them from their right-doing dependents.

XII. One discovers what meaning the authors attached to the office of a bishop. We see the acceptance of a historic bishopric because they no doubt felt that there must be some one to superintend and administer the affairs of otherwise unrelated churches, and they were willing to take things as they stood so that there might be the least attrition and conflict in restoring the sovereignty of the Scriptures. Obviously however, such a bishop is not a prelate, he is simply *primus inter pares*; he is nothing but a presbyter according to the New Testament; and the historic bishop should be identical with an evangelist. Into the shadings of this question they do not go; they accepted the situation but they reminded their overseer of certain fixed factors which should be predicated of him as well. He should submit himself without question or hesitation to the supremacy of the Scriptures and regulate his own inner nature thereby. It was much to know that he was a daily student of the Pauline epistles. If he should seek conformity to their standard of righteousness and love there could be no dubiety as to the simplifying result. The entire external administration would naturally reflect the inward change. Again in order to accomplish a quiet revolution the Bishop must understand the spirit of his own time and see things as they are; that is he must hold up the divine mirror to the life of the world. The conditions of the Kingdom of God in their day seemed best described through the mighty moral arraignments that the prophets used with the view of kindling better sentiments and effecting a renewal of righteousness and love in the hearts of the decadent people. Especially were the darker shadows due to the degeneracy of

the clergy and the upper classes. If clouds brooded over the people the lurid glow radiated from those who ought to have been vigilant shepherds and dear lovers of truth. The watch-towers were neglected for luxurious ease. The hedges were broken down because of the crimes of absenteeism and the vicarage system. If the divine school was empty it was because the clergy hungered after that type of classical revival which best reflected the sotadic life of the ancients. If God's law was lost sight of, it was due to the pursuit of canon law and its degrees as the best avenue to preferment. The simple injunctions and precepts of Christ were neglected for the fading conflicts of Realism and Nominalism or the new data of Aristotelianism and Platonism. For the humane and rational treatment of life were substituted a harsh and oblitative asceticism or the vain trances of mystic illusions. As a criticism of these morbid and perverted states the language of St. Paul seemed best adapted. Our authors had precisely the same purpose as the prophets and apostles to expose the actual fountains of the current evils. They did not deny the good in clergy and people, they themselves were products of the same intellectual and moral conditions, but they lamented the helplessness of the few better spirits of the ancient faith to conquer the mass of stolid perversion which was solidly arrayed to safeguard the things as they were; the old paths must be maintained at any hazard said all the frocked and mitred and sceptred officialdom. Empire and pope combined with side play of conflicting territorial interests to prevent the toppling of the structure whose vitality and significance had been lost. The wobbling fane could not contain the new spirit of the time, so the old guard determined to quench that spirit. With that cramping, cruel policy our authors were vehemently at war and they dealt their blows after the frank avowal of their reasons for entering upon such a conflict in the true genius of the new knighthood of God. And this upbuilding of a fraternity of spiritual warriors who should vindicate the divine cause with purely moral weapons became a standard and favorite theme. Prompted by the prophetic and Pauline imagery the Ritterschaft Gottes was developed eminently in theory not only but in noble service by Schwenckfeld and his followers, not, it is true, with any formal organization under such a title, but with its inspiration and energy animating the brotherhoods.

It would follow that the Bishop must administer his diocese by the divine laws exclusively. The same rule by which he would regulate himself has equal authority over the consciences of his cluster of parishes. If he be true to himself and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Evangelists and the letters to the Corinthians then they have similar dominion over all his spiritual children. He cannot take Christ as the absolute and exclusive guide for himself and then give the husks of tradition for the

nurture of his household. They remind him further that his sway is specifically spiritual, that he is debarred from governing his diocese in secularities. We must note the stress these writers put upon the spiritual features of the episcopal vocation. They draw a sharp line between it and its secular aspects simply because the secular slid all too easily into the sovereign seat. The lesser always tended to swallow up the greater. It is not that they would not sanctify the affairs of the world and inscribe all bells with holiness to the Lord, but the risk was imminent that the nobler elements under present conditions of relationship with Rome might be submerged. In the case of Jacob himself a few years later the secular scope and tendency became the chief thing, the danger of which is alluded to again in the letter which Schwenckfeld and Crautwald addressed to him in 1527. So the territorial bishops without exception have been the plague of the State, and the crozier which assumes geographical boundaries and then asserts its fictitious jurisdiction to be righteous is not far from the same evil. Devotion to spiritual interests exclusively is the essence of the pastoral epistles and even of parts of the Canon Law. They summarize the injunctions of the latter instrument as follows: 1) a bishop is not to intermeddle in secular affairs. 2) He is to busy himself with the Bible and the holy Gospel. 3) He is to comfort and strengthen the clouded and enchained consciences of his people. 4) He is to provide for the support of the poor wherever found, regardless of geography or color. 5) He is to manifest to the world the whole category of works of love by his own diligent discharge of them. The Bible is here used for the canonical Scriptures but without any discussion of apocryphal questions. It must be borne in mind that the old apocryphal elements had obtained a firmer position than the new. All these factors of the canon law must be taken in their extensive and inclusive sense. There can be no question but that spirituality is the leavening element for the individual and for the community placed in his custody. Further, a bishop is to love his office and to fulfil its functions in that charitable spirit. His heart must embrace his people not with formal protestations of affection but with a vital energy which strives to demonstrate his deep feeling. The sense of accountability for the correct and sympathetic discharge of his work must be an ever-present element. It is his privilege to minister suitable nourishment to his flock and to enable them to build character on eternal foundations. He must also be the watchful guardian of all their interests and especially concern himself to preserve to them the simplicity of faith, hope and love. No less is he to establish new centers of light not only in his own territory, but he must cultivate in himself and in his parishioners an intelligent and contributive relationship with all destitute regions.

XIII. We must note the ictus put upon the office of the preacher. While there was a plenty of sermons in the larger centers the quality of them was rather dubious. Our authors looked upon it as the main resource for expanding the Reformation in a spiritual and regenerative method. They were also anxious to give the preaching its due place in worship. The trend of the established Church was toward fostering a sacramentarian and ceremonial idea of the divine service. The thought and use of education were almost banished from the celebration of the mass and the other accretions of devotion. The training of souls required the constant reaffirmation of truth. The people needed above everything else instruction, and the preaching function was essentially a teaching one. From our authors' standpoint the homilist was to find his textbook in the records of the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ, and that exclusively. He must therefore turn his back upon the accumulated mass of traditions; these can have no warrant as rules of conduct. In other words he was to proclaim Christ and him crucified only, as the sole food for the spiritual nature and as the stable rock on which the edifice of individual happiness was to be reared. Our authors therefore viewed the preacher both as the pioneer and as the settled agent for the extension of the scriptural innovations. His vocation had an unlimited scope, for the Christ of the Gospel could isolate no human being from his embrace love.

XIV. The moral earnestness of the prophets and their enthusiasm for religious education had impressed Axleben und Schwenckfeld profoundly. These teachers with their intense exaltation of righteousness and their hopeful presentation of the ultimate glories of the Kingdom dominating and surviving all changes and their convergence of the universal lines of life into one glowing and perfect personality had an immense influence upon Schwenckfeld certainly; the effects shine through the letter and come to the boldest expression in the pointed appeals to the Bishop; its authors would deepen the conception of this great office as spiritual; they would kindle the sense of responsibility by reflection upon the immortal interests at stake; they would hold up the essential retributions which pursue neglect, indifference and perversion of its holy functions; they would communicate the atmosphere of ethical freedom in which those worthy representatives of Jehovah breathed to the man to whom the Silesian diocese had been committed; they would incite Jacob von Salza to cultivate the inward peace which those guardians of the Spirit's dispensation had possessed; they would kindle a love and fervor for truth and urge upon him the need of far-sightedness as a watchman on the towers of the city of God. Those ancient witnesses understood the politics of their world, local and extraneous, and were skilled in tracing the divine adjustments of the spiritual order to the tempestuous evolution of human society. The Bishop of Breslau should not less understand the

temper and trend of his time. We at once see then how vitally practical as well as ideal was the use which Schwenckfeld made of the Old Testament. For him it was an eternally applicable book. Its wisdom was based not only on the experience of man but on the inspiring omniscience of God. Some forms indeed were definitely absorbed and fulfilled in Christ but the ethical and religious conceptions, the nascent Messianic imports and forshadowings remained as imperishable and inexhaustible parts of the Kingdom's structure.

XV. On the basis of this injunction to the Bishop to devote himself exclusively to spiritual duties, they return to the plea for a Christian mandate to restore the authority of the pure Gospel of Christ both in preaching and reading throughout his diocese. Its interpretation is to be according to the Scriptures themselves. They also add a petition that the strictest supervision may be given to the execution of such a mandate. For the enforcement of this ordinance among the clergy the evangelical ban must be restored so that the fabulists may be compelled to cease perverting the true material and aim of the pulpit as well as the school. St. Paul with Timothy and Titus had the same struggle with the Jewish and Gentile fabulists, cosmogonists and legalists of their day as the Bishop would be likely to encounter should he attempt to return to the spirit of the apostolic doctrine and usage. The way of meeting these dilating and long-seated difficulties is 1) to persist in preaching and teaching the simple Gospel truth with earnestness indeed but also with patient winsomeness, 2) to forsake fellowship with those who continue in the denial of Christ especially through the immorality of their lives, 3) to disregard the opposition of the prelates who stand for tradition and for inherited abuses religious and moral, 4) to bring the existing condition of things among the antagonists into the bright light, the searching scrutinizing and the self-illumination of the day. The embers must not be allowed to smoulder, they only serve to keep up the sources of a disastrous conflagration that will leave nothing spiritual behind it. Let the public know the facts that are going on back of the scenes; let the doings of the sacerdotalists and ceremonialists in his Chapter be exposed; let the devotees of the ancient tyranny be known to the people; let them receive the just reprobation of men who are studious for the progress and enjoyment of liberty. These seem to be the terms of the discipline here spoken of. It is something far removed therefore from the violent and cruel features which characterize the papal methods of punishment. A reformatory movement must resort to some plan for the control and development of its internal communal life. It cannot be a mere body of incoherent negations, it must have positive ways for keeping clear and consistent its own inward life and for the realization, revision and restatement of the best ideals of individual and

social character. To create a mere mass of nominal believers without any media for the inspection and correction of nominality and for keeping pure and unspotted the Christian name is only to increase the material and broaden the causes of corruption, it is an invitation to self-destruction; it is the nihilism of the spiritual and communal life. The means therefore should correspond to the nature of the Kingdom thus reared. Hence they will have to be alike spiritual and ethical. The elaboration of the system is not here made, some contributions to the question occur a little later. We may state however that in this particular feature of the communal life of Christians Schwenckfeld differs from Luther and approaches more the Reformed conception. Not that Luther had not insisted upon the evangelical ban but that he thought it impracticable for the Germans; Schwenckfeld steadily required it as good and possible for the Germans also, and his followers maintained it with evident profit in the brotherhoods. The neglect of it was a distinct contribution to Church nominalism; it first enhanced the magical concept and interpretation of the sacraments and of the ministry and depleted the efficiency of the Church as well as diminished the attendance on the services. Afterwards it bred the spirit of indifference and neglect and even contempt when rationalism weakened the wonder-working conception of the sacraments. Here the exercise of such a discipline is invoked for maintaining the purity of the pulpit and of the schools and therefore of the preachers and the teachers. It is a means of defence for the integrity and supremacy of the Gospel as against the ignorance, the immorality and the autocracy of the clergy. This method of discipline is called evangelical as opposed to the ecclesiastical and monastic prisons, to penances, to ban and interdict and excommunication major and minor, and particularly as forbidding any appeal to the secular arm or any interference with the state's prerogative of trying all men, priests or monks or non-clerical alike, for offences and crimes against the common law. It distinctly breaks down the separative function of ecclesiastical courts and abolishes exemptions of the clergy from the civil trial. It turns with abhorrence from the anathemas of Council and of the papal bulls, and from all manner of inquisitorial proceedings against the evangelical conscience and against the rights of freemen. In the aspects of restraint and punishment here considered, the law structure is reared on the pastoral epistles as descriptive particularly of the persons who deserve reprobation. Its instruments are persuasive but ultimately prohibitory should persuasion fail. But there is no procedure against the person, the property or the other rights of the excluded save that of Christian reputation. It affects Christian reputation and the Christian social rank of the one dealt with. Mayhap both friends had in mind the brutal procedure of this very Bishop Jacob or more likely of the Chapter against

Ambrose Creusing, the evangelical pastor at Wohlau. As we have seen that persecution occurred when Jacob was quite new in his office and had not yet learned to manage his canons. And it was on the 26th of this very month of January that the conduct of the rural pastors and communities in resisting the disciplinary and excommunicatory letter of the Chapter was discussed because no attention was paid to these expostulations and threats, particularly on the part of Creusing and his church at Wohlau. Schwenckfeld no doubt had much to do and say about that prelatie move against his favorite Wohlau. His insistence on a disciplinary system may have been inspired by just such canonical violence; the domherren by their withstanding of the Gospel revived the memory of Jannes and Jambres. The country churches and those under patronage felt the exuberance of their recovered liberties and their disregard of the old authorities was particularly exasperating to these well stalled and lordly oxen at Breslau.

XVI. Even broader are the readings of the New Testament by our authors. We would expect them to make a large use of the Pastoral epistles from the very fact of directing their appeal to a bishop. They desired Jacob to pattern after the general ideas of polity that underlay their depiction of the Church on its personal and administrative sides with respect to doctrine, cult and the conduct of life. They above all urged him to imitate the striking portrayals of the ideal overseer who in no possible sense differed from the presbyter. Without drawing attention to the elementariness of the primitive organism its contrast with the barbaric elaborations and pomps of the existent establishments could not but strike any reader of those letters, such as Jacob was well known to be. But not only that, the admonitions and cautions with which the pastoral epistles abounded for the preservation of the simplicity and purity of the Christian community were of the highest weight in forming a right conception of what the Church should be at all times and therefore at this time. Its warnings were applicable to the present juncture; its mirror should be held up to the prelatie and canonical pretensions and perversions. Paul should judge the Chapter in his own high court; indeed the pompous, bedizzened dignitaries stood condemned out of hand by the conspicuous, glaring unlikeness of their system with that early brotherhood who combined under the Spirit to serve God and men in an unornate faith, hope and love. Here Scripture is final authority; and simplicity in doctrine, worship, polity and life is the absolute and exclusive order. Schwenckfeld and his friend use Timothy and Titus with serious intensity to confound prelacy and the prelates. It is again noteworthy how St. Paul dominates Schwenckfeld's own reflection and how joyously he dwells upon the fact that the Bishop was a daily reader of these glowing epistles.

And what literature in the world is equal to them? How the apostle of the Gentiles contributed to the shaping of Schwenckfeld's religious thought will appear more and more. Here indeed there are some eighteen distinct references to that loving and profound thinker. Who has remained untouched by his matchless devotion to the exaltation of Christ? Who has risen with steadier wing beyond the universe of things into pure transcendence and has gazed with more constant eye upon the eternal lamps? Who has so allied the cross with a measureless and unutterable glory? Who has given faith such assurance, and sonship such a fellowship and destiny, and resurrection such a fulness of life? To merge his certainty into a temperamental optimism would be to degrade its unwavering, rockcentred, universalistic scope. Paul's theology rests wholly upon objective bases. When he speaks of the all in Christ and in God, he knows whereof he speaks for he is conscious of the divine seal upon his reason. That is what Schwenckfeld felt St. Paul's affirmation to signify, a veritable trustworthy objective revelation. For him that apostle was and remained the chief expounder of Christ and his Kingdom. The Reformation then projected by these brethren had a Pauline hue of mind and feeling, but there was more breadth and depth to the understanding and interpretation of that apostle than prevailed in some other quarters. The accent was larger and more evenly distributed. It began with freedom of the spirit rather than justification by faith, not to the exclusion of the latter but to its exacter setting and proportion. The doctrine of works was not the keystone of the old arch; it was rather the question of authority and obedience which was really central in that structure. The Pauline exposition of the larger liberty in Christ was that upon which our reformers seized. That was the diapason for the whole organ of redemption. That was the virtual tap-root which laid hold of the growing soil more penetratingly and steadied the huge trunk as it ramified and gradually gave the wider and more grateful shade through its farther reaching branches and its richer luxuriance of leaves. Would that it could have been let alone to reach its fullest and most beneficent historical growth.

But the power of the Pauline influence did not interfere with other currents setting in with irrigating and enriching effect. The spacious ideas of St. John did not fail of enlarging the hearts of our authors. The revelation of Christ as the light which lighteth every man coming into the world could not at once dispel the limitations of Augustinianism, so that our authors narrow its universality by imposing an epexegetis upon it; they would force its vastness into the grooves of particularism, as if believers alone participated in the clearness and comfort of that light, but they are at least made to consider what its large terms signify; they are knocking at the door of Christ's relations to the universe of rational and

moral life. Certainly Schwenckfeld soon learns to take a view of his Lord's essential being as well as his mission kindred to that set forth in the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. The significance of the Eternal Word was about to dawn upon him unobscured by the clouds of his own mind that still darkened the full-orbed radiance above him. There was no age in all the succession of the race that was without that Word. There was no individual in all the concatenated chain but that stood related to this Light and no soul that had not been illuminated with a conscious divine spark. The fact and duty soon emerged that men must not be deprived of their generic birthright in God, neither in teaching nor in act. The Church and its representatives must not eclipse the innate light of the spirit in man. They must not take from him the delegated sovereignty involved in the gift. Their function is rather to preserve, sustain and enlarge that fire kindled on every human hearth and not to burn it to ashes or to quench it by exhausting its air or to ignore its existence. And this is again a contention for liberty. You must begin right with this acknowledgement of the mission of Christ to all humanity and foster every agency by which it may attain its fullest expansion. It is the prime business of Christianity to make the world conscious of the eternal Word. Almost every school of Protestantism fell into the grievous error of coddling particularism. The majority began with repression and limitation of the light; they for the most part denied the continuity and relationship of Christ to the entire race and purposefully excluded the one vital force from the history of its development. They declined to see that the root of universal evangelization lies here. Humanity must be assured of its prerogative that it may claim it by assimilation. The limitation to race or blood or clime or tongue or land or sea is the prime sin of Judaism and of the Church. There was a revelation of the Word before the Jew was differentiated; there is a revelation of the Word to every son of man and there are few that have not been conscious of it although they may have expressed it differently from ourselves. The historical manifestation in Jesus is indeed the crown of this revelation because it objectizes the reconciliation, and that Christ is crucified is the supreme knowledge to which every human being has a claim. And that right is not recognized in a Roman or a Greek or a Wittenberg or a Canterbury or a Genevan or a New England formulary of faith. This statement of St. John is a simple fact that should be taught without first forcing liturgies or catechism or politics as prior conditions on the basis of which men may participate in the cross. Into this broader conception of Christ as the Word of God, Schwenckfeld was about to emerge in this very letter and right under the inspiration of this Johannic passage. His Gospel platform was to have no railings. The principles of freedom and of the sole headship

of Christ allow of no vicars, and the heart needs no witnesses save its own testimony in the consciousness of participating in the reconciliation. Christ is the life and light of the world and not of a pope or a bishop or a religious teacher as an essential go-between. Christ and his Spirit are the sole advocates and no one can usurp or supplant their exclusive functions. Their light alone can dispel our native darkness.

There is a further saying of John which made a deep impression upon our authors as illustrative of the final authority, independence and sufficiency of Christ: I receive not testimony from men. Our Lord has no need of the witness of this or that person; not even so great a character as John the Baptist could enhance the divine certification of his origin and office. The heavenly evidence was and remains ample and conclusive. The essence and nature of Christ are attested by what he said, what he did and what he claimed. The works were the complete and effected demonstration of his relationship to the Father and therefore of his necessary mission to men. The majesty of our Lord therefore needed no human setting-forth, display or attestation. Let this very greatness of our Savior assure us of his nearness and accessibility. The humiliation of Jesus shows that he stands in need of no substitutes and no assistants. The galaxy of hierarchs and hierophants is utterly alien to the truth of the incarnation. Christ came in the flesh himself and saved men himself and saves them now himself. His reconciling office is not delegated in any feature to another; the sinner, be he cleric or layman, can have no part in it save as recipient. His essential nor his declarative glory receives any lustre from a retinue of popes, cardinals and prelates. His doxa is revealed by a direct coming into each individual soul and by making that meet for indwelling. This sufficiency and directness of Christ as being a divine witness and as dealing immediately with the individual is another of the elements of Schwenckfeld's system of thought and it was now a fruit of his present study of the New Testament. No body of belief, no form of worship, no governmental ideas could usurp, much less overthrow the sovereignty of Jesus. The chief business of the believer is to magnify him and not the Church or the pope or the priests or the preacher or the cardinals or the prelates or the teacher. His jealousy for the supreme and exclusive honor of his Redeemer became a radiant motive in his lifelong confession and his defence of the gospel. We see then how his study of the Scriptures was bearing creative fruit. Some radical principles came to him from his comparison of things as they were, with things as he found them in the sacred volume. His entire grasp of life in its essence as well as in its conduct had undergone a profound and wholesome change. A great simplicity and an energetic liberty stood forth fully armed for the great debate. We see too an individualistic tone

generated and fostered by these studies. He felt himself urged to go to the fountain heads of faith even though he was a layman; he must take no stock *ipse dixit*; he must submit his conscience to no teacher since he alone could and must give account for himself of himself; he therefore was impelled to go to the primal springs and see for himself what superior waters of life were to be found there. He hied to the cisterns which God and Christ had hewn out and filled. He therefore felt more and more persuaded that it was urgent for him to study the originals as rapidly and as thoroughly as might be. It is evident then that Schwenckfeld was concerned not only with the formal understanding of the Scriptures. He did not think of philology, introduction, exegesis and all such preparatory work as the great end, but as facile approaches to the vital and essential things suggested and hidden within. He was bent on grasping the precious stone imbedded. He was after the spirit and life stored up in words and history. He had found the key to the treasure house and looked at himself and men and events through its windows.

XVII. Apart from the authoritative and self-sufficient qualities of the Scriptures, we find other criteria here dwelt upon. The predicate of holiness indicates our authors' sense of the divine origin and purpose of the records; the phrase is a setting-forth of their reverential attitude toward the contents as being inspired of the Spirit and as able to promote righteousness in those who have experienced an inward change. Then too they believed in the self-evidencing character of the Scriptures. This is everywhere ascribed to them, not only as being superior in literary qualities but as infinitely beyond all human compositions in the elevation and purity of their thought. There was that in them which could not be gainsaid but which carried immediate conviction to the prepared heart. A simple human faith, *humana fides*, was not equal to a sure apprehension of this. It required the inward credence, the *divina fides*. There was a full-toned voice which sounded from an eternal aseity in them; the indications of divine life animated them so that the hearer who had ears to hear — and observe that the disposition to give audience must precede — would infallibly yield himself to their teaching. They had in them the rule and power of a sure judgment. Our authors did not concern themselves with the secondary affections because their letter is addressed to a Christian bishop. Moreover these properties were of least import to one who had tasted and seen that the Lord is good. Doubtless also they paid less attention to such marks as authenticity, credibility, integrity and so on, because the writings were historical and as such were subject to the laws of historical criticism; they embraced accounts of individual and racial events and must therefore have been moulded in the methods of describing coteremporaneous life. They were also the story of development under

different degrees of revelation. The books could not all stand upon the same level. The Old Testament was manifestly inferior to the New; the experiential sections could not have the same weight and value as the distinctly authoritative parts; the sayings of Jesus were immeasurably beyond any other utterances; no prophet or apostle but had to be estimated by the standard of the living Word. Further, the authors held to the self-interpreting efficacy of the Scriptures; they were capable of explaining themselves under the divine Spirit and required no other exegete. This hermeneutical principle they repeat some four times in this one letter. Scarcely a solitary reformation symbol but that asserts this canon as a cardinal one for the Protestant position. The Bible depends upon no fathers, councils, popes to tell what it signifies. Every reader is able and expected to gather its meaning for himself; its perspicuity needed no foreign hand to make it clearer; it was its own light. This maxim was invariable in the Schwenckfeldian system: *semet ipsam interpretandi facultas*. The christological, democratic, and individualistic elements have already been alluded to.

XVIII. The history has commented sufficiently upon the nature of prelacy as here developed. It was the most subtle and obstinate foe of the Reformation in all lands, and naturally so, for it was and is a system of non-Christian distinctions; it was and is the promoter of traditions and fables; it held the highest offices and manipulated colossal revenues; it was the most guilty supporter of simony, of absenteeism, of pride, of individual corruption; it was opposed to any changes other than those which magnified its own traditions; it was the fiery suppressor of all liberty of thought, even when a few of its own corporation undertook to laud the spiritual life and to introduce it into the Roman Church, they were ruthlessly stamped out. The prelates were always and everywhere the hottest allies of centralization and autocracy in any established communion. Let one read the severe strictures of Nicolas de Clemangis or of Gerson himself or of Franciscus de Zabarellis and the scorching comments of Theoderic Vrie. These arraignments are from within and are even more radical than those of our letter.

XIX. Our authors state the prelatic doctrine of good works in a series of critical observations. What then in the view of these ecclesiastical functionaries constituted a good work? We may summarize their practices somewhat in this way. It is a good work to do and carry out certain religious acts; to fulfil appointed penitential prescriptions; to keep the evangelical councils of poverty, chastity and obedience, to which may be added nine other such commands which some moralists are wont to group under this head. Again it is a good work to perform certain voluntary, spontaneous acts whether of religious observance or of distributing alms,

or visiting the sick; also to contribute money for Church uses such as wax, altar-cloths, salt, oil. It is a good work to pay for masses in provision for oneself or for others; to keep a sacred season by diligent attendance upon all or some of the appointed rites in order to secure the indulgences attached thereto. It is also a good work to undergo certain magical results connected with the regular sacraments or with the special machinery of pictures, shrines. This list seems to embrace the factors of what in the judgment of the prelates constitutes a good work. The objects which the doer has in view are the securing of justification, special forgiveness and numerical additions to the account of sanctification and blessedness. Of course then such good works have in them or flowing from them a value more or less reckonable, that is they have merit and enter into the scheme of salvation with the distinct claim to reward. It is this theology with its practices that our authors proceed to criticise. The abuses of evangelical truth by clergy and monks refer especially to the schemes for the purchase or securing of salvation without any change of character. The endowments and the substitutional works were set forth as able to command the destiny of giver and receiver right in the teeth of the Pauline doctrine that our own works cannot justify us; therefore how much less can such as are vicariously wrought through the agency of men as sinful as ourselves? We see then that both of our men had cordially embraced the view of that type of justification by faith which the apostle laid down as one of the steps in the process of salvation. The outcome of the practical development of justification by works was a steady decline in religious and moral stamina and a growing ignorance of the knowledge of one's self. By emphasizing both these points we get another glimpse at the simple elements of the Christian life which we have already found elsewhere. There is no reformation possible where there is no purification of the mind and the affection and the will; where the increase in the sensitiveness of the moral instincts is absent; where there is no daily recognition of the divine source of life; where the man does not grow in all that is acceptable to God and in likeness to his Master and Mediator. Let us put these features down as elemental in the Middle Way; that type of reformation demands that the seed shall become a stalk and an ear and the full corn in the ear. Its index is one of maturing virtues and the daily widening of the area of beneficence. The good deeds must be done and done with an expansion and plasticity of power and of place. The geography of good works must broaden; it must cross over the mountains; it must sail over the seas; it must overcome the prejudices of color and the difficulties of language. The energy which produces them must have a constant accession of vitality; the strong man ought to issue from his swaddlings and show himself brave, tender, courageous, observant, oppor-

tune and invincible. The cuckoo's song is often a descent from the minor third to the dominant; it is full of plaint and passion but without robustness; the strong man's song is upward and soaring and therefore jubilant and full of call to duty and to new fields for Christ. Now observe that this ascent in the scale, this upward swing and challenge is the tone and motive of Schwenckfeld's theology of life; it struggles to the full diapason. Here too the knowledge of oneself is once more set forth as fundamental. Whether a man has much in him or little is of vital significance to his future. What is weak in me, what is strong? Have I many vibratory strings to my nature or am I monotonic and limited in the range of my responsiveness? What are my natural capacities? What is common in me with other natures? What is distinctive in my emotions? Am I strong of will or weak and irresolute? Am I socially inclined or am I shy of men and women? Am I conscious of God or is he far from the range of my thought and feeling? These are a few of the elementary things which, if one does not consider, he remains a problematical character to himself with a divided ego, dual or triple, full of self-surprises and disturbed by erratic courses, halting, doubtful and undecided, necessarily deteriorating, obdurately insensible, with the gradual loss of power to think or to grow. We must make an inventory of ourselves, or our elders and teachers should have done so from the beginning. It will not do simply to confess: I am a sinner, without considering the distinct sins and having a definite consciousness of the betrayals and the wrongs and the defects in our nature and conduct. You look upon a landscape in a twilight and all the objects therein blend in harmonious and interfolding colors. Under the meridian sun you see the dark lines of abysses and the shadows of bean-poles or the furrows of the ploughed field and the slime on the river surface and the charred trees of the forests. A man must have the noon-tide sun upon himself to see the heights, the levels, the depths, the unblended cleavages in the topography of his soul. Without this preliminary science no other moral science is possible. It is a saying after all older than the most ancient philosopher; it is a human heritage transmitted from the most remote days of the race; it is a practical philosophy on which theology and ethics alike rest. And to know yourself you must have the consciousness of some perfection somewhere and that perfect one is the God for you, who has given you the sense thereof. Whatever the cotemporaries of our authors may have thought this was a sufficient proof of the existence of God for them. There were two factors in the argument: the idea itself and its implantation. As a plough turns the newly broken soil there is a rich gloss upon the clods and a fresh fragrance to the lustrous earth. Such a deep ploughing of the spirit is what the writers suggest so that the lines and the odors may never fade and vanish and

the open grooves may be ready to receive imperishable seed. It is the *opus operatum* theory that the authors seek to controvert. If there were any real ground in the Scriptures for such a view of the formation and growth of character, if any blissful result could eventuate from the neglect of personal training, if a real virtue could be dissociated from its active exercise, if one could attain felicity after a life of self-indulgence, if moral logic were not inevitable, then every sinner might feverishly prefer the broad way and let others do the narrow way for him. If gold could really purchase eternal exemptions from the ingrained, inevitable sequences of our deeds, probably the most of mankind would gladly embrace that method of procuring stability in Paradise, so much easier is it to yield to the lower nature than to fight for its redemption. The very levity with which this theory of works purposes to attain the supreme good is a fatal argument against its validity. The whole presumptive edifice is reared upon a suspicious and groundless view of the priesthood as perpetually vicarious and endowed with representative powers and as offering a peculiar and repeated sacrifice. With that assumption all the other supposititious prerogatives can be readily and in some sense logically asserted. Just this is the prime error; and it is only to be eliminated by the heroic maintenance of the sacrifice once offered sufficient and finished and impossible of repetition, and by a genuine doctrine of the thank-offering priesthood as a divine gift to and an ordained function for every believer. No one else therefore can do your personal obligatory religious and moral work. You are to conquer yourself, as is here said, through the Spirit of Christ and the divine Word. It is an individual contention, each for himself in Jesus, and it is a hard and serious life task; no human being can do it for you or remit either its necessity or severity. This struggle is with manifest sins that are our inheritance from Adam. They are congenital predispositions which should be overwon early, before they have become so deceptively vigorous and imperious. The archenemy is a diseased self-love or selfishness; it is the chief and causative vice of all vices. The parentage and genealogy of sin then, according to our authors, lies here in making our ego on its evil sides the object of our affection with utter disregard of its relation to God and our fellows. The natural evolution of this vice is into the greed, brutality, lust, violence of Hobbesism and the overman theory of ethics in all spheres of life. It makes the individual a monster, the tyrant in the family, the Machiavelli in the State, the autocrat in the Church. As these writers say, there be few that will practically acknowledge selfishness to be the mother of all sins, although they may propound it as a theory. Religion, politics, sociology, all have to contend with the dragon and with its deceitfulness. It is a wearisome duty for the flesh and for the spirit to suppress the many headed and

atrocious hydra. And yet human progress whether for the individual or for the community consists in just this thing, the overthrow and uprooting of selfishness and the recognition and practice of mutuality.

XX. And this is the law for the individual thus axiomatically expressed: Adam must out, if Christ is to enter in. This sentence may be a suggestion from the *Deutsche Theologie* or it may be the natural induction from the epistle to the Romans and to the Corinthians; a striking sentence it is whatever its origin. We shall come across it again, as for example in Schwenckfeld's *Ritterschaft*. The authors are thus led to consider the necessarily related doctrine of regeneration. The new birth is of celestial origin, it is not effected by the man. It is spiritual and not corporeal except as the renovation of the Spirit may affect the body. Many doctors of those days and many doctors of this day are like Nicodemus, they decline to understand it because it requires too much of them that is inharmonious with their tradition or with the flesh. They stumble at a doctrine which requires a change of the nature, substantially or attributively. These councilors like their prototype have a system of ethics grounded on tradition; it is the ethics of self-will and the theology is an evolution from natural impulses. They move in the limited sphere of the elaborated first Adam without any regard to the second Adam without whom the inner rebirth is impossible. They do not comprehend the light that lighteth every man. Now that sun does shine resplendently, although they be blind to his illuminative rays. It remains a fact also that some doctors and literati seem to prefer their own darkness to his spirit-compelling change. Hellenism is sweeter than Christianity for some tenderfoots. Erasmus is a safer guide than Luther amid theological perils. And science boldly swears she has no use for Christ for the understanding of her material. They continue to affirm in the universities that it is no key to cosmology or to the interpretation of the universe to allege that Christ is all in all. The fatherhood of God solves no problems for the professors of natural science. The minimization of the Son of God is a process in which many scholars have been for centuries engaged and most of us sinners bring our practical contributions to the effort. We must observe too that regeneration with our authors is an essential as well as a moral change. It is not magical; it is not connected with the ceremonials of infant baptism. Being of the Spirit, spirit is produced; it affects the nature of the conscious soul as well as institutes a change in the entire character; and it restores relationship on the true lines of the recognition of and obedience to the divine; it constrains to the pursuit of the chief good. So much at least is here intimated.

XXI. The new sphere into which the second birth qualifies one to enter is called the Kingdom of heaven. This new spiritual and social

order has begun on earth from the first days of the regenerative process when men were born of water and the Spirit. It has no organization save as its purified genius is manifested in the beneficent effect upon the life of the world in all spheres. The good in it radiates in all directions; its effects appear for the betterment of all classes and conditions of men. It gives a richer tone to all human songs of joy or litanies of sorrow; it adds deep and exhaustless values to the manifold colorings of life whether gray or bright; it dapples the meadows with variegated bloom; it empurples all heights of human endeavor; it sweetens the cups that are put to the lips of all men and women and children; it has arms of mercy for all family troubles; it has wings that speed to every one fallen among thieves; it thirsts to lift and lighten the woe of the world; it plants the signs and scatters the seed of a new order. The difficulties in the way of spiritual discernment are briefly hinted at; they lie primarily in the lack of self-discipline of our spiritual nature; our hearts are so full of illusions and falsehoods and perversions that we accept with utmost reluctance a disenchantment and a face to face interview with truth. Happy is he who recognizes and confesses the fact and sees the unsearchableness and possibilities of the evil in himself. A man is not equal to compassing the boundaries of evil or of good in his own heart. The powers of his body are no circumstance to the powers of his spirit. We are literally incapable of thoroughly measuring ourselves or the fruit which may hang from our tree of the knowledge of good and evil; we can be incalculably better or worse than the best or the worst of us dream. That is a forgotten fact by the anti-Christian ethicists and the anti-Christian psychologists. Neither of them can descry much less describe the infinite depths and heights of the spirit within them. They have no wings for the immensity of the situation anymore than the physicists have for the immensity of the universe. They are provincial and shallow when they talk so glibly of ideals and ends. The devil ought to take them to some mountain top or some pinnacle and try them a bit from those surprising, wide reaching and dizzy heights. Let them descend into some hells of earth and see what men and women can do and be before they talk of the unhell of the future. Let them go and do some noble deeds in order to realize somewhat of the infinitude of virtuous acts. There is the power of an endless life in the giving of one cup of cold water, but how can they from their standpoint affirm it if they have not seen its consequences? And what are our most rapt foretastes to the everlasting and inconceivable realities? Happy he therefore, who feels the present limitations of all sciences and speaks candidly of the little we know, especially psychologically and ethically. Happy the man who surrenders to an infinite soteriology and pursues his upward way with a sufficient guide. Pregnant

saying is this therefore: *Es muß das Licht der göttlichen gnaden herein leuchten / sollen wir unser gebrechen kennen.* Without such light from the superior world, we make such poor philosophies as show their ragged superficiality in the very life and time of the pretender. How many forget the caution of Hamlet when in their encyclopedic arrangements they leave out the infinite factors and the chief because immanent element. Let us repeat the idea of Schwenckfeld, the universe is ethical and there is no true science and no true school of science and no true university to teach science when science does not begin, continue and end in God.

XXII. Thus imbedded in the swift running arguments of our authors there is a full and concentrated system of spiritual theology. The state of sin, its congenital inheritances, the first Adam, the necessity for a regeneration of the nature, the implanting of a fresh seed of righteousness, the slow upbuilding of conduct upon the lines laid by Christ in our hearts, — there is nothing lacking here of the elements of religion and morality. In fact, we discern how great a value our authors put upon Christian experience. They dwell upon the clearing of the house; they magnify sovereign grace; they exalt the operation of the Holy Spirit in the formation of the life of God in the soul; they delight in surveying the effects of the mercy and love of God in the heart of man; they cultivate a deep consciousness of sin; they strive after an intelligent, earnest repentance; they are sorrowfully aware of human inadequacy to rear aloft the new life; they vigorously lay hold of faith, hope and love as the constructive forces under God for the imitation of Christ; they never forget the memorials of the inward change wrought by their Savior's atoning sacrifice; their hearts overflow with gratitude; they are perpetually reminded of their own incompetence and the crying need of heavenly intercessions; they pray for divine interventions and the exercise of those regulative elements which complement their own weak endeavor. No less do they desire to minister to others with all the resources of a rebaptized spirit; they accept the purifying office of suffering; they sympathize with the sorrows and evils of the world; they pity those who belittle God's love and circumscribe its free exercise toward all men. Such are some of the features of Christian experience here evolved and we must acknowledge them to be rich and mature.

XXIII. If then the human heart cannot be understood without the illumination of divine grace, how necessary it is to preach that grace, all the more since there are so many false guides ready to mystify the people with their fictitious, man-devised schemes. So aggravating is their perversion of the true Gospel that if Christ were to come now and enunciate his simple truths of personal and solitary mediation he would be called a heretic by those who pretend to represent his doctrine. Christ himself

rejects the whole body of such works as are done without the regenerated spirit. A work to meet with the divine approval must have in it the renovated spiritual energy of the man; it must originate in his soul and be moved by the most inward of virtues, for the spirit here spoken of our authors define as the equivalent of faith in Christ. That is the instrument by which the new life is born within us; it is this belief in the Lord which appropriates the divine elements of strength and acquires the discrimination of what is really acceptable to God, and of what is verily effective in promoting a stable human welfare. It is well to note this power of faith therefore in connection with the new birth of the Spirit. Hence acceptable works are such as are the fruit of faith and of righteousness. Christ characterizes human works apart from their connection with God as an unprofitable service. How can they be otherwise? How he would purge his temple of all the money-changers whose commercial spirit intrudes into the most holy mysteries of worship, were it not for his merciful tenderness to the offenders. We would however expect him to prevent them from being a continuous stumbling block to the people. The long-suffering of God will have an end and the period of retribution will discover and overtake all who make a trade of religion.

And the modern term commercialism exactly expresses the idea which the authors would convey. What does it signify? Such a spirit has always been where men and states and ecclesiastical establishments have been greedy of gain, and when have they not? The laws against simony are centuries old. Barterers in religion are as hoary as sin. The action of Christ against the merchandise system was directed at an evil that had existed for generations; the high-priestly family itself was involved in the inherited guilt. Rome has taken rentals from brothels and so on everlastingly. Some State-Churches still demand a tax from a citizen who does not believe in their claim, which is a form of the same wrong. Our authors here point to two evils: 1) the revenues derived from dogmatic and ethical perversions of the Scriptures; 2) the using of the Church in any of its features, goods or relations for personal ends. They however distinctly recognize the necessity for the regulation of Church finances in connection with its properties and of its numerous economic relations. Its religious and sociological duties demand the employment of means. The reception of gifts and their proper husbanding, income from the real estate, investments in legitimate pursuits, negotiating of loans in cases of necessity, these are essential to the support of its external life. In general all business transactions must be carried on in the highest ethical honor. First of all a doctrine is invented out of whole or piecemeal cloth, then comes the further abuse in that this perversion is itself sophistically turned into a medium for raising money; this is what our authors so severely con-

demn; they consider it to be a desecration of holy things. The Church establishment is converted into an exchange which however differs from the secular institution because it rests upon a false foundation. There is a double if not a triple chicanery. Hence there is not only the loss of the spiritual sense but the spiritual sense is itself made the instrument of deception and fraud, and all for the ignoble end of creating revenue. It is worse then than what is ordinarily called commercialism or it is that raised to an infinite exponent.

XXIV. There follows one of those magnificent general principles, borrowed from Tauler, which have attained the dignity of a world maxim. It bears on the sovereignty of God and his right to universal obedience. It is as much as to say that the chief motive of life is to glorify God. We should not expect the divine legislator to consider the work of his creatures if their activities are not wrought in him. It is the duty of man to begin, continue and end all things in the name and for the honor of God. No modern ethics or theology has conceived of anything superior to that all-embracing precept. There is no apothegm more refining, more concentrative, more elevating, more satisfying and more beautiful than this concept sets forth. It puts religion and ethics into every human endeavor: and the artist cannot talk of his art as something independent of morals, if he consider this maxim, whether he be musician or preacher or sculptor or writer. It will tell him what ought to be and what ought not to be done by him in his creations or inventions or deformations. It is the spirit-level and plumb-line of every business enterprise for every undertaking of capital, for every strike of labor, for every large or petty commerce and trade. It is the judgment seat to which all the occasions of war, of social divisions of fashionable casts have to be brought sooner or later. It is the very soul of international law and of arbitrations. Come let us reason together: Has Kant or Aristotle or Plato or Locke or Hegel or von Hartmann or Spinoza or Spencer or Nietzsche or anybody else ever said anything truer or better? Produce what you may fancy to be nobler in Emerson and James and set it over against this sovereign challenge of all conduct; weigh the sentences of the philosophers in the balance against this quickening utterance. If Christ says, have faith in God, you have the completest motive, ideal and end of life; you may invent the loftiest phrases and you cannot rise higher; you may claim heirship to the most advanced and liberal ideas and you are not as broad by immeasurable and infinite distances as is this command of Christ. The problems involved in this maxim are somewhat as follows: 1) Can a man change the existing moral constitution of his nature so as to substitute another for it? 2) Can he call into being different relations than such as have always existed? 3) Do not righteousness and goodness demand an infinite personality in

order that these irreversible moral origins existing among us may be accounted for? 4) Must not all dependent and accountable creatures find the beginnings and continuity of their ethical being in that eternal and creative source? 5) Ought a man to undertake anything apart from God seeing that he cannot isolate himself? 6) Is not the secret of an enduring happiness to be found in the observance of this maxim? A very incisive and fresh exposition of the nature of the good works which Christ requires was given during this year 1524 by that original thinker, Hans Greiffenberger. Ein furter begriff vñ | gûten werden/ die got behagē/ | vñ der welt ein spot seind/ heht | eine grosse klag/ wie niemandt | mer gûts thû/ vñnd aller gotz | dinft vnter gee/ wie sie gebüdt | in irem syn/ Ein antwort was | gûtte werd seind. | Hans Greiffenberger. | M. D. XX iiii. It is an answer to those who say: What, shall a body do nothing? The reply starts with the assertion that God alone is good, of all who are in heaven and earth; therefore any act of ours that does not spring from love to him is sinful and carnal. Hence the works of a Christian are twofold, those of endurance and those of action. He is to begin with the recognition of God as well-disposed to him and as ready to save him, but purely out of infinite mercy; this requires the work of an internal faith in providence and love; thereafter a work consists in conquering the evil in one's nature and in the regulation of one's appetite. Again the believer must cast his daily care upon God. Then too when the trials of life begin in illness and so on, he must treat these hours of incapacity as a divine Sabbath and celebrate these occasions as a period of appointed rest; in other words, he must be patient and obedient under sufferings of whatever hue these be. Out of them grow the impulse and capacity to discharge relative duties, and here is a large area for abundant activity; you will not have to ask often: what, shall a body do nothing? These are requisites not to be ignored and God seeks no other result in you. Only through the Spirit of Christ can such works be wrought. Without him there is a tone of opposition to such duties; shades of this tone are vividly described, and the entire line of opposition which the world manifests to the school of Christ is graphically delineated. Further, such works are not bound to any time, number, goal, particular day or period. They are to be done as opportunity offers. They have nothing to do with any peculiar habit; "I do not take any note of his clothes, whether he wear a black or blue hood, a white or a brown cloak; such dirt does not count with God. Had one given a fine coat to John in the wilderness, he would just as readily have worn that as his camel's hair mantle." Let the Christian then put on the panoply of Christ.

Gottes werd/ gutte werd | Menschen werd/ lug vñd sündt.

There is a gentle and yet noble little sermon which Michael Hug

preached, who was a lector in the monastery of the Barefootfriars at Lindau: he sent it as a gift to the honorable Haug Zoller of Augsburg, during Lent on Reminiscere Sunday, Febr. 20, 1524, with a neat introduction. The friend seems to have been puzzled about the nature of belief and its relation to Christian activity. Hug speaks of the inwrought faith and its necessary fruit, good works, in short but very simple and cogent sentences. The time for Christ's oblivion in the Church has gone by; the Holy Spirit through the Scriptures points to the Son of God as the sole and sufficient revealer of the Father. Ein kurzer aber Christlicher vnnb fast nutzlicher Sermon | von dem rechten waren/ vnd lebendigen | Glauben/ an den ainigen mitler vñ | gnadenstül Christum. Durch | Michel Hug/ Leß- maister | zu Lindaw by den | Barfüßsen. | Geschicht an den Erberen | Haug Zoller zu | Augspurg. | 1524. In 1523 Tobias Faber preached a sermon on true faith and its intimate connection with good works. Ein Sermon Tho:bie Fabri. welcher/ wie ein | Cristen mēsch/ in der güst | vnnb barm- herzigkait | Gottes durch denn | glauben vnd güte | werd̄ erfunden | werd̄ sol, verstandenget. | Im Jar MDCXXXIII. In his view genuine faith is an unquestioning acceptance of Christ as the God-man who has vicariously accomplished our deliverance and has interpreted the will of the Father to us. Love is inseparably bound up with it and must express itself in beneficent deeds to one's neighbor. Love descends from heaven upon the earth through faith. These are the two personal qualities, faith and love, which justify, sanctify and save man. This combination of love with faith as parts of justification is to be noted as variant from the tenet of the solidians.

XXV. Our authors again present the Word of God and the Bible as the only right foundation for our salvation; the policy of neglecting it or the neglect of it without a policy is therefore doing injustice and impoverishing the education of the clergy. Fragmentary or partial public readings of the Scriptures especially where they are slurred over, are not what one would expect, if the Word of God has revealed to us the way, the truth and the life, that is if Christ has declared himself to be all these imperial facts. They claim the free circulation of the Bible without restrictions; it is to be distributed in its integrity without subtractions and without additions.

XXVI. Further they deplore the condition of the clergy: 1) as to their lamentable ignorance of the Scriptures, 2) as to the admixture of foreign and fabulous elements with their lections and sermons, 3) as to the false assumption that they do regularly preach the Gospel whereas they are rather setting forth themselves, 4) as to their appeal to human fears through their continuous threats of purgatory and hell-fire instead of addressing themselves to the hopeful side of human nature and its desire to win

heaven and to trust in the promises of Christ and the goodness of God so as to awaken and kindle love in the hearts of the hearers toward the divine persons. This latter is a statement of signal importance in the thought of Schwenckfeld. To preach the Gospel should be to proclaim the good tidings: the ultimate aim of preaching to the conscience is as we have seen, to comfort it. The living Word is designed to bring men out of their miseries to the joy and light and solace of the Father. The Christ is more a sun of righteousness than he is an avenger of law. The glad and illuminating elements of truth should have the precedence in the homily, in the sermon and in the personal presentation of the truth. Comfort ye, comfort ye my people; to declare the Kingdom to be at hand is rather designed to fill the heart with the cheer of righteousness, peace and joy that spring from the Holy Ghost. It is not however that the picture of truth shall be one-sided; the darker and minatory aspects thereof are not to be withheld. The advent of the Kingdom cannot help being one of judgment if its overtures be rejected. The authors had already reminded the Bishop of the results of unfaithfulness in the administration of his office. The prophets, nor Christ, nor the apostles can help indicating the consequence of aberrations from the divine sources of joy and happiness.

XXVII. Another evil among the clergy is their ruling idea as to what constitutes a call to the holy office. The authors complain of the ignorance of what fits a man for the vocation displayed by the candidates for that holy office: the selfish search for honors, the desire for temporal advantages, for a life of laziness and for the enjoyment of a good time. Whereas the right which warrants an installation into such an office springs from the call of God and from the call of the Christian congregation without the ambitus of the candidate or his friends. These democratic terms of the ministry in organized Christian communities break in pieces the claims of patronage and personal appointment, no matter by whom exercised. No settlement should be forced upon the Church: the voice of the people is first and supreme; patrons and superior ecclesiastics should abide by that. The ancient right of the congregation or the parish to choose their own pastor had been either almost entirely abrogated or it existed only as a formal and compulsory approval. Among the first acts of the renovated churches was the reassertion of this prerogative. In the cities where the magistrates took the initiative this privilege was not at first nor afterward uniformly recognized. Where the rights of patronage were jealously guarded it was still more difficult for the people to attain their primal sovereignty. Carlstadt and Luther had written in behalf of the claim, although the latter deserted his first impulse and became less and less democratic in practice. The churches found it difficult to free themselves from the growing tendency of the State to usurp the ecclesiastical functions

which they had compelled the papacy to resign more or less. The Empire desired to be as absolute as the Curia. It was Rudolf IV who said: In my country I am going to be pope, archbishop, bishop, archdeacon and deacon. This differed in nothing from the extravagant assertions of Hildebrand. All alike trod upon the necks of the people. Perhaps one of the most striking efforts to attain a general congregational reform was made in Hesse, where Lambert submitted a draft of a new constitution for the churches called *Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hessiae*, by which the people were to regain their peculiar rights. It is true that the Synod of Homburg adopted this order in 1526, but it was never allowed to come to the realization of its congregational liberties. The brotherhoods established by the followers of Schwenckfeld did however practice and sustain them. Again the authors cannot but criticise the current systems of ordination which have so little reference to the qualifications of candidates and their proper education; there is lacking the searching scrutiny into the motive for undertaking the office and into the stability or instability of the applicant's character, the proper control of which is the duty of the authorities, ecclesiastical or princely. The intrusion of the unworthy, of the nobility as such, of the uneducated is a sign of degenerate times. They feel that every chapter bears witness to these depressing conditions; many episcopal seats suffer under the unholy system; many a village is death-ridden by an incompetent and vicious priest or pastor. The honor of God and the love of one's neighbor which should be the sole motive for entering upon these offices, involving as they do the eternal interests of human souls, are wantonly and selfishly ignored. Let us summarize these remarks about the clerical reforms which the writers would see instituted. 1) A thorough education of the ministry in the Scriptures, of which topic more is said later on. 2) An elevated view of the vocation as essentially divine. 3) A real outward, independent call by the people. 4) A suitable examination. 5) A worthy ordination. 6) A preaching of the Gospel in its purity as a message for human consolation and happiness. In this group of changes there is a conspicuous, if indirect, assault upon adventitious doctrine, upon the elements of fable and legend, upon sacerdotalism and upon the sacramentarian idea of the Church.

XXVIII. In turning to meet the personal charges which were preferred against these two as being Lutherans and making innovations, misleading their friends through erroneous doctrines and destroying the reverence due the prelates and so on, we are brought face to face with a noble protest which has all the liturgical merit of a confession before the bishop and the whole world. It declares in effect: According to the highest attestation of conscience and our hope of salvation we are Christians, and as truly as God is our Lord who knows all hearts we crave nothing superior and

pray for nothing more ardently than that the name of God and of Jesus Christ our Redeemer may be praised and magnified by a genuine worship; that his divine Word may be proclaimed throughout the whole world for the comfort of all troubled souls; that all men may win a right faith and a cordial trust in God; that we may exercise ourselves in all works of love, each one toward every other man; in brief, since we just now speak of the Gospel of Christ, that we all may lead a genuine evangelical Christian life. Confessional literature has produced nothing nobler, simpler or more vital. The two confessors rise above the mere Church organization and the limitations and pretensions of the ecclesiastical idea of salvation. Thus they identify themselves with no human teacher be he great as Aquinas or lucid as Tauler or commanding as Luther. Salvation is linked with no school and with no theologian however significant he was or is. They stand on the broad, free, simple platform of Gospel Christianity and personal relationship with the living Word. Rome and the schools may condemn them but they have the inner witness of conscience and of God that they are Christians; they have the consciousness of that union with Christ which the Spirit alone can give; they know and feel their relationship and have the assurance of an accepted and loving faith; they are men of prayer and their whole nature in its deepest and most generous conclusions and desires rises up with aspirations for the fullest honor of God the Lord and God the Redeemer by a pure, unadorned service and worship of him; they face the profoundest need of the whole world with a yearning solicitude; they want every beclouded, benighted, troubled soul in the entire circuit of humanity to have the comfort of the divine Word; they are not content with a German Christianity, nor an Italian, nor a French, nor an Asiatic, nor an African Christendom; they want to include the new world just risen into European ken and all the coast ranges of its seas to be sharers in the same grace. There is no broader cotemporary reference to the duty of Church expansion or the work of missions, as we should call it, in the scope of Reformation literature; and observe that it is a personal attest alone; it is a daily prayer; it is a struggle of the Spirit within them to win the wide, wide field which the Gospel opened to them. And look too at the way this aspiration is expanded; 1) no human soul should be omitted from winning a genuine faith and ardent trust in God; 2) practical Christianity should go to work and exercise itself in the comprehensive range and direction of the works of love, each man toward his fellow. What sociological feature is omitted? And what color or nation or race or tongue is outside of the pale of this profession of an active, living brotherhood? There is the evangelical life, the life according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the reflection of the life of and in Christ. Prayer and labor have here a simple but fitting blending. Faith, hope

and love are interwoven in a rare unity. Christian experience obtains an expanded vitality. Can you tell us of anything nobler, can you show us a more sensitive and comprehensive grasp of practical fraternity in Christ? And who can set before himself a more generous ideal and seek a more consummate end?

XXIX. Through this more rational understanding of the Christian life the present interpretation of duty which formal work-righteousness sets before us would have to be changed into a view which should yield honest results. This is the heart of the existing controversy between two classes of the clergy; the spiritual minded ministry stand for the fruits of the Spirit, the dishonest, formal priests take up the cudgels for machine products that are dead-sea apples and at best have no justification for their existence. Thus they return to that grave problem of the Reformation: What constitutes genuine worship or service? What are the works that one can honestly call good? Both parties claim the necessity of what are called good works, but their explanations of the origin and constitution of such good works differ radically. The formalists insist that their inventions and their ecclesiastical laws and methods are parts of a genuine worship and service. This assumption our authors deny; they consider that such devices savor rather of superstition and hypocrisy; faith and obedience to God's commandments alone constitute a scriptural and acceptable service. Were we to follow the divine injunctions to the full extent of their demands, we would have to be busy without intermission for all time, so exhaustive and deep are they; indeed no one can hope to complete the circuit of their requirements because they include such a refinement of motive, such a candor of sincerity, such a transparency of truth, such a perfection of devotedness, such a breadth of universality. The formalist principle exacts only externality of obedience to churchly ordinances by which however no improvement of the inner fountains of character is attainable; the internal evils remain unchecked and reach a ranker growth because they are unpruned and mayhap undiscovered. The writers espouse the side which lays its stress upon the obedience of the heart to the divine laws; it is the obedience of faith and of incessant battle with the evil desires whether of the spirit or of the body. These commandments of God are alone finally authoritative. A contrast therefore exists between the objects of dependence to which either party resorts. Our petitioners represent the thought that we must have recourse to Christ alone by faithful love, for it is through him alone that we have access to God and his compassion; and as signs of our feeling of dependence we trust and hope in him and indeed reverence him as a child does his father. Whereas the prelates advocate the theory of human and fallible mediators, and they cause the people to fear these sacerdotal pretensions

more than they do God. They persuade the ignorant to have recourse to such intermediaries as wood and stone, to regulations about meals, to variations of symbolic vestments, to times and seasons for incessant feasts and fasts, just the things prohibited by Christ and St. Paul, his instrument. They pay court to God with outward appearances although he is Spirit and requires his servants to worship him in spirit and in truth. External splendors and pomp have no charm for him, indeed they are his abhorrence, if they be used as substitutes for a spiritual service. Thus the formalists show their insolence and arrogance in that they think they can commute their own rationalism and wisdom for God's way, although Christ so distinctly declares that no one can confess him rightly without an inner and individual revelation from heaven. This is of the utmost importance to observe. Both of these friends maintained this to be the experience common to every believer. What was vouchsafed to Peter is granted to all who seek Christ, an inward disclosure and attestation of the truth to the personality of the seeker, and every such seeker must have the humility and the openness of childhood, which means that he should maintain a simple, receptive, affectionate and obedient nature filled with the sense of his dependence. The formalist therefore is destitute of the first elements of a genuine, saving faith because he has forsaken the celestial provision for the support of the spiritual life; he cannot grasp the simple appropriative elements of a corrective trust; he insists on working out the great problem of the initial steps of redemption; he tries to be his own mediator and that by positive devices and substitutionary deeds wrought and transferred among their own coterie; he prepares the leaky cisterns with great care and is surprised to find no water of life in them.

XXX. Our authors accuse the prelates of rationalism long before the days of Kant, Paulus, Bretschneider, because they have built up a body of divinity either independent of or contradictory to revelation. Further, they have substituted this theology and ethics for the Scriptures and have insisted on obedience to its precepts as having priority of claim. In some respects there is a sort of similarity to the later school of rationalists who also practically denied the necessity of revelation and put in its place the inductions of the moral judgment. The process was much the same although the results were heaven-wide apart. So too in all matters of character-building of a more distinctly ethical cast the same divergence is manifest. It is true that as to what are recognized and branded as vices and crimes by the community and the State, both parties have the same view. But as to the bearing of any such evil deeds upon our relationship to God and about the inward roots the two schools are again widely sundered.

XXXI. This radical difference is due to the deviating estimates put by both on free will. It is the exaggeration of its liberty which is the

parent of arrogance, spiritual pride and selfishness; the latter the evangelicals in harmony with the Scriptures define as the chief sin of all the sins. From this terrible product of free will no one is exempt. But the formalists are unable to discern the root of the mischief. They attribute their good works in part to this independent faculty and think that they can earn and deserve heaven through the instrumentality of what they work out or what has been wrought by others and transferred to them by authoritative rewards or substitutions. The evangelicals on the contrary adhere to the scriptural declarations that in our nature and power there is nothing absolutely and entirely good and that all our conduct and best life cannot stand before God's scrutiny did he go into judgment with us, for it is God alone who judges the heart, which at its best is evil and inscrutable. It is to those infinite depths and fountain heads of our inner nature into which we ourselves cannot penetrate that we must ascribe the beginnings of evil in us. Its latent energies for awful sinfulness come suddenly to the fore front. Its ghastly forms stalk forth as unbidden guests, yet really as the unrevealed impulses of our own depravity. On account of this very involuntariness of the origin of so much iniquity by which the will is broken down, as throwing light upon the unreckoned possibilities of our personality, these evangelists had rather put their trust in God than in man. As our authors say: therefore we give all the honor to our Maker and stand fast in the faith of his Son Jesus Christ through whose blood we are justified. They rest in the atonement, in the perfect and embrace goodness and merit of Christ for their justification and not on their own works. So absolute is this rest in God that whatever deeds of love they themselves gladly do, they ascribe these also to God the Lord who energizes us as his instruments to the accomplishment of the same; and this is again a medium by which they attain the knowledge that our God is gracious and is indeed a living Father in heaven. Further, they have the conviction that so long as they abide in faith whatever imperfections creep into their deeds awares or unawares, and sin is never absent from one in some form because the most righteous man may fall seven times a day, these short-comings are condoned so long as one contends actively against these recursive failures, and the effort at betterment is acceptable because of faith in Christ. They summarize their beliefs on this point in St. Paul's language: We know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified. We magnify the divine grace as alone sufficient and complete; through his divine compassion we are redeemed and blessed. Heaven is already our possession and the real solicitude is that we do not let it go or surrender it. The acquisition of the Gospel itself with the capacity to hold it is the product purely of faith. Now that can exist without good works no more than a good tree can exist without fruit.

XXXII. This is a confession of their belief which they lay before the Bishop, asserting the right of self-defense; their reputation had been assaulted; they would rescue their name as Christians from the atrocious critics who make sport of man's deepest, most sensitive interests. What they have thus professed they conceive to be the substance of evangelical Christianity. They are ready to receive enlightenment indeed, but it must be through the Scriptures as the given medium of instruction about divine things. They propose an irrefragable rule for judging whether a man is a genuine Christian or not. For them a Christian is not a nominal title, it designates one born of God. This testing law is based on the two commandments of Christ. He who seeks exclusively the honor of God and the benefit of his neighbor and aims to rescue poor, fettered consciences from their bondage undoubtedly is of God. Herein lie the consummate standards and duties of life; they are just as much the commandments of God, for they are expressions of his will and of his own activity. The man who is obedient to this standard and pursues these ends has a root and a foundation in God. Such a will and such deeds can originate from a divine source alone; obedience to these royal laws guarantees a man to be a Christian, for this was the rule and purpose and life of Christ. Hence he laid down these precepts for the regulation of human conduct because he embodies righteousness and is our righteousness.

XXXIII. Again we find that in the conception of our authors the combination of ethics and religion is indissoluble; the two are essentially one. For them there is no theology which disregards ethics and no ethics which disregards theology. The bugaboo of such distinctions as men try to make is obliterated for them; it can haunt only obfuscated and antiquated brains. As if a man could be wholly moral who neglects the God who made him! As if a man could be fundamentally moral who ignores the power that now sustains him! As if a man could be hopefully, internally moral who assumes not to know the eternal and infinite Father! As if ethics were an evolution conscious or unconscious from a dull barbarian and not the life of the Almighty! As if the roots of ethics were a material seed and not of the essence of personality! Personality is the death of the materialist and personality demands the infinitely and eternally Good; and for a dependent personality goodness toward God is the prime necessity of its life; the inalienable parallel of goodness towards man should be self-understood. Is this not then a sovereign and final rule that our authors here bring forward as a standard by which they themselves would have God test their right to bear the Christian name? Those who are not born of God they define as seeking their own honor, as loving their own profit, as leading back the people who have been set free by the blood of Christ to a renewal of their captive obedience to

men, as desirous of subjecting their fellows to human ecclesiastical law and tyranny in direct contrariety to the divine Word, as those who affect to close heaven against men and then open it for money. Surely such are not of God; we are thoroughly convinced that these monstrous abuses cannot please the Almighty. This whole system therefore appears an egregious perversion of justice, a deprivation of human rights, an antagonism to the first principles of the Gospel and the life of spiritual freedom which that Gospel pledges to the believing soul. They who consciously devise and maintain these fabrics of injustice cannot be born from above. A regenerated soul could not produce or defend an oppression like this and bring about such disintegrating results.

XXXIV. Over against this tyranny they would defend the evangelical democracy. Let us look at their aggressive position in this matter. They feelingly protest that they have not been seeking the gratification of any personal ambition or advantage in the extension of the Gospel teaching, widely as they have been engaged therein. They have been concerned exclusively with the divine honor in broadening and deepening this God-born movement. And what they have done in this respect was according to the measure of ability and grace imparted by God. Their prayer is that they may be delivered from every impulse to self-aggrandizement and that they may never be brought to such a selfish pass as hypocritically to espouse a sacred cause in order to gratify their own ambitions. A proof of the sincerity of their convictions lies in their readiness to expend their own incomes so far as possible to carry forward the spiritual enterprise. They are ready to devote their property according to their ability for the establishment of an evangelical order which shall be devised in consonance with the utterances of the divine Word. They insist that this must be done without riot or the expulsion of the priest; it can and ought to be accomplished with all patience and gentleness. At the least they are acting in this conciliatory temper in their own villages. They affirm that such are their loyal wishes in Christ and that this is what they are praying for with systematic diligence. Certain striking elements in this declaration are worthy of a larger consideration.

XXXV. The introduction of a Christian, evangelical order meant a number of important factors as the history has intimated. It signified the setting forth of doctrines according to the Gospel, the enactment of Church polity according to the apostolic idea of the sovereignty of the people, the arrangement of worship according to the spirit of freedom and individual right, the regulation of the Christian life, inward and outward, according to the religious and moral injunctions of the New Testament. This plan proposed a most sweeping and potential reform that in time would carry everything else in the relative life with it.

XXXVI. Revolution of a violent, explosive and cruel kind is far from the Gospel idea. Revolt and oppression are after all the products of those enemies of the truth in Christ who resist the right of the individual and deprive him of freedom of conscience, of person and of labor. Whether men of those times or men of this time attribute violence and uproar to the Gospel, they forget that the ancient system which they always represent and have represented is one of slavery, mental, moral and physical. They themselves stood for and now stand for methods of encroachment upon and deprivation of common rights. The opponents of the Reformation maintained the injustice of an ancient tyranny which had repressed the natural prerogatives of humanity, which had fed the flames of war to reduce the escaped captives to a most brutal enslavement. This is what is so lamentably forgotten in the criticisms of the Reformation and in the efforts of the workman of to-day to secure as much room for himself as his neighbor enjoys. Existing forms in the sixteenth century were not the finalities of social culture; they were not the top notch of humanity. Far from it, they were inheritances of schemes of repression and dispossession, full of outrages and sodden with hierarchic and civic castes. Every aspiration for larger independence on the part of the oppressed was seldom met by kindly and helpful treatment or adjustment. The great underlying masses had no council wherein they could plead their grievances. Others did all the legislation and execution for them. Therefore if revolt and revolution came, the oppressors were the responsible parties. Those who seek to quench or restrain the growth of liberty, equality, fraternity sit on a volcano and try to bandage it with their stock phrases and their armed troops; but these inward spiritual forces are bigger than most men think them to be; they have explosive elements in them that simply must have an outlet; whether man wills it or not, God wills it. A seed will expand; a leaven will assimilate; a fire will burn; a truth will declare itself and live. Let those who reclined at ease and fought for their ease in the days of the Reformation bear the responsibility as the continuously provocative cause for all that followed. Those who perpetuate wrongs and conserve them by force are the real sources of revolt. The lame must walk; the blind must see; the sick must be healed; the dead must be raised. That is the Gospel message. That is the Gospel mission. And history will continue to write its progress. You cannot destroy the sap without killing the tree and the sap must rise and bring forth buds and blossoms and leaves and fruit. Where the forms of freedom were abnormal and licentious and in direct contradiction to the New Testament methods of advance no defence for their untoward turbulence is possible. But in all other cases suppression of and formal attack upon Gospel rights were wrought by the enemies of

democracy. Now in Schwenckfeld's and Hans Magnus' scheme the question of the right of defence had not arisen. But the obligation of conscience did require the establishment of such changes by peaceful means of persuasion and education in all communities; and these obligations of conscience were sovereign and imperative: they could not go to sleep. Hence these defenders of progress were bent upon the experiment in their own villages. The relative duties locked up in education were every one of them latent but fermenting; they must begin to brew in the very moment of effort to better the internal and external conditions of the common people who also had the right to grow and the right to be influenced to improve themselves. Unquestionably these two men at least, and we know of others, began the ennobling and purifying work. The better the farming communities reasoned they, the better the nation; if the wealth of a people depends upon the crops, believe it, the character of the nation also depends upon the virtue of its farmers. They should be the first to be educated, socially, morally, exactly as the cultivation of the soil is fostered. Everybody knows that the farmer's sons make the best professional and business men and conserve the morals of the towns and the cities. Here then was the forecast of statesmen in seizing upon the agrarian problem, and right in the time when the Bundschuh was active and the peasants everywhere were combining in new organizations to insist on a few human, natural rights. Does anybody wonder that when their claims were resisted fire and blood were the outcome? Could any other results be expected when once the elongated limit of endurance had been reached? Princes made war every time for far lighter causes and then the peasant invariably suffered most. It was not Kuntz but his master who was at fault in State and in Church. It was a fierce but untrained democracy and therefore their prerogatives as human beings lapsed again and again. The Swiss had won independence why should not the peasants of the Breisgau? Now here were publicists who sensed the times and the causes of trouble as did some of their colleagues of the Ritterschaft. Here were men who wanted the village-laborer to have his dues and proposed to grant them. If the Bishop was not wise enough to see his opportunity they would do it for him. They turned some of their own means into this channel of beneficence and helped in the redemption of the thralls. Why did not Silesia have a peasant war? Because, thanks to its nobles, there was as much freedom of conscience in that land as in Bohemia and Moravia up to 1526, when the Hapsburger began his obscurantist and autocratic policies with a cruel prognathism and a bigoted brain. Now if one has an idea of Schwenckfeld's diligence in general, he will know what his activity in this particular amounted to; he did not stop with writing; he generally did things before he talked about them. And when he once talked he multiplied his

energies a hundredfold and no man could stop him. The superiority of the farming communities of Lower Silesia up to the middle of the eighteenth century was quite likely due to the indomitable characteristics planted by Schwenckfeld and his coadjutors. And much the same may be said of its cities, including even Breslau, as long as the strong brotherhood was able to maintain its existence. And yet all hands have taken part systematically in destroying the salt of their land by persecution, upon which the Lutheran was even more intent than the Romanist.

XXXVII. Our authors next meet the challenge of the supporters of the old faith who claim to be the true evangelicals: they too are in favor of the Gospel but with its ancient interpretation and not with the modern ideas which, from the prelates standpoint, were anti-evangelical. The only answer, and an all sufficient one, is a bit of satirical reminder that that system impoverished Germany; the money went for the enrichment of Rome but to the depletion of the donors. A system thus founded on false finances which destroyed the prosperity of the social fabric that nourished it should not claim to be evangelical. On the directly ethical side our petitioners only allude to the misleading of human consciences which are reared in a way so utterly at variance with the Gospel idea of freedom and which denied direct intercourse with God without mortal mediation, and suppressed to obliteration the spiritual rights which the entire Scripture guaranteed to a believer. That system was also guilty of substituting human for divine law. Surely such an order could have no claim to call itself evangelical. The inflexible principles of interpretation for the Gospel, which are here repeated in a somewhat different form, are: 1) The subordination of the reason to the facts stated in the Evangel; the reasoning must be upon these facts as premises. The authors set aside any charge that the Gospel is the product of human invention or commentation which some Romanists claimed in order to get a basis for their tradition. 2) The Old Testament must be a guide to the understanding of the New. The thought that the Scriptures are christological lies at the basis of this, as Christ himself and St. Paul declare. This is enlarged into the rule that the Scripture must interpret Scripture so that the New Testament itself may aid in the exposition of itself. St. Paul's broad law is that our understanding, thoughts and imagination are to be captive to Christ, hence the hermeneutic here set forth is not simply verbal but is also one of logical and historical content. This is illustrated by a contrast between the two schools of exposition with reference to the passage: Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's. The prelate finds in this a justification for the payment of tithes; as for example in a letter which Bishop Ciriacus wrote to Sigismund, King of Poland, and in another which the Bishop and Senators of Poland addressed to the

Prussian prelates and other officials this citation is so interpreted; both these missives are in the Ossolinski collection. But the passage really refers to the internality of the Kingdom and to the fact that we are recreated in the image of God; hence we are to give him the full services of all that the image signifies; we are to render to him the whole energy of the soul. 3) Moreover a correct exegetical method seeks for the divine instruction by prayer. A believer's mind is directed by the Spirit to a right understanding of the Scriptures. 4) None the less necessary is the moral purpose to seek and search for oneself. It is the obligation of the individual believer to form his own opinions and formulate his own faith, not only by the perusal but the earnest study of the Bible that he may find the significance of Christ therein. These are the simple laws which guide our authors for getting at the meaning of the Gospel.

XXXVIII. Then follows their plea for the independent authority and publicity of the Scriptures which although it be in many respects a reaffirmation of what was before discussed yet has a fresh hue from its setting. They want the sacred records to be universally acknowledged as supreme and if they be that, then every man should have a copy of them for his study and guidance. Against such authority and dissemination the curialists argue that the Scriptures are dark, the passages are obscure and contradictory, hence a judge over them is obviously necessary. To which the advocates for the freedom of the Spirit answer that the Scriptures and the Word of God or Christ are through and through pure light, which of themselves bring clearness to the believing heart and were designed so to do. For this self-evidencing character they bring certain passages arranged in cumulative and thetic order; these refer to the Bible as the guide to conduct, as a revelation to increase our understanding of God and the world-order and duty, as the universal gift for the whole race to give intelligence as to our relationship to God and to our fellows, as the sole and all sufficient medium for disclosing to us the mind of God independently of the creature. It is indeed a striking and illuminating collocation of citations. It unfolds a breadth of conception as to the meaning of the Scriptures far and away beyond the literalists of this and the following centuries. The propositions of the debate on April 11, 1524 in *Axiomata Joannis Hessi Wratislaviensis* had not nearly the weight or the relativity of the suggestions made in this letter to the Bishop. An edition with the above title appeared in this year edited by Petrus Resinus at Craców. It is cited in Klose R. G. Breslau p. 125. The real difficulty, our authors affirm, lies not in the Scriptures but in our own darkened hearts burdened with self-love, avarice, anger, impurity and tyranny so that the divine light cannot illuminate. The first step to the right understanding of the Bible is to have the scales removed from the eyes, else we grope in an

Egyptian darkness. The Spirit alone is the true guide to the comprehension of the Scriptures because he alone concentrates everything upon the divine honor. The fleshly nature until regenerated is incapable of a sympathetic penetration into God's revealed will. We thus are introduced to the chief qualification for interpretation in the new born character of the interpreter. It is not the mere linguists nor the mere historians nor the mere humanists nor the mere philosophers who can really find Christ the Word in the book and discover the light which should light every man that cometh into the world; the eye must be taught of God to see; the heart must be made receptive; the ear must be pierced; the inner man must be awakened to the certainties and mysteries of the spiritual world before we can begin to sound the depths of the Scriptures and the abysses of the Spirit. Here as in all things Schwenckfeld maintains that the formation of character is the primary issue of life and progress in every sphere. No man ought to touch the great secrets of the universe and the great creations of God with unholy hands. The first science is to know one's self, to discover one's need of a Father in the inclusive christic ideas of that term, and then he may interpret the ways of God to men. This teaching Schwenckfeld expands with an intensive ictus as his own life lays stronger hold upon the things of the Spirit. These opinions affirm the value of Christian experience in expounding abstract truth. It is the experiment which one makes and the tests to which we ourselves are subjected that promote our perceptions of spiritual realities. They acquaint us with the higher firmaments of whose stars, suns and clusters we would otherwise be unconscious. It is our Lord's own declaration: If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God or whether I speak from myself. The relation of Christ to the inward life is illustrated by other Reformation literature. A little tract which Johann Eberlin wrote primarily for the benefit of those who thought that the old belief and order should not be utterly deserted and set aside as if they were so much unrighteous lumber, gives a good summary of what the real Christian life consists in and is entitled *Ein schöner spiegel | einß Chrißlichen lebens / ge-macht durch Johan Eber-|lin von Ginzburg / zu lob | vnnß eer eim erfamen | Rhat vnnß gemeyn | einer loblichē statt | Reinfelden / al-len Chrißt|gläubi-gen | nützlich zu | wissen*. The new nobility as constituted by the Spirit is the theme handled by Wenzelaus Linck in the work *Vom crißtlichen | Adel oder freyheit der kin-der gottes vnd glau-bigen menschen. | Wenzelaus Lind. | Aldenburg in | Meyssen. | M. DXXiiij*. It also agrees with Schwenckfeld's doctrine of regeneration as being of the essence. Urbanus Regius was at this time a preacher in Augsburg as we have already remarked. On this very New Year's day of 1524 he sent as a letter of kindly greeting to his friend Lucas Gaszner a senior

of the city, a little treatise Von vollkomenheit vns | frucht des leibens Christi/ | Sampt erklärung der | wort Pauli Colos. 1. | Ich erfüll/ das | abgeet den | leyden | Christi u. | Durch D. Urbanum Regium. The introduction thereto is a very choice bit of writing. The tractate is eminently christological and expounds the sufficiency of Christ for our salvation on the basis of the completeness of his person and his passion. At the conclusion however he makes this remark which is evidently a reflection upon certain tendencies then current: In the spiritual body there happens just at this time what is both disorderly and inflictive of inward injury to souls. Those who are uneducated and should be learning set themselves up and want to teach others. Those who are capable of teaching are contemned and have to turn farmers. He advises these uncultured pretenders first to go to school or pursue some other occupation for they are not called to the office of preaching. From the nature of the discussion the reference is rather to the papal incapables than to the Anabaptist laics, although Augsburg had a considerable experience of some of the cruder as well as nobler elements among that body of reformers. The Scriptures compel us to go to the inerrant God; they lift us up from the errant man who must have definite truth and certainty in what concerns his moral and religious life. An ultimate standard must exist and that is expressed in the living Word who has brought to us the seeds of an enduring spiritual life. One need not quarrel about the shell of the external revelation or hang upon the letter; it is for the thought contained therein which language can so feebly express that we must search. But now comes the curialists' declaration that the Christian Church and the councils alone are competent to keep due order in human society and so they must be the sole authoritative interpreters of the Scriptures. Mark that no distinction is made as to the supremacy of the Pope or the Council; that long debated question had not yet attained a sufficient and final answer, nor did it until our own day. This argument even in its uncertainty as to the final judge is of course attractive to those who are ignorant of the Scriptures and of their significance and sufficiency for the guidance of the soul and who have been bred in the slavery of formalism. But continual abuse and ignorance according to our logicians do not justify such callous and crass unwisdom, all the more when the battle as to what constitutes moral and normal authority has begun. It is to break up this dense, opaque disregard of liberty and this mistaken love for slavish chains that the Gospel is again opened up, that the prison doors are flung wide apart and the captive is summoned to breathe the air for himself. The perfumed atmosphere of the ceremonialist is no substitute for the breezes fresh from the hills of Nazareth and Calvary. The layman dare challenge the whole prelacy and the whole canon law and the surreptitious majesty of the councils.

Wenceslaus Linck gave as the reason for the current opposition to the Word, its invisibility for the kingdom erected through it is spiritual; it requires clarity of the soul or such a change of nature as will enable the man to apprehend the invisible. Again the natural hypocrisy which thinks it can serve two masters conjointly always leads to the neglect of and hostility to the one master who ought alone to receive our homage. The reasons he brings forward for the reception of the Gospel are: that it is not from man but is God's Word; then too it is the only way out of darkness into the light; and finally it is the sure standard of judgment at the last day. This was in 1524 at Altenburg where he was pastor and the published sermon bears the title *Wie auff gottes wort | allain als auff ainen besten | bigen felsen / Aller Chriſten | farnemen erbawet | sein soll. | Doctor Wingeſlaus | Sind Eccleſiaſtes zu Alten- | burg in Meſſen. | 1523.*

XXXIX. These two men had no more surety of personal safety from the pursuit of Rome than had any other reformer, although they were aware of the sentiment of the nobles and had the sympathy of their Herzog. None of these however would avail were Sigismund or Ludwig to be as aggressive as the Chapter at Breslau desired them to be; and the Herzog himself stood in peril of an interdict as severe in words as that against his maternal grandfather, Georg Podiebrad, if he continued his present non-interferent policy. Let each man have the honor due his moral courage and the frank freedom of his conscience. These knights however took the responsibility for their own heroic act and sought to complicate no one else; they abode in the shadow of no guarantee of safety, although they were sure of the feeling of princes and nobles with reference to the Reformation and especially of the quite universal move toward independence from Rome.

XL. Can the Christian Church be the final authority is then the question. To discuss this point correctly they first define what the Christian Church is. And it is to be noted that they do not describe that Church as catholic for fear of an immediate identification with Rome should they so style it. They call it rather the Christian Church. Indeed they introduce this substituted view into the Apostles' Creed. The universality of the Church will appear of itself but unattached to any historic pretensions. If however the institution is truly Christian, then of necessity it is as wide in its embrace as there are genuine believers anywhere. The term Catholic does not appear as part of that formulary until St. Nicetas added it in 450 A. D. to the *sancta ecclesia*. It was Cyprian who first used the clause *per sanctam ecclesiam*. In the liturgy current in their own churches the phrase Christian Church was part of the popular confession. This discrimination is made by other reformers as well and Luther himself uses it. But what is the Church? The German term Ge-

mein, Gemeinde is the translation for the Greek term *ἐκκλησία*, although the etymological meaning is very different. The one has reference to the constituency as made up of the common people in general, the other to the constituency as called out from the world to form a community for the ends of righteousness and humanity. The German term is therefore already nominal while the Greek as applied to the Church has the more distinctive conception and a certain character attributed to the assembly thus joined. In uneducated, popular estimation the word Church is applied to the building itself rather than to the congregation using it. A second and current interpretation of what the Church is, is both practical and secular, for this speaks of the pope, cardinals, bishops and prelates, or the upper crust of the *ordines majores* as comprising it. These claim to be the pillar and ground of the truth; they constitute the chief dispensers of grace; they are a mediatorial body and at the same time exclusive and autocratic. Hence it is a feudalistic conception which had penetrated into and changed the old Catholic idea of visibility. The *Gefinbe* are not of much account in such a system except for their numbers, loyal bigotry and cheap service. This is the curial conception and accepted by their people because of the inherited tradition. The lower grades of the *ordines majores* and the *ordines minores* and the people, what voice had they in anything? It is not a formulated definition by a council or by the pope but it was deducted by the general opinion of the public from what they saw and felt and what was practically the case, and this feudalistic notion has developed into the ultramontane hierarchy and has defined infallibility. Now our authors venture on their own inferences from the Scriptures. We hold, say they, that the Christian Church in the Scriptures is called the community or congregation of all or of many hearts and souls who believe in Christ. Its head is Christ our Lord. Such a Church is born from the Word of God alone; it is nourished and ruled by that same personal agency. In short the Church regulates all things according to the Gospel; it judges of all affairs through the Scriptures. Against this one Church the gates of hades shall not prevail. It is the institution defined by the Apostolic Creed as the Holy Christian Church. Is there any explanation up to 1524 from the evangelical point of view much superior to this? Is there any exposition more simple, more thoughtful or more comprehensive? The mass of discussion is here sifted to its finest seed. Those persons who have one baptism, one faith, one Spirit are all members of the same, no matter where they may be, at Rome or elsewhere, and Christ alone is their head. That is, the number of the elect friends of God are the genuine Christian Church. Here are many points of absorbing interest. It is a purely scriptural definition. They at once wholly reject any other. Nor do they stop to discuss the primacy

of blessed Peter, nor whether he was ever at Rome of which there is not the ghost of a historical proof, nor do they meddle with any sacramental theory or any sacerdotal privilege nor any constitutions Apostolic, Constantinian or Charlemagnian. They go directly to him who founded the body of believers and to his apostles who are the foundation along with the chief cornerstone. If their definition is correct, the other development theories are incorrect. They do not delay in assaulting the seemingly impregnable, man-built structures but rear their own edifice and so make the other useless. They establish deductions from earlier historical data which destroy the historicity of all other claims. It is a community or congregation of all or many hearts and souls whose mediatorial head is Christ. There is no other head permissible or possible. There is no vice-regent or vicegerent. Any other representative system is a diversion and a degeneracy as was the Israelitish monarchy in relation to the primitive theocracy. Christ is thoroughly equal to the government of his own body, the very point of this relationship and the discharge of its duties are lost by grading up the body into a hierarchic and autocratic system. These authors allow no such distinctions as vital; to be a member of the body of Christ or of this community means a very simple but large thing, for it imports liberty, equality and fraternity. It invests all sovereign rights in Christ and in his people. There are no lords in this heritage possible, there are no feudal distinctions allowable. They all stand on the level of brotherhood and every caste idea is essentially abhorrent to its internal nature. Its machineries and manipulation are therefore republican and delegatory, hence also liable to revocation and change. Its outward expressions may be in many forms but these forms must not militate against the essential equality and prerogative of any other form. These revelations of the Spirit in time cannot be limited to any particular historical succession. The continuous blows which the centuries have given to that crass and stiff idea are so manifold that men ought to have desisted the fiction long ago. When there are over some dozen of such claimants to separatistic, alone-saving properties and notes, it should be sufficient to cure anybody, even the most insteept hieratic of the coarse Ebionitic dream; the thin ice of such a theory ought long ago to have melted with the first sun and to have let in and ducked at least the venturesome but dull skaters. But there is no delusion too great to be hugged, although common sense have gutted it centuries ago. Men still try to vivify their own shadows. In this Möhler-Newman theory of development there can be no law of survival of the fittest, seeing that there was never anything fit to survive. The crude work of the Christians of the twentieth century who have sought to establish another visible *imperium in imperio* was a botch and has manifested an endless hostility to and retardation of a rational and con-

tinuous evolution of the original democratic and spiritual idea of the Church. Now one and another antithetic state deliberately cuts lose from the unfavorable and restrictive conditions by restoring the primordial principles. At last Christians begin to bring forward the thoughts which lie at the bottom of the divine movement for the restoration of man, for the planting and conserving of ideals in human society. And what has not the Church lost in leavening power through these many centuries by sustaining external imperialism and that with the sword and chain and faggot.

The Church is then essentially a spiritual organism. Its members are born of the Word of God; they are nourished and built upon and ruled by the same. The origin of its constituency, the development of the body, the government thereof, the whole career of its moral activity and conscience is constantly adjudicated upon by the identical agency which originated it. The whole standard of internal and external life in every possible relation and service is under the guidance of the authoritative principle which declares the being and the spirit and the will of its Head. Here is a charter of liberty which lifts us to the supreme level; here is the constitution conserving the ideas of higher life in the Spirit and dominating daily conduct for oneself, for the home, for the community and for the State. The dynamic growth of character, the self-moulding energy, the active fostering of human welfare are the signal purposes of such a spiritual Kingdom. It guards and preserves at the same time the rights and innate prerogatives of the individual while it cares for the well-being of society. The mission of this community then is to elevate the race and to bring each new born soul into fellowship with every other; it is to act upon the social structure, upon education, upon research, upon commerce, upon industries, upon agricultural interests. It is therefore a seed principle and a leaven. It does not seek any external absorption of all human interests in some visible framework of hierarchy; it is not to lay an autocratic requisition upon the forms which the cultural process is to undergo, but it does strive to animate these with an inward force which will compel them to be beautiful; it does not seek to put a uniform upon everything, whether feudalistically or bureaucratically; it does not shut up the human mind and its advance in preconceived and determined grooves; it gives the most liberal expansion to every possible trait and energy of the race by rebaptizing them with love and righteousness and substituting vital goals for their enlargement and manifolding; variety is of the very essence of development. Music does not put all themes into one key, and shrink all tunes into one note. All birds are not monotone. One longs to express emotion in greater resources than those even of a telharmonium and by the medium of instruments historic or new with vocal combinations beyond the courageous and yet timid ventures of Wagner. One solitary

type of worship is the dream of an unprogressive and flat if not windy soul. Piety of only one hue is the most undesirable mockery of the fulness of the Spirit. To minimize the variety of form is like cropping a dog to make him look a lion, or like putting socks and a muzzle on the king of beasts. It is like toning all tints into an exasperating gray and despoiling the soul of its exuberant and radiating colors. The necessity of contrast is true of thought, philosophy, university schemes and organizations for human good and relief. You cannot force the soul and its enterprises into a mighty trust. Every attempt has at once shown its own futility; socialism itself is guilty of no graver anachronism than such a scheme of dead level. You cannot make every brother like his brother in domestic, in ecclesiastical or in political textures. Now observe that our authors set down this principle in 1524. Zwingli had already begun to insist on uniformity; Luther and Melancthon were both at this date on the high road to demand of every passer-by the surrender of his goods and to wear a Wittenberg coat, if he wanted to live in Saxony. Then they began to tailor the uniform of other countrymen. The freedom of form which had begun to assert itself everywhere with democratic spontaneity was about to have its young wings clipped to prevent any aggressive and independent flight, just as these two men protested the inherent right of that individual modification which spirituality naturally requires and produces. They sought to preserve the law that the principle of growth is spiritual and the spiritual has infinite ways of expressing itself. This spiritual organization is liberated from all geographical boundaries and from circumstantial and even national divisions. It looks solely at the fact whether a man is born of the Holy Ghost. If so, that constitutes him a member on the same level with a king or an emperor. This man may have entered the world in Rome or in Wittenberg or in Strassburg or in Liegnitz or in Calcutta. The only absolute qualification is that he have experienced and demonstrated the new birth. Mere bearing of the name, mere participation in a sacrament, mere external and traditional attachment, mere assertion of a claim counts for positively nothing. This or that candlestick may be set up but it may have no oil in the vessels for feeding the flame. There is much mighty apparatus whose sole use is the clatter of a machinery that produces no fabric.

But the geographer's limitation is not the only one to be eliminated; it is still more the ecclesiastical one which needs to be thrown into the fire. Whether you are a Romanist or a Bohemian or a Piccardist or a Friend of God or a Waldensian or a Lutheran or a Zwinglian, if you are born of God you are a member of the body of Christ, you are a part of the Christian Church. And there was no use of speaking of an invisible Church either. It could easily be sufficiently visible if the Spirit of love

and unity had reigned between these different shades of belief. Had they recognized one another and affiliated in any sort of brotherhood, in any toleration of equality, in any articles of federation, the so-called invisible Church would have had a chance of making itself perfectly splendidly visible. Had they recognized one solitary, Christian principle as existing in any body but themselves the sun behind the clouds would have shone forth. Because that ought to have been so, these brethren did not speak of the Church as invisible and did not give up hope of a deeper reformation and a larger area for the Spirit to witness to the character of the membership. Certainly all the better elements would have had a larger opportunity had there been any genuine conception of fraternity among the leaders, and the Judases would spontaneously have gone out and hanged themselves. Now each organization was already trying to destroy the other and to usurp the jurisdiction of the whole, and so the enlightened and cultivated factions were deprived of all capacity to unify and bring the Kingdom of righteousness and peace forward. Before criticising Christ's system, the ethical doctors and the ecclesiastical proctors as well should give it an opportunity to manifest itself and not add to the weight of wickedness in the world, already sufficiently large, by the attempt to destroy the life seed of good spiritual Christianity. Let Christians so-called really behave as brethren in all spheres of life and the question is solved; as long as they will not do that they blaspheme Christ if not the Holy Spirit, and cause the world to ignore the religion of the Cross as inadequate and impossible. If the service of God and of men out of a pure heart does not make more rapid progress, it is because Churches and States repress its first principles and persist with intolerable slowness in learning the a b c of humanity. The average Church historian continues to insist that it was not possible to carry out the plainest Christian precepts in any other than divisive and materializing ways at that date of the Reformation. Is it not time to shatter this favorite idol of those tender apologists for the defects of their heroes and for the limping and halting way in which those leaders met the chief necessities of the hour and for the hatred they everywhere substituted in place of love which is the sole sign of Christian discipleship? Let us ask, is it not time to set forth real Christianity and put these sorry iconoclasts of what is really beautiful and essential in the faith into the proper background? Did they cry sour grapes against the true Vine? Is the impossibility in Christ or is it in woeful, rueful men who say they follow him when they carry sticks and bludgeons and swords and some thuggish instruments that look like stakes whereon they seek to burn better men than themselves?

Let us ask again with a long and deep cry, is it not time to write the history of Christianity and to put the pseudo-Christianity wherever it

existed and whoever professed and carried it forward into some lower seats of the synagogue? The signs of some fragmentary apprehension of our Lord in the Reformation were existent up to 1524 when the leaders broke and began their selfish separation. A genuine Christianity was more practicable in the period of the narrow-skulled, prognathic Church than it was under Nero. It is human bigotry and stupidity that refuse to practice the commonest factors of a vital faith; he is the impracticable man who prevents the practicable laws of Christianity from exercising their full influence on culture or from being the spirit and the form of culture itself. The Kingdom of the Spirit is badgered and pestered by the king of devils because the most of the badgering and pestilent devils assume to be the only Christians. Let the true Church arise and shine, says the prophet; let the statesmen wag their Machiavellian heads and the ecclesiastics anathematize with their *coena Domini* of one kind or another till Isaiah and Jeremiah and Paul and Peter are suppressed or impaled. The true Church has had long to content itself with prayers for forgiveness of her ignorant but none the less infernal friends. And here are dogmas of modern theologians who yet wear a rag of Jesus over them, who say his precepts are impracticable or even unequal to modern ethical necessities. How much have these ill-clad theologians practiced these Christian ethics that they so belittle? Let them cast away their disheartened and dripping pens and do something, something approaching the life of Jesus, and then we shall see. But the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are not asleep even though men hew out their broken cisterns, broken before they are finished, even though we continue to spill the water of life on the ground. If the Church will not realize its mission the Kingdom silently does, and the Kingdom is more at hand than ever. These authors believed in practicability and moved in all directions to accomplish what they could in manifesting the organized spirit of the Gospel. In their conception such an organization corresponded with the number of the elect friends of God or was synonymous therewith. Those who prove themselves elect are the elect. The term for such an organization as friends of God has reference to the historic, prophetic and Jamesic use of this epithet as applied to Abraham, and also to Christ's employment of it as descriptive of the apostles and of all who keep his commandments. It appears also in the contrast between the friends of God and the friends of the world. But the writers probably thought of that noble body of men who assumed this title from God in apostolic simplicity whose existence was a worry to the Roman Church and bothers their historians up to this day. Maybe our authors had in mind a renewal of the cognomen as applied to the real lovers of evangelical progress, just as an illustrious body of Christians under the leadership of George Fox

later called themselves simply Friends. But other more vital subjects kept this term in the background.

Now it is this proper and sole Church of God against which the gates of Hades cannot prevail. Hades represents all oppugnant powers, especially the malign, spiritual agencies of evil. That the so-called visible Church has again become the ally and subject of such agencies we do not need to prove. Ecclesiastical history as written is a disheartening record for the greater part of what Christianity is not. The far exceeding portion of it is a history of sin and not a history of redemption. A vast deal is a degeneration and not a development. The good is too often represented as sporadic and onesided; and the real consecration in the family and in obscure society and in the fraternity of brethren who protested against the non-apostolicity of the State-Church and who sought to keep alive the freedom of the Spirit — these are presented by the so-called scientific historian who eats the lotus flower and the poppy, as heresy, sectarianism and such other sideshows; they are condescendingly allowed a meagre page or two; whereas they reared and sailed the ark that saved the contents of faith. When Arnold tried to write a history from a more vital and just standpoint and out of records of a living faith, he was met with the slander and ridicule of the dead confessionalists. The same methods of portraying the mechanics of religion still prevail. The modern period is arranged in confessional groups. In the forefront are Luther or Zwingli or Calvin or Trent according to the confessional predilection of the lovers of tares and thistles. For the wheat as a whole there is a sparse chance of justice or indeed of any restoration. An ecclesiastical history should be a vigorous description of redemptive processes. The story of sins against a living faith should not occupy the major part of the pages. The object of such annals should be to portray the growth of the freedom of the Spirit. That surely is the central thought and the eternal goal. It is the tracing of the realization of Christ in humanity. It is the progress of the race in the good wherever that good has flourished or is flourishing. Those things which illustrate the development of righteousness and love are the chief topics and not primarily a dilation of religious abominations and its outrages and its monstrous officialism, as if these could be the primal things to be handled and set forth. The ecclesiastical historians make their narratives the record of the advance of the gates of Hades upon the Church and not of the reopening of the gates of Paradise. It is the Kingdom of darkness that they set forth in preference to the Kingdom of light. Is it not so? And if so is it not time in the name of science and ethics to handle matters differently? What is a national Church but a national abomination? And what is the evolution of establishment as compared with the growth in real Christian principle anywhere

and everywhere? What is Romanism or Anglicanism or Greekism or Slavism or Lutheranism or Calvinism or Bohemianism as compared with the advances of the spirit of humanity in realizing its ethical and religious rights? What is a heresy or two or three or a so-called sect or a historic machine as compared with the good fruit of a good tree. When an aged but jolly roisterer goes through the woods on a rainy day under trees that add to the showers, and sings or yodles by turns with quavering and cracked vocalization about the golden rest for which he is longing and sentimentalizes in broken and tearful gulps about the fatherland, you say this is not the exuberance of a real emotion as his meandering steps add emphasis to his notes, this is rather the mandolin fiction and manliness of the liquor he has been pouring down. Such are the ecclesiastical swaggers; they sing false notes about the false conditions of Christianity in their zeal for a place of rest and for their national establishment. Give us rather the sterling thing. Give us the record of good, pure, gentle, sweet and earnest living. Give us the real fruits of the tree of life. Do not put the products of the knowledge of good and evil first and alone. Should we not write the history of the Kingdom rather than the history of the Church since the gates of hell have gotten such prevalent encroachment upon it and the true Church has been buried under centuries of neglect? Here is a magnificent character like that of Schwenckfeld whose work is unrecognized and whose real thoughts are obscured under a charge of mysticism or enthusiasm; the Romanists and the Nationalists dismiss him and his labors with a paragraph or two under an opprobrious title; or if he chance to receive more attention, it is to swipe him as a naughty invader of the rights of Lutheranism or Zwinglianism or Bucerism.

No wonder that Arnold and Salig and Semler protested. The cyclopaedists are often more liberal in their space and proportionally more just in their discussion. But the principle of quantity is not the one that rules in the census of the Kingdom, it is the rubric of quality that is the basis of true estimates. The conquests which the gates of hell have made are indeed to be spoken of, but not to have the chief chapter in the annals. The degeneracies of the Church militant are not the elemental considerations; it is the real solid advance in virtue and independence that should have the preferment and the large treatment for Christ's own sake. It is the inner life of the whole commonwealth of God without regard to Romanism or Greekism or Lutheranism or Anglicanism that should open and control the entire presentation. It is quite likely that the day of reckoning will disclose the fact that the Kingdom's advances in England were due to Dissent more than to the entire Rolls and Records of the Establishment. It will be quite a surprise, if the little movement inaugurated by Spener and that other mustard-seed arrangement of Graf

Zinzendorf shall not be found to have contributed more to the welfare of humanity than the whole array of orthodox and State Church Lutheranism. Figures have no magic unless they be bound up with truth. The mysticism of the moral universe does not lie in numbers as the Church of the Pythagoreans and the Cabbalists have maintained. Had the Pharisees and the Sadducees written the New Testament the record of Christ would have been very different, indeed it would have resembled the arrangement of our own books; Christ would have been given the seat near the door or the one in the gallery and probably classed among the enthusiasts, visionaries, heretics, mystics or some such sweet, humbling name. He would have been reminded of his insignificance and they would have commented on his death much as our stiff-backed churchmen write about Hubmaier or Servetus. The hierophants Annas, Caiaphas, and the Targumists and Talmudists, with a small sprinkling of Nicodemuses and Josephs and Gamaliels would be the great figures on the ecclesiastical stage, and Pilate and Herod and Felix the lights of imperial ideas and the methods of harmonizing Church and State. The little sect of Christians would have been the subjects of perpetual anathema. Josephus' estimates would have been the thing for the universities and the schools. The religious wars and the pomp and ceremonies and the inquisitions and the police of the press, these are the noble achievements of the faith. Science demands a radical readjustment of the methods of writing ecclesiastical history just as much as it is at pains to reconstruct the treatment of the State and of culture in general. If it undertakes to write the record of the true Christian Church or of the Kingdom of heaven or the world, it has to define for itself, independent of confessions, what the true Church according to Christ is. The progress of spirituality and freedom is its central theme and its motive and the reason why it should exist at all. The degenerate imitations and the cruel, abusive systems which have put on the lion's skin must be reckoned at their true value as asinine affectations. The Kingdom nor the Church is a question of denominations, but of the quality of spiritual life and light that is animating men. The battles with their defeats or successes are those fought with death and darkness:

Vain is the vaunt and victory unjust

That more to mighty hands, than rightful cause doth trust.

We need some of the gall of Tobias' fish to cure these bedizzened Church Fathers of their blindness. What you want to tell us about is the progress of morality and good works; the story of the fruits of the Spirit no matter where found give us the genuine development of Christ's influence in the world. Your tactualism, your magic, your machinery, your symbols and sacraments, your vestments and altars, your inquisitions and persecutions are hollow cant and a bony mockery unless they are mentioned to illustrate

the struggles of freedom to win its righteous domains. The true Christian heroes are not those who repressed liberty but those who suffered in the weary fight and rescued these areas from the hands of ecclesiastical and secular injustice and outrage. To think that human beings could deliberately prepare the annals of cruelty and hate and call them the annals of the love of Christ! Our authors compel us to linger a bit longer at these forbidding and hopeless portals of Hades, for they return to the high-Church and tony definition of the alone-saving establishment as consisting of the pope and his cardinals. If that be Christ's Kingdom, say they, then Italian wars and the immense bloodshedding and tyranny of Pope Julius must be defined as an element of the Christian Church. From such an illogical, unchristian conclusion may God shield us, and one cannot help uniting with them in saying Amen! A pope conducting armies in the field to win territory for the church, a pope devising and directing campaigns against the people who professed his own faith, a theory which demands territory for its exclusive jurisdiction, and builds up certain states of the Church not only in Italy but in France, Germany, England, Bohemia, is certainly out of harmony with the declaration: my Kingdom is not of this world. Here our authors were good Occamites and Marsilians. But how long has it been before the Imperium could win back its independence and rescue its prerogatives of sword and sceptre, crown and imperial apple? Nor is the question solved so long as any national establishment exists to tread out the equality of its neighbor whom it treats as a Samaritan and calls a sect. Let us repeat then that our authors do not stand for a history which minimizes Christ's entrance into the world or which portrays the perversion of his ideas as a permanent and basic thing. They could have no sympathy with any movements that betrayed the coequal fraternity of all believers Romanists, Lutherans, Bucerites, Calvinists, Anabaptists. No it is just for the eradication and subversion of this gross wrong that they plead; and it is on this account that the magnanimous condescensions of these sword-bearing opponents and mutual admirationists assign to these two excellent men little obscure crypts; the epitaphs of Magnus and Caspar must not be hung among the lordly monuments which surmount the bones of Establishers, Inquisitors, Orthodox exclusives and uncharitable polemicists; and so the dust of men and women of kindred minds was buried in the village compounds for the cattle to graze over. O charitable and Christian obloquy! From the Valhalla of the mighty Churchmen they are perpetually banished with a label tacked on by these implacables. Schwenckfeld had to be buried secretly to save his ashes from the fanatic barbarism of these would-be illustrious representatives of Christ. A gray sky, if broken, is hopeful of a shining day; it is anticipative of joy when its ashy hue is lifted and the sun begins to ripple

in the woods and light up the leaves with gleams. The skies of that older order ought to yield to the wind and to the sun, and the rolling away should give promise of a readjustment of values and a more truthful representation of the history of Christian ideas and experience. Obviously the visibility of such a Church as our authors define is entirely dependent on the federation of existing schools of thought whereby a larger area for the wheat to grow is obtained against the hitherto crowding and predominating tares; or, if still debarred from union and fellowship, the isolated deeds of the regenerated believers must penetrate through the clustered and matted darnel. In the demonstration of vitality and superiority in virtues, a field for their recognition is gained in spite of the restrictions put upon them. The fruit of the tree gives the area wherein the forces for truth and liberty may combine. Long was the unseemly scuffle as to which should wave the ferule, whether the pope with his college of red cardinals or that college itself or an ecumenical council of which universality could no longer be predicated; and it may be added that it must always remain dubious who is more powerful the pontiff or the dignitaries that elect him. Practically in nine cases out of ten the much tassellated hats are the stronger party and the college remains the master. The main contention for superiority however has been between the tiara and the prelates in council assembled. The cismontane clergy espoused the more universal interest while the ultramontanists fought unflinchingly for the centralizing tendency. The triumph of this ultramontane policy gradually effected by Jesuitism reached its ultimatum in the Vatican council of 1870, and the conclusion there promulgated is the logical result of an autocratic view of the Church; and yet it has forever the singularly illogical contradiction that it took a council to establish the dogma! Inferentially therefore, a new council could revoke it, but ecclesiastically the council has anathematized the thought; and yet a council must have been supreme up to the point of the publication of such a decree. And such irrationality is always the conclusion when the major premise is so utterly at variance with facts. The main thought of Christ is not authority but freedom. Now the council is no more a necessity for the definition of faith and yet the Church maintains the definitions of faith made by councils in some of which too Rome was only one of many separate representatives. An *ex cathedra* pronunciamento could not affect these ancient ecumenical synods one way or the other, so that we have had two equally infallible authorities. But in the time of our authors after the ponderous struggles of Constance and Basle this question was still a web floating from the trees.

The numerous appeals of individual reformers within and without the prelatie Church, and of the Reichstag itself, and even of the heavy Emperor, for the assembling of such a court of legislation and judicature, made

it an uppermost topic; precisely this juncture most of the popes were eager to avoid because it involved per se the recognition of an authority greater than themselves. Now to those who asserted that such a convocation had at least prerogative enough to make final definitions our authors reply that they themselves have no objection to councils and their decrees, if their conclusions shall be in accord with the Word of God and the Gospel, the final judgment concerning which the individual conscience must hold consistently and strenuously as its exclusive prerogative because its responsibility is to God directly. If the individual moral sense found these decisions to contravene the Scriptures, then it would have to insist on the prerogative of rejecting such articles, definitions and canons. For if these determinatives would be per se nugatory and false, they would have to fall to the ground at once and the court would be proved errant and unworthy of support. In any event the ultimate human judge of these decisions is the individual who must adopt his line of action on his own responsibility and accountability to God. As an interpreter of the Scriptures he is greater than the official pope or the official council. Without the intelligent acquiescence of the one the many could not and do not exist for him with power to frame his judgments for him. To accord an implicit trust to a council is not only therefore a self-stultification which militates against the delicate texture of faith, but is anti-scriptural because such a body is constituted of errant men, and men according to the Bible should not be so trusted, because of the uncertainty and instability of the average human nature; the inward untruth, a prejudice or the limited reason may mislead them. It is notorious that the average morality of a corporate body is lower than the average morality of its constituents. At best the decisions of such bodies are like themselves dubious; and no man of formalistic pretensions can magically make them inspired and certain; and therefore constitute them a final authority for the human conscience and an object of implicit confidence. Only the besotted, ignorant or sordid moral sense could repose in quiet belief upon a lot of men like the rest of us more or less. You cannot convince the reason that there is any sacred character imparted to an assembly of intriguers and wire pullers; a holy lobby does not exist under the sun and never did. It is unworthy of any genuine human nature, conscious of itself, to think that another can be an agent of finality for the ethics of his fellows unless his character is perfect. Consequently there is no certainty beforehand that a council may not err; the presumption is that it will err were it to be held now in these days, say the two friends. How can we give in our acquiescence beforehand when we must doubt whether they will even derive their arguments and reach their conclusions from the Scriptures? They might decree the continuation of the traditions which Rome has devised, just

the very thing against which we are contending. Hence for us it cannot be a final authority and we refuse to put our spiritual life at its mercy. The history of councils gives us no comfort. They have not only erred but they have contradicted one another; they have often been convened under antagonistic leadership and have represented opposing interests. The writers might have added: the hostile parties have frequently not even been granted a hearing or a defence and have been condemned out of hand. The glaring contradictions of Pisa, Constance, and Basle were still lingering in the memory of men. The inner history and morals of councils during their session in the various places where they were convened, and the quality of character in their constituents have been largely ignored under a mechanical idea of the sovereignty of the Holy Spirit. And yet it is just the moral status of the membership that is one of the burning questions in the history of the Kingdom of God. Our authors make the matter a very practical one by referring to the facts of their own time. It is quite improbable say they, that such a conclave will be assembled to decide upon the issues now current, and should it be, it would be subject to many delays; yet the people are dying in the interval while these grave subjects are held in suspense; meanwhile what shall be a final authority on just these absorbing points for these dying men and women? Hence their ultimate estimate as to the orders of councils are as follows: if they are really of the Spirit they will be in accord with the Scriptures, in which case and in so far they have an authority but not of their own, it is a derived and secondary one and yet not a finally delegated one, and the individual conscience has still to say whether these have such an origin and compatability so that it can readily and cheerfully obey their conclusions as of God. But if they stand in opposition to the Bible, then they are manifest disorder and are vacuous. Such decisions are anti-Christian, for they who do not gather with me scatter abroad. No council can usurp Christ's centrality or leadership; these organizations are his friends, if they obey what he says and do what he does, otherwise they are his enemies.

The petitioners take a very clear and then uppermost illustration. It relates to communion in both kinds, the eating of the body and the drinking of the blood of Christ. This is a matter of record as Christ's specific injunction and St. Paul says, for I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, and has given us similar words of institution. Could there be ten thousand councils convened at present they surely could have no authority to withhold the cup from the laity. For Christ says: drink ye all of it. It is a prerogative given by our Lord to every believer to partake of the symbols which make up his whole body; and whatsoever the mitigating circumstances may be of time and place and the kind of

elements, such matters are accidental; but the main right is an everlasting institution and a just claim of the individual; and no quantity of councils or popes have any authority to change that sacramental charter not even for the conservation and defence of any misdevised theory of the Supper. It is chiefly transubstantiation which has prompted the maintenance of this unwholesome tyranny. The wavering attitude of the Bishop of Breslau, the pledges to Maximilian II and the demands of Herzog Albrecht V of Bavaria show the inconsequence of the papal limitation. The Roman view of the Lord's Supper is also the parent of the exigent dogma of concomitance. In the thirteenth session, October 11, 1551, the council of Trent decreed canon III: *si quis negaverit, in venerabili sacramento Eucharistiae sub unaquaque specie, et sub singulis cujusque speciei partibus, separatione facta, totum Christum contineri: anathema sit*. Eleven years later, July 16, 1562, in canon III, it reaffirms the above theory that the whole Christ is in each element. But in canon IV the question of utraquism is still left in abeyance, only that the dispensating power is transmitted to a future synod. Hence the council of Trent carefully abstained from a definition or canon as to the final withholding of the cup from the laity. Our authors contended for the primitive liberty of communion in both kinds as an inalienable right of every believer. Nothing could take that privilege from him justly. He has a divine warrant for resisting the invasion of that spiritual franchise. Under no condition must he allow the overthrow of that charter of union with his Lord. He must not surrender to an organization that trifles with the historic and basic facts to help out its errant theory. Rather obliterate the errant theory than the utraquism which militates against it. Do not be guilty of a second heresy in defence of the first. Christ's command cannot be changed to benefit a mistaken interpretation of the Supper. An angel would even be anathema, if he declared a Gospel differing from the way, the truth and the life, how much more a fallible, human system. We may keep silent with our authors about councils and men who make such awful perversions but it is sure that the very explanation of the sacrament must be wrong, if it insist on such a subversion of christic and apostolic guarantees.

They next meet the argument that a council must have a final authority because many holy fathers were assembled in them and participated in their decisions. In the mind of the prelates the collective character of such distinguished and sanctified men should give the results a superior claim to obedience. To which our authors make the reply that the fathers themselves have erred: they are men, even when they are good they make mistakes in thought, in conduct and interpretation, just as any of us do, and therefore they cannot be an unalterable and irrefragable voice for the conscience. And indeed most of these fathers were a poor lot; they

had the qualities of a formal sanctity but their dispositions, their tempers, their conceptions of relative duties are not very enlightening or helpful. The spirit of the Gospel is absent from many of them in private life and conciliar procedure. There be few that will find in Jerome or Ambrose, in Athanasius or Cyprian, in Cyril of Alexandria or even Augustine very edifying exponents of the sustained inward life. The very confessions of Augustine are full of a maudlin rhetoric to portray an exaggerated, abnormal experience. There be few indeed that deserve the title of Saint except in a sacramental, high-churchly sense. The fathers are ecclesiastics and aristocrats and disputants yes, but loving and fraternal Christians, not to any very appreciable extent. Their character is not their chief dignity when you come to inspect them at close range. They are the products of a wrongful interpretation of Christianity and contributors to fostering hieratic yokes and to stamping out the little liberty of the individual that was left. History is not simply to record one class of things as they were and are, but to devote itself first of all to what might and ought to have been as exemplified by a higher type of endeavor and a freer grade of men. The ministry is likely to have the choicest specimens of what should be and not the sheep-like majority whose conscience is like a nose of wax, but whose nose has also lost all its power of smell, and can no longer distinguish the savory from the unsavory; it may delight in perfumes like musk and civet and patschuli but the fragrance of flowers is beyond its scent. The atmosphere of ecclesiasticism is thick with a heavy, dark, murky air. Church romantics have lost all refinement and accuracy of taste; they are full of exaggerated impossibilities; their figures and their deeds are as extreme and overdrawn as Ariosto's heroes and his cantos as well; their art is formless and traditional; their music lapses into primitive nasal drones formed when notation was in its swaddling clothes. Our petitioners wanted to get a breath of fresh air away from incense and myrrh. In that severe winter of 1523/4 they longed to cast off the phantasmagoria and the sleepy, stupifying unrealities of the past. They shook their locks and thought; they broke from Philistia; for them the contemporaneous fathers had too much of the fictitious style in their sainthood. Holiness for these two friends began to mean something very different from the churchly usage. Their reverence for flesh and blood as exemplified by the ecclesiastics about them was awfully beaten about and dashed; it might be clean wiped out of regard, if character was not going to be founded on substantial Gospel principles and without formalism and legalism. Moreover those ancient holy fathers had honesty enough, and a redeeming quality it was, to caution their fellows from trusting in them unless they dealt according to Christ the Word of God, and interpreted Scripture by Scripture. Jerome and Augustine both held that principle of hermeneutics

and in so far gave an estimate of their own value as teachers. But they never dreamed of setting themselves up as final authorities. It should be noticed that this is the third time the hermeneutical law is laid down. The errancy of councils had already been proved in the attitude of these conventions toward one another's proceedings, and one of the most notable treatises on the subject was that of Nicolas de Clemangis in connection with the Council of Constance itself. The original may have been known to Schwenckfeld, but it was not translated until 1537 by Johann Ehinger, deacon of the Church of S. Johansen, Augsburg. Similar themes are well handled by Georg Schönnichen, preacher of Eylenburg, in his reply to the Leipzig professors Mosellanus, Ochsenfart and Camerarius. It bears the date of Sunday after the visitation of Mary, July 5, 1523.

Another argument of the curialist is that there were forty or more attempts at writing gospels but only four were accepted by the Church; now since the Church decided the scriptural canon it has therefore an authority above that of the Scriptures, and we should acknowledge and obey it. To this plea the writers answer that their own registers do not indicate so much apocryphal truck, and indeed the exact number more or less is of no consequence, but the point, material to the argument, is this, that these men wrote fables of which the Gospel of Nicodemus is a specimen, and these stories were rejected on that account; it is not men or any body of men that have given the Gospel its power or its substantiation; but they did discover in those four records something found nowhere else; these four Evangelists had a self-evidencing content, and all records out of harmony with those plain and convincing statements were thrown out naturally and from an innate necessity. The Roman Church authority cannot make apocryphal books part of the canon though it has decided to do so. The moral norm established by these self-testifying documents is therefore the real judge and the Gospels are demonstrated to be an authority per se. The contestants do not lead the argument further as to the Acts of the Apostles and the Revelation. But by this method of spiritual and historical reduction every Christian is at liberty to make his own canon. So these two had learned to reject the Gospel of Nicodemus in whose fictions they formerly took great pleasure. This, although just, is quite a radical statement, not asserted indeed in so many plump words but obviously underlying the incidents, and is a virile inference from the self-witnessing power of the Scriptures and of the Christ they reveal. Hence our authors manifest just as much independence in the measure of authority itself as is given in Carlstadt's great treatise *De canonicis Scripturis* or in Luther's narrower assertions based on an arbitrary preference for St. Paul as the standard whereby to judge the Epistles. A further counter argument lies in the fact of its origin. Was

it before or after the sacred books? Did the Gospel produce the Church or did the Church produce the actual Gospel? It must be remembered that the concrete matter of history preceded the record, but that record at least purports to reproduce the events. Those facts show that the founding of the Church was one of the events that occurred in the course of the life of Christ. That Church therefore cannot modify or change the facts, it has no authority over the events. The history as an unfolding has the precedence of the Church, and the Church must go to the records for its dogma, its worship, its polity and its life. The mere collection of the records confers no authority to change itself nor is the Church per se endowed with a finally determinative oversight as to what is true and what is not true. An individual historic critic has more authority than the Church; each man has therefore the right, if he be qualified in conscience and in skill, to say what constitutes a real presentation of the facts in the Lord's life and in the career of the apostles. Further, one must always ask for a definition of a Church which assumes such a sovereign jurisdiction. The Church as defined by our authors would be a far more likely adviser in such a matter than the visible organization as constituted in the fourth century when the canon was formally closed. But while there might be agreement of judgment as to what the register of books should be, they would claim no more than an advisory suggestion. If the Church is the product of the Gospel, then it cannot have any authority over the Gospel; nowhere did Christ or the apostles vacate themselves in behalf of the creature-institution. The servant cannot assume control of his Lord. A final plea for the authority of the Church lies in the long-ruling custom which has succumbed to its control; this has been the prevailing theory for centuries. What has been, should be continued because it has been. The authors in reply reproduce the maxim of Cyprian, that custom must always give way to Christian truth. This needs no further enlargement since it was discussed in the previous document; the petitioners however insist on a distinction between the rule of custom and usage in the Church and that in the State, for the simple reason that no such absolute standard of development in matters outside of religion existed in the State as then constituted; law itself is in large measure the product of custom, in many respects it is the formulation of existing and inherited usage; nevertheless the life according to the Gospel will also produce a different view of rights and will slowly demand a yielding to these higher truths. The State itself is inherently ethical and must become measuredly and continuously conscious of its ethicality, it must and does partake in advancing degree of the Spirit of the Kingdom; it becomes more equalizing and therefore just and humane; it itself establishes and furthers such moral factors as education and charity; and law itself

tries to keep pace with equity. When the Church does not live according to her spiritual privilege, the progress of the State in the realization of liberty and happiness is retarded. And when the Church remains persistently stagnant it must certainly retrograde; the State has often shaken off the recalcitrant shackles and has gone on in its career with a finer moral elevation than ecclesiasticism would allow itself to attain. The writers exemplify the Cyprianic maxim with two illustrations. The Spirit of Christ overthrew the comfortable and self-glorifying old customs which Annas and Caiaphas represented. Those well-endowed hierarchs had an unconscionably enlarged lot of regulations; they considered their method of divine and human service as the true worship of God and the best rule for men, for it was ever so ancient and moss-grown; they and their prelates constituted the Church by a most infallible inheritance. The authors find an analogous proof in the history of the conversion of their forefathers; transmitted custom required them to conform to the ancient traditions and mythologies and to reject the new faith; Wodan and Thor and Freya were their established gods, why should they surrender the myths of their ancestors? But truth urged them to the acceptance of Christianity and so the usages of a hoary antiquity were surrendered. Where would the Roman Church be, if the plea of custom had prevailed among the Gentiles?

The final prelatic argument for the authority of the Church is a sort of hurricane anticlimax. The curialists allege that the whole matter was closed at Constance, where Hus was burnt for maintaining just what the Reformers are setting up afresh. The whole matter was there settled forever and admits of no further discussion. The pleaders probably forgot that this council determined that an ecumenical synod had the authority over the pope and that it took action against three popes and ordered the election of a fourth and that it declared for interimistic general conventions to revise all matters arising in the interval and to provide for the future. One set of decrees should be just as valid as the other. If the deliverance of Hus to the secular arm is warranted, well-knowing what the secular arm was to do, then the other decrees are equally right, and what becomes of Trent or the Vatican? Every article and act presumed the superiority of the council whether to the pope or to the Scriptures. Now every one setting forth a certain claim should establish it by infallible evidence. The members of the Ritterschaft in Silesia are required to deposit their coat-of-arms in the chancery of their respective princes so that they can have an indubitable testimony to their nobility which can be produced on any occasion of contested rights under the Ritterrecht. But here is a franchise asserted which claims the privilege of trying and burning a man among other things for his assertion that the

Word of God is superior authority above all popes, cardinals and councils, and they have hitherto refused and still refuse to bring forth the records by which that right to condemn was established. Here is the loud call for the evidence of jurisdiction and procedure as the only way to confirm the facts of the case and to test the ground on which the claim of the superiority of a council to the Scriptures rests; that is, how was Hus vanquished? Where is the evidence? Surely not the stake and the ashes.

XLI. We come now to consider the Reformation in the light of its religious and ethical results. The chief argument of the opposition was based on the statement that so far as the average man was observed there was little improvement effected by the new teaching; the very persons who boasted most about the Gospel were leading a bad and aggravating life. Our authors begin with a confession that this is a fact, and a sad one which moves them profoundly and grieves them to their innermost heart to see and to feel; how true it is that the chief desire of so many men is to abuse their privileges and to take advantage of a certain liberty to pervert and bemire it. Every forward step of the race awakens the latent, slumbering devils in humanity to spoil, to belittle, to besmirch the very foot-print of progress. Men sing the *ça ira* in order to run up a red flag of self-indulgence and to riot in blood. The reign of liberty is converted into a reign of terror. Break a real fetter and you unleash a kennel of disgusting vices and appalling cruelties. Some of our kind seem incapable of appreciating anything elevating and really progressive. Every material prosperity is only a nurse for their cruder natures. A whiff of a favoring wind from heaven or a little journey into the world at once inclines them to beastliness. That is a feature of humanity not limited to the Reformation, it lies in the banality of human nature. Contrast the character of the leaders of the French Revolution with those of the Cromwellian or of the American Revolution. Contrast too the results. Each set of men were the products of a long education whose evil or good showed itself with opportunity. Every period of enlightenment brings new crimes in its train. Increase of light intensifies the darkness. Too much radium will consume most folks. This then is a law of human progress and the curialistic critics have only to read their own records to give us the shabbiest proofs and thick as leaves in Valombrosa. It lies not in the Reformation but in the human nature which will abuse its advantages. Give men a great festival of the Holy Spirit or of the Ascension of Christ or of the Nativity or of the Resurrection and the ordinary folks will fiddle and dance and drink themselves sottishly full. They turn the most ideal things to the filthiest flesh. A book like Sebastian Brant's *Marrenschiff* or Thomas Murner's *Vom groÿen lutherischen Marren* or Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, or Erasmus' *Laus Stultitiae* is a satire equal to the facts, showing how

men persist in vitiating their own idyllic and idealistic tendencies and opportunities. The prodigal will go to harlots and swine until a deeper poverty pinches him; and the French artist will put the stress upon the wickedness. He will paint Madame de Montespan in full court costume as the penitent Magdalene. In the Reformation as in other stages of history the old and the new Silenuses and Pans were let loose, and they improved the occasion for all they were worth. But that degeneracy does not tell the whole of the tale. An earthquake reveals the ghouls indeed and the fools too, but it also clarifies and magnifies the heroes and the stout saviors, and it is just these that are the grand, telling and hopeful products of the upheaval. Their powers of discipline reconstruct, revivify and rehearten the hesitant and trembling masses; then the whole world is aroused to acclaim and kindliness. Out of chaotic wastes noble structures rise. And such is the purport of the reflections which our authors make. Their concern is not about themselves in the lamentable consequences of the innovation, because they have learned not to trust in human example; their confidence is in the divine Word who is the source of life and betterment in the long run of development, no matter how inauspicious the present state of transition and indefiniteness may superficially seem to be. Nevertheless they were ready to confess that there was evidently a gross deficiency somewhere, in the way the new movement had been handled. It had too much of a dogmatic and too little of an ethical character. It had been too precipitately destructive with an insufficient counter-upbuilding; it lacked a healthful endeavor at reconstruction. The bars had been let down too suddenly and the cattle had stampeded. The leaders had been more negative than positive; when insisting on the elimination of abuses there had been no sufficient substitution of the right evangelical uses. There had been an excess of the speculative and the theoretical even in external and formal changes and all too little of an immediate practical rebuilding on the square lines of the Gospel. In place of the false disciplines of the old order a true and efficient discipline for the new order had not been instituted. The little opening in the dykes had brought on an inundation of waters laden with all manner of wreck and wrack, wholesome and unwholesome. The criticism had been clear and riddling, but the creative art had produced little that was stable and revivifying. The evil elements let loose proved a bit too strong temporarily for the unorganized good. The ethical ramparts should have been reared within the lines and have been subjected to a powerful test and demonstration of their resistant qualities before the dogmatic outworks were stormed, for the worst enemies of the Reformation, apart from the unhoused and unhinged elements that lie in ruins by every social order, were the men who lived ill and yet kept some outward show

of obedience to the Church. Now when an entire school to-day repeat this charge as to the evil character of the Reformation from its immediate results, we may deplore some of these consequences along with Hans Axleben and Schwenckfeld. But several things must be born in mind, and one is that some chickens will inevitably come home to roost. The old Church had had the control of all culture, the whole body was representative of as much as it could do; the State had been its object, if somewhat unwilling slave; the universities had been its tool and ally; even the major part of the Humanists lived largely under its patronage. The opposition was scattered and insignificant as compared with the numbers and power of the ancient order. A few blows of the reformer here and there had but brought ruin upon the man and his hammer. In the solution of the world-problem Democritus could laugh satirically over the half discomfited but not quite vanquished Heraclitus; the difference of the degree of chuckle and derision between Cornelis van Haarlem and Jacob Jordan is not very great, but in each case the more sedate philosopher of the obscure has in him a poise that promises the larger success as the river flows on. Truth is subject to no long thralldom, its genius is to unfold the shells that enclose it like a flower, not violently. Only when it is confined and throttled does it act like a thundering detonant. It must get into the light and air, its energies are only augmented by repression. It cannot be long imprisoned. If one lets it follow its natural law of expansion, it will do so quietly and peacefully. But if it is opposed, it will find its outlet seismically and bury the seemingly innocent and the guilty alike under the upheaval. But one may ask how guiltless and guileless are those who stand by passively and allow truth to be manacled? Truth without perfect freedom is impossible; they who restrict freedom are not lovers of truth. Truth and confidence in God are allies for any human heart that seeks to be what it ought to be. These two men who had learned that lesson are worthy of all admiration.

But there were many then as now whom a visible example affects a good deal more than any higher lessons of morality and religion. The average of us make our inferences from and are influenced by the sort of men and women we see. And here were loud and boastful Malvolios and Hudibrases and Jacobsbrüder who prated of the evangelical era and the dawn of freedom and the good times because it gave them a grand chance to be loose and licentious under a new cloak. Many a half-baked man was eating his own school-satchel in his eagerness and impatience to waste himself in riotous living. These evil instances made some shallow pates say: if these Antinomian fellows are specimens of the brood hatched by Solifidianism, we want none of it. Of course these very rioters and hypocrites had been baptized by the Roman priests in their infancy and

could not only lay claim to, but were actually of the membership in the old Church. The new liberations had struck them on the side of their appetites so that they felt justified in denying the right of restraint. Not that they had put on any bits before, but that they had chafed under the prohibitions of formal abstinences. It was the adversary who charged this exclusively to the spirit of the fresh standard of life. It is on the ground of such claims that our authors insist once more on the restoration of a New Testament discipline to prevent these libertines from sailing their dangerous and piratical craft about under false flags; these profligates were not born of the Gospel but were the jail-birds of the old prison whose bars they had burst. If they had not mocked at the familiar forms, they would still be honored and communicant sons. But to show what were the normal and what the abnormal fruits of the Reformation the petitioners plead for a system which would in large measure distinguish between the true and the false. The strait and narrow way of eternal life should no longer be identified with the broad and crowded way of the world. While the method of disciplinary development is not outlined its purpose is plainly stated to be the exclusion of false and nominal evangelicals from the fellowship of those who sincerely try to illustrate the life of virtue and piety set forth by the Lord and his apostles; and just for the sake of such people as confuse inextricably names with things, who are helpless realists and Philistines but without common sense, the two friends depict these pretenders with a broad brush. These anti-nomians use the term evangelical with great volubility but have not the slightest purpose to regulate their conduct by its high spirit and its strict demands; just the contrary, their object is to use the name as a cover for still looser and larger misdeeds of selfishness and abomination. O it is such an exhibition of fraternity when they get half drunk or lose themselves in pots of beer and flagons of wine and give themselves over to beastly excess, where they huddle like swine on the straw or on the floor, where they lie in stupid besotment! And it is such an illustration of the force of love when they indulge their sexual appetites without restraint and follow the irrepressible desires of nature in lavish debauchery! Indeed when they cheat and defraud their neighbor it is all out of the same philadelphic disposition. They have need of the goods and the brother should not withhold them! And is it not the acme of Christian freedom when we eat meat of a Friday and fish of a Sunday? What more do you want of liberty than to turn things topsy-turvy; to set folks teeth on edge; to startle the sleepy conservatives with radical misconduct and to run amuck with the old tyranny? Indeed they formulate their ideas of independence into certain rules: you are not to fast; you are not to pray; you are not to give alms. Just because the old Church ordered these things formally we must get

rid of the whole machine. Poor sinners, their desires outstrip their moral sense, they feign obliviousness to the injunctions that we are to fast and to pray and to give alms but in a larger and deeper sense than the old Church was wont to interpret these wholesome commandments. These are laws of the divine majesty; they are the unalterable statutes of the Kingdom of love and must be developed to their most comprehensive significance and relation. The fasting is to be delivered from its old bonds of statedness and restrictive prescription and have its spontaneity and spirituality restored. There is no ethical merit in formal asceticism, but there is in the purpose of self-discipline, of repentance and of sacrifice for others. These urge: What you deny yourself, do you give to your neighbor. For a set of men to cast off all prayer because of the lifeless mummerly and vain repetitions of the previous system is to insult the Father of our spirits who will have all men worship him in Spirit and truth; the very noblest evidence of our own sense of dependence and the most elevated privilege accorded to us is just this communion with the Father in heaven. And the giving of alms has an immense significance in the Gospel economy; it is the practical attestation of mutuality; it is the development of the consciousness of brotherhood and equality. It does not mean the dropping of a few pennies into the beggar's hands as it formerly did; it has nothing to do with a semi-organized mendicancy; it stands for the real right we have in one another's work and property. Of what we have and in proportion as we have we are bound to give. Hence our lay-doctors say it is not the work itself but the abuse of it which is prohibited. Further, these false evangelicals are very talkative about faith but they do not understand it any better now in 1524 than they did in 1514, before the tidings of the freedom on which they pride themselves had reached them. They do talk of justification by faith alone as over against justification by works and argue that on this account works are unnecessary; we are saved by faith, but they exhibit no sign of any sort of justification or righteousness or of any inward or outward change for the better. Their notion of salvation is very peculiar since it only consists of an uncontrolled abuse of the pope and a refusal to pay tithes to the priests. They seem to think it is enough to be delivered from his Holiness and to be exempt from supporting his servants to make them beautiful specimens of evangelicalism. And Christ our Lord who is the consummation of a holy and devout life they dare to make the covert of their shameful deeds. The judgment of all who despise the truth and the disgrace of all who put reproach upon Christ will be greater than that of Sodom and Gomorrah. There is then no more debasing crime or treason than the abuse of Christian liberty which is a liberty of the Spirit by seizing upon it as the opportunity for a full rampage of carnality. Such perverters of Christian

liberty, as are here reprobated are also brought to book by Eberlin in his tract: *Vom mißbrauch christlicher freyheit* which was issued in 1522.

Thus far the writers have been clearing the track for the advance of their main positive arguments into a broader field of operations and to secure an open plain for driving back the lancinate criticism of the curialists. Those who have approached the Gospel from a previous habit of simplicity have not been injured but benefitted by the Reformation; they show with time an increase of both faith and good works. These two things are not dissociated in the theory of our authors, as indeed they are by nobody but by some few of the anti-synergists in their excessive emphasis upon solifidianism. The real cause of so much of the evil lies in the previous duplicity of so many of the superstitious followers of the new ideas. They could appear pious the more easily by the then standards of piety which inquired into nothing beyond observances and the doing of some external ceremonials. But the Gospel reveals their real nature as dyed in the wool rascals, because it requires the attempt at and the steadfast cultivation of a pure inward life. The Evangel seeks to show the secrets of the heart; it overthrows all human righteousness and rears aloft the divine which alone is steadfast and enduring and which faith partakes of vitally. These views of the functions of the Gospel are noteworthy. It not only discloses what we really are but shows us what we must be; it lays bare the secret springs of thought and conduct and makes us see their obvious quality; it proves the worthlessness of purely human attempts to live righteously and to become just in some fashion independent of God; it compels us to seek the divine grace which imparts and confirms the all-sufficiency of God's righteousness alone. There are five meaningful features which constitute the secret springs of the genuine side of the Reformation work. The difficulty in forming a proper estimate of a great moral movement lies in these facts: the carnal mind is not an adequate judge, it neither easily recognizes nor does it have any sympathy with spirituality; it had rather mock it and criticise it than acknowledge it; men love to flatter their own neglect of God by making sport of those who try to remember their Creator. It is a universal habit of the self-satisfied nature and particularly among those who assume the name of Christ and claim a marked measure of sanity in religion and a degree of Annas and Caiaphas superiority; who look down with curling sneers and scornful contempt upon the Frömmeler and Mucker who are generally only guilty of trying to follow the Spirit and are particularly offensive to the sensitive nostrils of culture or the lover of self-indulgence and pleasure, because they do believe in a distinction between the Church and the world, between Hellenism and faith, between natural religion and Christianity, between a Christianity founded on a human philosophy and

a Christianity founded on the sayings of Jesus. So it was in the Reformation and the loudest Evangelicals soon fell into the same obliquity of judgment and obfuscation of vision about those who insisted on a difference between the works of the flesh and the works of the Spirit. For these more earnest souls no contemptuous names were too unrefined, no contumely too indelicate, no violence too ungentle. University and Church and press were closed to them until Pietism and Rationalism alike threw stones at these glass palaces and smashed in the crystal windows. These were two antipodal movements of the Spirit to justify the Middle Way of the Reformation; Salig and Semler could shake hands as joint revolutionists within the camp. Another fact must be borne in mind in forming our judgments of any innovation: it is universally true that the good does not come into the forefront of display and recognition as rapidly and as widely as the evil. A *Zeitung* of Hans Axleben's and Schwenckfeld's day seldom gave an account of the excellences of human nature and the finer products of culture in the growth of what was true or good or beautiful, any more than a newspaper of to-day occupies itself with headlines of grace and love. This battle or that pestilence, this intrigue or that murder, this external phenomenon or that outward pomp, such were the favorite topics of the little quartos and so they continue to be the ruling revelations of the daily press. Externalisms of calamity or of crime, movements of disorder and rapine have the supreme place, while the progress of culture from within, the daily routine of goodness, the general stability of society are lost sight of or taken for granted. Rabelais is dearer than Geyler of Kaisersberg; Till Eulenspiegel or Doctor Faust is more sought after than Crautwald or Pomeranus. The majority of people rushed for Luther's books because they smashed things and tossed popes, kings and princes, cardinals and abbots hither and yon on rough blankets and common pitchforks, rather than for those sweeter and softer tones of exhortation to the practice of virtue and to do the things which he was not doing, that the Reformer could also urge. They delighted in the roar of the bulls of Bashan but not in cultivating the roses of Sharon or the lilies of the valley. The truth is, the populace then as now revelled in excitement and in the tingle of new sensations; they preferred novelty to hum-drum; they liked a spiced story better than a homily; the humanists themselves preferred Ovidian and Aretinic *Deliciae* to the calm and placid ways of truth and steady-going habits. The average men and women have invariably chosen the literature of what Southey called the Satanic school rather than the Pilgrim's Progress or Young's Night Thoughts. The dime novel can always count on ten purchasers for one who loves the quieter moods of story. The reasons for such roots in us are not far to seek and the fact is to be remembered in judging of

the Reformation. The evil was at once in conspicuity; the good remained in the background and this our authors go on to show.

Our authors claimed as a matter of observation that the Gospel had rescued innumerable consciences that were previously enchained. No less had it delivered many souls from a state of desperation, and of such not a few were daily coming into peace. A considerable fraction of such beneficent results was to be found among their own peasantry. And we can guess through whose personal agency such a salvatory work was performed. As a further proof of the beneficial effects of the new ideas they had personal acquaintance with many pious people who had undergone a readily discoverable spiritual improvement through the Lutheran teaching as the prelatical opposition insisted upon calling the Reformation, especially these haughty critics in Breslau and in Liegnitz. By the grace of God these converts were making daily advancement in the discernment and obedience of the Christian verities. We count this a glorious personal proof of eye-witnesses that neither the prelates nor the native curialists of long ago, nor the School of Bossuet, of Janssen and of the truculent Denifle with his Freischütz method can gainsay. Certainly it is mostly due to the acres of moral damage which the Curia's own baptized children wrought, although they had undergone the magical regeneration of the Church's water and salt and oil, when they flunked in the new era. Of course they did, if they got no deeper in such conceptions of vital religion than these critics have discovered. It is the same stultification of the laws of progress which some of the Romanist clergy of France are now making; they buck their skulls against the stone-wall of liberty and accuse the party of progress with being sore-heads. How old the story is, and yet there will be many more to repeat it. It is hardly less wearisome than *Amadis de Gaul*. It has not a fraction of the sweet, placid, tedious beauty of the Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia*. There be some who will learn nothing new because one ancient worthy or seven went to sleep at Ephesus, or because Gregory VII tried to put out the eyes of liberty and therefore they must all persist in being blind. But, say our writers, suppose it were all true that the attempt to introduce Gospel light had made matters worse and the men were irretrievably bad who now waved that red flag of license, nevertheless that would not argue that the free Gospel was the cause of it; nor would it justify the suppression of its free dissemination, pure and simple. The true cause of such degeneracy lies in the abominable training that the ancient Church had given its children, and in the loss of internal vital religion through an ever expanding mass of ceremony and formality; the substitution of material ways for the methods of the Spirit and of visibility for invisibility; this venerable perversion was the prolific parent of the existing disorders. That was the fountain whence

issued the flood of bitter waters. The Church had made its own Pandora box. The ever-recurring plans for reforming the head and the members had never come to any large and adequate fruition; and Hadrian VI himself like his reconstructive predecessors and the reforming councils got but little farther than the paper purpose. It is a wonderful infatuation that finds such thick ribbed and knotty protuberances on so young a tree instead of condemning the gnarled, century-old beech. Can the sapling be full of such iniquitous sap? What then about the twisted oak under whose shadow generations of wild life have gathered acorns? The new seed had hardly got under the soil but that soil was chuck full of ancient and lively tares that now sprang up under a bit of light and the fresh alkali, and behold the field was blue and green and flowery with weeds to which Canada thistles were as nothing. It is only within the capacity of a chuckle-head to argue otherwise and to attribute to the Reformation what was the natural result of the shortcomings of mediævalism. Moreover the Reformation was a seed time; a few hearts only were prompt in the recognition of what it meant although it made every body sit up. Indeed many had already anticipated it and had been living retired and uncourageous lives under the weighty repression of the old school; but for the most of human hearts the long fallow soil had to be prepared and the seed sown and the harvest would necessarily come later; new universities, new publicist methods, new culture could not spring up armed and equipped over night. As it was, the development was breathlessly rapid and all the more strikingly so, seeing how the Reformers spoiled their own husbanding and fell to beating one another instead of sticking to their ploughs and their seedsacks and their weeding. Tares and thistles grew in rank luxuriance: they had little grace even of cornflower and poppy and wild morning-glory. But he who gave the increase, the Lord of the harvest, watched over the fields until they whitened in spite of his numskull servants.

Nor little less fatuous is it to underestimate the splendid vitality, the new life and lifting up of the peoples, the liberation of the universities, the growth of the State which evolved from this fresh sowing of the Gospel seed. Does Germany want to be like Spain? Does England want to revert to the Plantaganet period? Does the New World want to go back to the rule of Cortez? Who can argue with people that insist on the reduction of the modern age to mediævalism? What can one say to a Church that claims Christ as its revered possession and yet writes about infallibility: *si quis autem huic Nostrae definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, praesumpserit, anathema sit?* Such a definition shuts out progress for them but not for us. All the more must we develop the freedom of the Spirit: and exactly so our writers felt with regard to the ancient order.

They did not lose hope because the results were short of the expectation of the friends of the Gospel and because the harvest did not run parallel with the sowing, or because the old darnel asserted itself luxuriously and wantonly. They remembered Christ in the solitary magnitude of his mission. The way the world reckoned it did not seem much to have a few hundred disciples and some apostles as the outcome of that sublime ministry; and yet Christ himself saw the fields white to the harvest. It looked desperate when thousands could not swallow his teaching about regeneration and about spiritual bread and spiritual meat and about an inward faith in him as the consummate end of life. Just such Capernaitic and cannibalistic interpreters and Philistine Totenfresser arise before every spiritual ideal and stumble over every really precious stone and wipe all the stars out of the sky. Why yes, the net seeming result of that mission of Jesus was rather pitiful, and a very minus quantity was reckoned out by the material mathematicians who made merry at its close; that he should shake Europe and remodel peoples and gird the earth with a living and regenerating love was not visible nor possible to the bleared and filmy eyes of his blood-thirsty critics. Then he hung upon the gallows and scarce one bumptious disciple waited to be counted in. So it seemed, and yet so it was not. The rays of an ever widening light streamed out from the closed eyes of the King of an invisible, spiritual majesty; he laid the foundation of a fair and far kingdom of love by his death. Just a resurgence like that was the outcome of what appeared to be a hopeless innovation according to the luxurious college of cardinals. To the humanistic Philistines and Classicists it was a quarrel of a few greasy monks. Silence cannot be imposed upon the infinite voices of truth. You may cry anathema but the free born spirit returns the foolish curse with a smile of pity and a hand of deliverance. What Schwenckfeld and Axleben here say in concluding this part of their vindication is everlastingly to the point. Really nobody at this present time is more errant in conscience than those who do not want to give credence to the pure Scriptures but wait for some human confirmation by some noisy council. Our authors here speak of a conscience reared in the mediæval standards of piety; the ungodly do not even have a conscience, certainly no consciousness of God in this event which we designate as the Reformation. Zwingli enumerates the enemies of the Gospel who yet boast of an interest in it, as the papists, the libertines, the men who want a reason for evading the payment of their dues or for meeting their financial and other obligations, and those who are not moved by Christian love to a Christian life but who seek a justification for all sorts of contradictory and revolutionary opinions on the plea of liberty. The real creators of revolt are first the papal forces which seek to repress the Gospel and secondly, the princes

and general secular authorities who diligently endeavor to check the same. To restore unity it is necessary to overcome the papacy or it will overcome the Church once more. This victory is to be gained by an educated ministry who are to train the people everywhere and these preachers must have an adequate support. The monastic institutions should be converted into hostelries and hospitals. Let all monasticism and sacerdotalism be done away with. The abuses of money and service must be abolished and so with the tenths. There must also be a reformation of polity as to bishops, abbots and prelates. The work bears the title: *Wēliche vrjach gebind ze | ufzūren/ welchēs die waren | vfrūrer sy gind/ vnd wie man zū Crīstlicher | einigheit | vnd fryden kōmen mōge/ durch Sulb- | rych Zuinglin zū Zürich. 1524. | Ziß bis anß End vnd ermiß | nit allein wie ruch/ funder wie | waar es sye.*

XLII. The writers have thus boldly made a defence of the evangelical movement and stated the reasons for their faith not only to their regular bishop but also to the general public, and this they have done according to the measure of the capacity God had endowed them with. The satirical caution uttered by some of the prelates to attend to their estates rather than to the foolery of interference in religious matters sounds like the self-sufficient and self-satisfied criticism of our formal, self-appointed watchmen of Jerusalem. The Church, say they, will be taken care of by the appointed custodians of ecclesiastical interests. It is characteristic of the worldly spirit and there is no better sign of it than when it calls the wisdom of God foolishness. The wisdom of God chooses very unexpected instruments also, and he has called the laymen into the field when the clergy so-styled have not done their duty. The true ministers of the living Word are not the frocked and ordained ones necessarily; any one who is anointed of the Spirit is called of God to win men to truth and righteousness and every such an one is at any rate summoned to do good to his fellows. That is the theory of the ministry which these men believed in and which they illustrated, while the prelates in this instance also had dragged that word minister into contempt by their high sounding separate titles. To be a servant of the Church was no longer a sign of preaching ability and of the discharge of exalted, spiritual duties, but it was a mark of a sweller position and of an addition to the ecclesiastical furbelows; it designated an increase of hauteur and snobbery with a seat in the choir. The very divisions of the buildings set the clericals apart from the worshippers as superior folk. Few indeed among the dignitaries cared to preach a simple sermon, even if they were able, they seldom did it. And again the Lord in his reply to Martha praised Mary for having chosen the better part as something superior to domestic economy. To that better part, say our authors, we want to cleave in Christ and stead-

fastly maintain and teach it. We can attend all the more carefully to our estates, if we devote ourselves to the good of our people. And yet they profess that they will cheerfully render obedience to such prelates and shepherds as do their duty. From those who assume more authority than has been given them by Christ they must turn away however reluctantly. These then are the two easy tests of the scope of spiritual government: does one handle his office as a servant of God and does he administer his trust as a steward of the mysteries? This office was instituted solely to forward the progress of humanity Godward and not for the destruction of that normal relationship. Anything that cannot be harmonized with these plain words is a usurpation to which we owe no obedience and will give none. The authority of the New Testament is the sole basis for the existence of the ministry and beyond this divine charter no man dare go. To trespass upon the ground beyond is to play the tyrant.

XLIII. Our authors preface their final series of petitions with the exhortation that for the sake of the honor of Christ and the Bishop's own salvation he really would take to heart the propositions made in all seriousness and earnestness. He should look to God alone, not to the pope; not to his prelates, but solely to him to whom he is ultimately responsible. They urge that he undertake the suggested changes and administer his whole charge not with reckless vehemence but with all gentleness and Christian love. Let it be noticed how far the friends of the Middle Way were from using violent measures; how they inculcated moderate and well-digested and universally approved methods of going about the effecting of innovations. There is never a trace or a hint of any other plan or of any activity in carrying forward their purpose than that of a sensible and orderly development, far removed from storms and precipitancy. The first point in the suggested reform is the exclusive preaching of Christ as the Word of God and the holy Gospel of our Lord. Here again they make the distinction between the personal revealer of the divine Will, the Word which was in the beginning is now and ever shall be, and the message of Christ as given in the Old and New Testament. Nothing less than a movement like this by which the final authority of the Scriptures would be restored could be equal to or sufficient for the necessities of the hour or the welfare of human souls. This autocratic centre must be put where it ought to be and taken away from Church or council or pope. Without this a genuine, radical Reformation is impossible. Those who have now assumed the sceptre must resign it and come under obedience to the law of Christ. They must not be allowed to remain masters of a field above their charter-rights. They have intruded into the exclusive jurisdiction of Christ. They have usurped his sovereign and inalienable prerogatives. The government must be constitutional and not self-centred. That too will

restore the sovereignty of the Christian people under their commandments of life and liberty. Again, this reenthronement of the personal Word of the Scriptures requires good preachers whose character is equal to their gifts. Especially do the villages need men of elevated and cultured tone. The farming community is the life of the land; its members therefore need the best of training by the most competent and faithful education. Our authors then urge the appointment of public readers, priests or laymen, who have the requisite skill to read the Bible and of course to interpret it intelligently. This would not only benefit the general public but it would serve as a training school for the young priests. It would give these untutored men an opportunity to acquire at least the rudiments and the methods of the new order. Here then we have our authors' view of an education suitable to present pressing conditions and to meet the exigent demands now in full cry upon them. Indeed this was for a half century at least the grave difficulty; that hindrance was aggravated by the evangelicals themselves in that they simultaneously began to put a sacred fence around the ministry; as if they were something different from ordinary mortals; as if some magic dwelt in their gowns and frills and sacraments and exorcisms; as if a much better educated layman could not just as well enter into this sphere, if he were endowed with the divine Spirit. It is this fictitious abomination of some holiness clinging inherently to an office, that still shakes its vanishing rags in the face of enlightenment and progress. As if a man in canonicals or in ornat were anything different from other sons of Adam by virtue of an ordination, any more than a lawyer or an engineer is sacred because his fellows recognize in him a man capable of discharging his duties effectively. Ordination is no magical transfer of gifts and graces; it confers no indelible character, moral or official. These must be there before the august act. Character is the only thing sacred and capable of conferring dignity. Moreover the technicalities of the ministerial profession are much fewer than those of other avocations and the cultured layman can easily acquire these when necessary and probably be more natural in his readings and address than those intoning numskulls who imagine there is something of esprit at least, if not a certain degree of unction, in a hurry-scurry and thick-throated, mushy sing-song of the lections and prayers. For them it seems virtuous to be guilty of all manner of offenses against the simple arts of elocution. It is far more difficult for a layman to be a doctor or a lawyer or an engineer than it is to be a reader or expounder of the Scriptures and that is a democratic and fore-ordained blessing. The Reformation witnessed to it and the colossal laical activity of the modern era attests it. Let it be forced home that Schwenckfeld and Axleben asserted the ministerial rights of qualified laymen as based on the privilege involved in the priesthood and prophetship of all

believers. Let it be remembered that this is a continuous tenet and observance of the Middle Way, practiced until this day. And how many are the ministers who have learned from the layman of the way to persuade men and women to become simple-hearted Christians, which is after all the supreme purpose. We may say that the revolt of the laity has at least compelled the Church to recognize her cardinal doctrine with no possibility of ever restoring the old and absurd wall of separation. Moreover the layman frequently has a larger and more varied experience of realities than a tender young minister who tries his wings for the first time or who has not waded far beyond the shores of the sea of life and still must go forward in the shallows. Did you ever hear a thrush or black-bird teach its young brood to sing? The fledgling is by no means the equal of his elders in the divine art. A well-seasoned character that has not heard many lectures can probably tell us more of the divine science than the gifted curate who speaks in philosophical or historical terms of the love of Christ or who has learned to minimize the words of the Spirit by a very severe, rigorous and annihilating criticism, or by a very highly intellectual discipline has merged his unbaptized mind into an identity with the soul's consciousness of God. The Roman clergy had destroyed the conception of the Kingdom of God; the modern clergy trained in very unhistorical methods are repeating the effort. Who is to rescue the ark but the cultured or the plain layman who has heard a voice in his soul that the present race of clerical fainéants are in a fair way to miss altogether. Like our authors, we would have the good ones excepted who need not be reminded that the Holy Spirit is not yet an inactive spectator of human development. The men who reform backward are poor tools for originality and advancement. Those who believe that truth must be crushed into dribblets will never find a diamond big enough to shine in their shirt-fronts, or one worthy to put on the finger of their brides. Many modern students are afflicted with a perpetual nightmare, and will be just as long as they are haunted by the dread lest some shred of the supernatural may still hang about them even as a faint spectre; or if they persist in standing on the abysses of contingencies to show how little need there is of the divine in the human. The conception of God must be a terribly disturbing Scotch-thistle to the tabula rasa theorists, since so much time and thought are devoted to banishing it from the sciences. Some seem to devote a good many more hours to emptying their minds and making it a blank without God than to rearing any considerable sized edifice that can shelter some warm ideas and do some good deeds. There are many farmers who plant their fields without God; but who gave the corn life and who put into the seed the energy of growth? In the Reformation there were many humanists, even among the clergy,

as well as theologians who were eager to reduce divine influence to a minimum in order to exaggerate the human powers of the priest or to enlarge the area of the sensuous at the expense of the spiritual forces. In the eyes of these two friends the study of the Gospel was a correction of all these evils. The right education of the ministry thus became an absorbing ambition with them; their curriculum was immediate and provisional to answer a plaintive, crying need that brooked of no delay, if one put value upon souls who were in deep sloughs. Spenser, in the fifth eclogue of the Shepherd's Calendar, the month of May, contrasts the Protestant and the Catholic pastor: and fine are the lines which limn the qualities and conduct of a true shepherd as over against a false one.

We may observe throughout the highest respect for the educated members of the clergy who submit to the dictates of the spiritual life. Our authors do not want to lower but to elevate the standard of training not only for the young aspirants but for those also who had not enjoyed preparatory advantages. Let us recapitulate: Their idea of such instruction it must be remembered is that it shall primarily be pervaded with the Spirit of the Gospel. It must be vitally and not formally religious. No science can be true, if it destroy the inner life and the sense of its direct dependence upon the infinite, eternal and loving personality. Immediate provision should therefore be made so that the ignorant and yet settled priests, especially the younger ones, should get some organized opportunities for cultivation in evangelical truth. A distinct system for readings and exposition of the Scriptures by a capable lector would be the most direct curative method that could be devised; the attendance upon these hours should be compulsory for religious officials. A further remedy and one of instantaneous helpfulness would be the settlement of the learned and well disposed clergy in the villages and the removal of the ignorant priests to the hum-drum of the choir. This would not only promote the rapid elevation of the agrarian communities, but it would compel the more unlettered priests to strive after a more liberal culture in view of their surroundings. They also urged the adoption of permanent methods for the broader training of the clergy, the forms of which they leave to the liberal mind of the Bishop. In the entire treatise there is the inherent regard for education in the hope of permeating and saturating the people with the Spirit of God. The freshness and hopefulness of those early days had not yet passed away. The new elements at play in the schools had fostered such largeness of hope and such liberality of sentiment that there seemed to be no foundation for that later enslavement of the soul to the mechanics of learning. The proverb *Die Gelehrte, die Verlehrte* expressed exactly that perversion of erudition and that stifling of humanity which soon pervaded the institutions of Europe, especially the theological faculties.

We find this sentence often on the lips of Schwenckfeld as of many another writer, when the hard crust of scholasticism and the soul destroying canker of polemicism had set in and had begun to dominate the universities, and when the doors to a more generous culture were violently closed. For the soul that loved Christ in an ampler and richer way than that of prescription there was no admission.

XLIV. The next step which they press the bishop to take is the abolition of the superstitious picture. They do not raise any difficulty about historic, symbolic or real representations; it is not a quarrel with art, crude or beautiful; they oppose only such daubs and images as were used thaumaturgically; about these there could be nothing but mechanism, there could not be any question of art at all. They in every case were pure impostures and degraded both the impostor and the people who hungered and thirsted for signs and marvels and whose main conception of religion was the emotion of wonder. Art as simple symbol or as a means for kindling wholesome reflection and imaginations they had no opposition to any more than they had to language. The beautiful was a revelation of God. It trained the sight and the ear to an apprehension of ideals. It incited to a rapt devotion. Barrenness is not the supreme sphere of the the Spirit; the cultivated field is replete with more life than the desert, although the desert may have stores of latent as it surely has of exhausted life. But the idolatrous and magical abuses of these paintings were and are very debasing and were and are a revival of an exasperating heathenism; especially rampant was this evil in village communities whose people and priests were alike immersed in ignorance and addicted to prodigies. This leads to a statement of another reform as desirable; they call for the extirpation of the Stationer as the local agent for the sale of indulgences. The writers do not stop to discuss the validity of the theory of indulgences. That had been done sufficiently and the majority of cultivated people had long ago been nauseated with the trade. Here the concern is about the deception practiced upon the poor and credulous peasantry who consider that they have really purchased not only forgiveness for the past but exemption for the future according to the size of their purse. Surely this was provocative of irreligion. The criminal and vicious classes could flaunt such documents in the face of the law and the State as showing the approval by the Church of what just men must abhor. Commercialism in spiritual matters was injurious to all parties concerned in the transaction. It degraded the clergy and the monks who allowed or took active part in the system; it defamed the Spirit itself, as if a man could really attain moral character through the payment of money. The entire conception of religion must be debased through such transactions. The moral standing of the community could not but sink

when it permitted the greivous perversion. But this was not the only evil of the art of solicitation. There was a form of it which promoted general mendicancy. The begging friars set an example which to say the least discouraged labor and gave heart to all who loved ease more than toil. Hence our authors begged that the Church authorities no longer protect the filthy, sordid habit. It taught the people idleness; mechanical poverty had no pretence of virtue left. The productive energy of a community was disturbed thereby. The evil grew and as a consequence the troops of the ne'er do weals sat at every church door and at every market place in poses and guises terrible to think of. The state of the poor and the methods of relief adopted by the Church were incredible, so utterly at variance with evangelical ideas were these. The story of the reforms introduced in Breslau, first by the magistrates and then by Hess, is instructive. Of course the ethical results of such vagabond solicitation were appalling. Nothing could be more detrimental to manliness, industry, truth and prosperity whether for the monks or for the ordinary beggars than this style of taxation. Living at the expense of one's neighbors is already bad enough but to ask them to support you destroys the last shred of self-respect. Thus our authors shed some sunbeams on the roots of aged abuses.

Another reform they petitioned the Bishop to make was the prohibition of commercialism in the celebration of the Mass. Not any form of such types of worship should be put up at a price. The schedule of taxes should be thoroughly abrogated. Our authors do not discuss the nature of the mass in any of its varied forms nor its relation to the other world nor its presumed efficacy. They used the term rather as the one prevalent to express public worship, regular or occasional. Their only point is that whatever the merits or the elements of the current system of divine service might be, a trade in such exalted, spiritual things should be utterly prohibited. It led to the multiplication of the acts for the sake of revenue and it deluded the worshiper into the embrace of wrong ideas as to the validity of such services and made him eager to institute masses for the benefit of his own and other souls. The writers do not enter into the debate as to the relation of the mass to the sacrament of the Supper. They only insist on spiritualizing the celebration. The solemnization should take place only when the celebrants and participants were spiritually hungry and desirous of the venerated sacraments of Christ; that is, the sacred rite should be observed only under profound religious conviction. What are we to conclude? Did they still accept the mass as it then was with its classifications of objects? Had they been unmoved by the celebration of Winkelmesse? Were they still reposing in the traditional interpretation of the Lords Supper as the transubstantiation of the elements?

Had they not yet opposed the concept of a constant iteration of an expiatory sacrifice? Did they still maintain the validity of the adoration of the host and the practice of reservation? It could not be possible that they had passed over such points as were matters of public debate. Münzer had already published his order of worship; Carlstadt had made changes in Wittenberg, which if revoked by Luther were only so temporarily. There was hardly any leader who was not clear in his reprobation of many of the theoretical and practical errors connected with the Roman rehabilitation of the ancient liturgies. It is inconceivable that these two men had not also their views on these points seeing they plead for an evangelical Church order. But they were not yet fully decided upon suggesting too many changes at one time to a bishop who still stood within the old threshold; they were more concerned about securing the recognition of the main lever of betterment in the introduction of the Gospel and independence from the Roman jurisdiction. To enter into the detail of the Church service would prejudice and make futile their whole plan of episcopal reform. The implantation of the Gospel itself and the vernacular celebration of the sacraments and the unfolding of education would effect the other changes sooner or later; at any rate they refrain from any direct attack on what was the most sacred shrine of the old faith, doubtless from prudential reasons and not from any personal indecision.

Another claim they preferred was founded on the moral nature and on Christian liberty. No one should be compelled to render obedience to merely humanly devised, ecclesiastical statutes or ordinances. Whatever invaded the freedom of the Spirit, whether in the regulation of doctrine or of life or of worship or of polity, could not in the just nature of ethics nor in the innate idea of independence in Christ be demanded of any man nor could he be forced into concessions thereto. If he chose such a course of subordination, that was his pleasure and right. If however, he must decline the regulations and prescriptions, that was equally his right. Any invasion of the independence was destructive of conscience and of duty to God. The only limitation to this emancipation is in its definition. It must be Christian; it must be of the Spirit and not of the flesh. No man has the privilege to wreck his moral nature or to pursue a life of selfishness or to give the rein of license to his appetites and animal proclivities. Nothing that seeks to sever itself from God can be essentially or permanently righteous. There is no good apart from the infinite and creative good. Isolation may be sought but is impossible. There is no hermit good. The Humanism, the Hellenism, the philosophy, the literature, the science, the art that thinks otherwise falls into the primal error. We must not mistake our atrophies, mental or emotional, for truth; how much of the life of the world has fatally cut its own finer

threads. Naturalness has no right to wallow in excess much less to glory in it as if it had the sanction of nature. Anarchism, political or religious, has no claim even to exist or to be tolerated. It should be stamped out as an infectious disease. Sin is lawlessness. It is just such soul-anarchy as would destroy the divine government. Christ came to establish the sovereignty of divine law of which grace is a chief part, and to set forth and to suffer for the divine rights of humanity as well as for the human rights of God, and yet men claimed the warrant of God for putting him to death. He came unto his own and his own received him not. Our radical theologians are in high danger of repeating that world folly. They who do not see truth in its centrality always run into the extreme negations which are the ruin of the individual and of society. Pyrrhonism is death. But irreligion and anarchy seem to mock the claims of truth and yet are such hideous perversions of human relationships and rights that they shock us into a poised balance. But in these words of our authors we have a noble plea for conserving the rights of conscience. It is tersely and finally stated but it is not fully guarded; it does not mean to claim our unlimited independence; it does not exempt from the obedience to the Gospel, very much the contrary; and when the moral or religious life is not in accord with its confession and profession a firm process must teach the errant soul its duty. Hence in all matters of conscience affecting religion they would enforce the evangelical ban. Of course they are not speaking of the State and its methods for the maintenance of obedience to custom and law from those subject to it. Just how much and how far this omission was designed, we are left in doubt. The rights of conscience reach far; they cover the area of ethics and therefore much of the life of the State. If you cannot impose religion upon me against my will, you cannot impose an immoral law upon me without my consent, directly or indirectly expressed. The State has no more right to my property than in some form I have agreed to surrender. It has no more right over my person than it is my privilege to yield, unless I have been guilty of violating the moral law or the constitution under which I have deliberately placed myself. Schwenckfeld as having knowledge of law and as opposed to violence leaves that aspect of the ethical freedom of the conscience with reference to the Scriptures and government undiscussed, but it is there; he does not regulate it, but it lies at the door; he opened the gate without a proclamation of the fact. Religious liberty will evolve political liberty in due sequence where it is not granted immediately; there is no escape from the development. We must remember here that every man, woman and child was a member of the ancient Church. The ecclesiastical territory, while at times it differed in boundaries, included no more and no less than the Empire. Everybody was under the twofold jurisdiction.

The privilege of secession from the Church was a thing claimed as a right of conscience. At the same time the evangelical ban would have reference to such as had been reared in the old order. For the dissenters in order to keep up some sense of government in the groups of seceders, the same evangelical ban would be necessary. The carrying out of this system of punishment would create a separate community of those who were also shut out from the fellowship of the old by their act of secession, over whom however the ancient Church still claimed jurisdiction. Under the system proposed by our authors all compulsory rule over those who were thus cut off would be lost. They could not be forced to return into the community from which they had been morally and socially expelled. Persuasive and loving intervention would be the only available methods for restoration. Hence such a ban introduced into the old order itself would have been disintegrating of its authority because it could use no other than the moral and social agencies for winning the disciplined members back. By the new discipline therefore, the Church would have to ignore the use of State compulsion in any shape. Yet it would contribute to the ethical elevation of the communities as they then existed. The vast majority of the membership of the old Church was unspiritual and knew of nor cared for religion beyond certain formalities. Vices unutterable were rampant under the baptized and the communicants. Nothing was worse than the drinking habits of the people, and the nobility were leaders in the slimiest and most feculent excesses of drunkenness; to these debauched orgies the custom of drinking healths was the most conducive then as now. To check this besotting evil an evangelical ban might prove very efficacious because it meant disfellowshipping; it closed the gates of a refined and tone-giving society against a delinquent; it left him alone with his goblets and tankards. The Church could brand such an ingrained evil more efficaciously than the magistracy as the helpless courts and the continuous but unavailing legislation had proved. There be those who say such a measure of religious liberty was not possible in that day and you have no right to judge an age by any other than its own standards. Was it not possible? How did Zwingli begin his work then? How under the sun did the Piccards maintain themselves? Why were the Waldensians measurably secure among their hills? How did Luther keep up his ardent struggle against the centralizing Rome? How did Philip the Magnanimous maintain a system of toleration in his borders? How did Hans and Friedrich Thum von Neuburg settle Anabaptists on their estates? These are but a few of the many practical instances of religious liberty right in the heart of those times. It is a distinct nonsense to put a discredit on the age. The Anabaptists plead for it. Luther talked of it. Philip of Hesse sought to conserve it against the biggoted theologians. Every

community that adopted the Gospels constituted the principle for themselves. The wicked, selfish perversion of it came from within. The religious leaders would not allow any one else to do what they themselves had done. That is the secret of the historic outrage. Most of the Reformers excluded one another from common charity. Was it vanity or fear? Was it powerful conviction that their view of truth might not be self-existent, if it stood along side of other systems? Was it a childish dread lest the real verity could not survive the shock of a next door neighbor who had a conscience of his own? It is maudlin and crass to keep on repeating this apology for not only wicked egotism but also for the wofully short-sighted politics of intolerance, to say nothing of the indignity done to Christian liberty whose banner they had so ostentatiously flung to the breeze. It was a contemptible surrender to selfishness to have hauled down that flag and to make the Protestant Church drag out four centuries of servitude and religious anarchy under the pretense that other folks could not share in the gift of the Holy Ghost. Friedrich II of Liegnitz maintained a tolerant attitude until the tyrannical Austrian stretched his cramping hand into Silesia and gobbled it up in his territorial greed. Indeed that Herzog quietly exercised it under breath until his death in 1547. How do you explain the policy of Albrecht, the new Herzog of Prussia? Why did he settle Anabaptists, Bohemian Brethren, members of the Reformed Church, Schwenckfelders in his land and call Osiander himself to his University? And who spoiled that policy of equality and toleration, great economically, great religiously? Was there stamina enough in that scheme to survive the centuries and make Prussia the leader of modern culture, so that Frederick the Great repeated the experiment and invited the Schwenckfelders back from America a quarter of a century after the brutal Austrian with his black terrors had compelled them to flee from their native land and to sacrifice their worldly all? Let apologists for the hideous perversion of the Christian spirit read Barge's life of Carlstadt and Günther's Kepler und die Theologie; let the true historic spirit lay the knife to this confessional subterfuge. It was a sin against the Son of man and the liberty of the Spirit, and these men knew it and did it deliberately and urged their princes, in many cases against their royal consciences, to interfere and put up walls of exclusion and resort to persecution by exile, imprisonment and death. Would that they had let Rome be the exclusive mother of that abortion! And there be some Protestants who do yet maintain it and gird themselves about with historic and dogmatic pretences that violate the fundamental idea of Christianity. And others are so ashamed of even such small liberty as Protestants practice and go back to the antique slavery of the soul, and double bar the way, and pour out a snaky virulence on their early friends and their own double selves. Such

moral decline is more pitiful and deplorable than death. The man who loves chains and darkness by actual choice has lost the savor of life and growth. The epistle of Augustine to Boniface, the imperial general, on the duty of the State as to matters of religion and of worship, had already been translated by Wolfgang Meuslin. Bucer wrote the preface and a short account concerning the universal church; the title reads: Vom Ampt der oberkeit/ in sachen der religion vnd Gotsdiensts. Ein bericht auß götlicher schrift/ des hailigen alten lerers vnd Bischoffs Augustini/ an Bonifacium den Kayserlichen Kriegs Grauen | in Aphrica. | Ins Teütsch gezogen durch Wolfgangum | Meußlin/ Prediger beim Erzbischof zu Augspurg.

XLV. There is a case however where the priests should have their rights vindicated by the civil law. What emoluments are due them should be paid voluntarily, and if not, then justice must validate and collect their claims; that must remain a fixed maxim under any form of finance. This our authors thought would constantly be a legitimate use of the secular arm. It is the duty of the magistracy to compel the debtor to fulfil his obligations to priest or to peasant. Now our authors agree to such a procedure though the compensation be in kind and in the form of tithes or of interest on rented property. These canonic ways were not yet abolished; the clergy could not be allowed to perish in a period of change; such usages were still the law of the land. But apart from the legality of the debt, nature and common honesty required the payment and support of such obligations. This then gave our authors occasion to define the interrelation of the Church and the State. In all questions affecting the ordinary rights of personal property, family and reputation, the State had a distinct sure jurisdiction over every one and the Church had nothing to do with the enforcement of civic punishments for injuries or crime. It must resign its own methods of collecting its dues through its style of ban, interdict and excommunication. It could not even use an evangelical ban for coercion, although it ought to do so for moral condemnation, because a proved criminal could not per se remain in Church fellowship. A certain modification must control the priest-creditor, for he is in duty bound to pay heed to the law of love in his relation to a debtor, especially if that debtor can prove his utter inability to liquidate his obligations because of poverty. It is mere revenge and hate and greed that tries to bring blood out of a turnip. Modern law even has learned not to treat the honest debtor as a criminal. Here then we have the rudimentary attempt to substitute common-sense rules for the voluminous canon law. Our authors had dwelt reluctantly upon questions involving only temporal and transitory goods; they had rather consider matters which contribute to the betterment of the conscience and to possessions which were imperishable. Yet they cannot forbear saying: Not to pay the due revenues to the priest is not a

part of their programme; a true Christian system does not seek the dishonor of the constituted ministry nor the reduction of their influence by fraud and injustice, nor their degradation by an enforced and unjust poverty. Such a programme is far from their conception of a reorganized Christian Society. It is only a mean slander to impute to Axleben and Schwenckfeld any ignoble intentions of abolishing the legitimate support and property of the priests or the Church in their effort to bring about a bettered condition of religious affairs. They opposed the spoliation of the Church and the secularization of its goods for selfish and personal ends.

They further petition the Bishop to allow the marriage of the clergy on the following reasonable grounds: 1) Christ left it open for every one to do as he pleased in this matter and no earthly law could justly interfere with that privilege of choice. 2) St. Paul avers that such a prohibition is instituted of the devil; it is a doctrine born of hell. 3) They appeal to the Bishop in behalf of the many thousand souls and consciences utterly choked as they are, who would obtain freedom and deliverance through the abolition of such a restriction. It is their natural and divine, right but they have sworn obedience to the papal laws and they have lived in slavery to those prohibitory decrees, not having the courage to cast the wicked bonds aside. It is an intolerable state, this of celibacy, but the intrepidity to break through it is lacking in the majority of the clergy and the monks. The consideration also that most men have not the grace of continence is not the least weighty of the agents. The right and the duty of propagation are divine endowments; the compulsory abstinence is in no wise a blessing but a misery and a deprivation which destroys the sacred foundations of domesticity and society. There is no inherent wickedness, but on the contrary a heavenly blessing in the marriage relation; it opens up a new world of emotion and will; the nature of the bond is enlarged by the exercise of a holy love in the fear of God. The home is the true centre of virtue and culture although a herd of social devils defile and mar it. Marriage is an exalted mystery and its heavenly bonds should not be made a grinning mockery by the Church in the world. The clergy however were afraid to exercise their natural freedom. Society although it deplored the mischief and the vice of prescript celibacy, would with its usual treachery immediately side with the superior power that condemned the right and would throw stones at the brave men and women who were united in the sacred family tie in spite of unnatural vows. Church and society combined to say that the priest or the monk might indulge himself to any extent in sexual vices and might contract and transmit the virus of the filthy diseases which consumed him; such excesses would not vitiate his sacred character as a priest or the brother's vow of chastity, but a noble and virtuous marriage would unfrock and degrade both in a jiffy. Such

were the practical ethics of formality. And so the priest continued to fear man more than God. The Church applauded and supported these unnatural relations up to the pope himself. A more flagrant sophistry and crime can hardly be conceived. The oppressed but cowardly churchmen were ready to say how in the day of judgment they must cry out against the episcopal authority which degraded the ministry to such base conditions, as if that could deliver them from the consequences of their own wickedness. The argument is strengthened by the repulsive contradiction that lay in the circumstances of a man being a teacher of morals in a community which knew his conduct to be meretricious and offensive. And yet to conduct his home a bachelor priest has need of female service, wherein lay an hourly temptation. They remind the Bishop of his own criticisms of sacerdotal celibacy in the days when he was not yet an ecclesiastic. Ah! how position changes our views. And how small is the mental calibre and how impotent the will that allows such a flexible morality to guide us! Who could ever think of Pius IX or Leo XIII as having once been liberals? That a Church which claims a married apostle as its immediate founder should undertake to prohibit its clergy from enjoying connubial bliss and singing an epithalamium is just one of those contradictions which it takes a juggler to reconcile. That an apostle with a mother-in-law might have instituted such a system would be a reflection on Christ's miracle of healing her fever. But here is a Church which fosters such an asceticism and yet elevates marriage to a sacrament, a word which was historically confused with mystery, and yet by decree denies to the dispenser of the sacrament the benefit thereof, and that too when this human bond is based on the divine relationship of Christ to his Church! A subtle casuistry that is, which can so transform and justify the phantasmagoria and strategies of ecclesiastics. Nature can get up freakish fogs in a moment but a churchman can beat it in beclouding and obscuring an issue, behind the veil of which he does things like Julius II and Leo X not to say anything of Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning and the ultramontane heroes who obfuscate German and French politics, or the Protestant sovereigns who sacrifice the conscience and therefore the life of their family for a supposed political advantage or for the maintenance of feudal ideas. Ritter Jacob von Salza as a layman spoke his heart out; Jacob von Salza as an ecclesiastic took his oath of fealty to the pope and you heard no more frank declarations. Still it was a wise and telling reminder when his friends intimated that a layman may be better than a priest. The same man may be more worthy as a servant of the State than he is as a slave of the canons. It is only a fresh appeal to every son of man to be loyal to truth and essential righteousness under every condition and in every

station. Legality is far from being equity. A genuine obedience has first to be rational.

Their next petition takes into consideration the spiritual state of the peasantry for whom so little feeling is displayed and such a minimum done for the removal of their superstition. The main hindrance lies in the incessant tyranny of the priests because these persist in imposing inhibitions that are ludicrously impossible of obedience. The pastors themselves are ignorant men; their only idea of the Church is the framing of new regulations and formalities and the laying on of new taxes. The poor people indeed have a conscience, but it is falsely trained under the discipline of these unwise leaders. They goad the peasants to exasperation and desperation. They throw the entire community into disorder because of their own unhallowed confusion. They demand that these people should eat eggs, cheese and butter on Friday or in Lent, when scarcely any of the peasants have enough bread to satisfy their hunger. With them it is a perpetual fast, so inadequate is the return from their labor and so shorn are they of the resources by the variety of feudal taxations. Indeed we cry to God in protest and may he compassionate this social and spiritual impoverishment and the distress into which the Church puts our farm hands. We are all so tied up with laws that we are under a worse than Jewish hegemony; nobody seems to pity the simple folk and come to their relief. The pastors ought to elevate their communities in every respect. They ought to look out for their freedom, for their deliverance from the bonds of excessive labor, for the improvement of the communal matters, for their providence; they ought to help deliver them from their poverty, from their drink habits, from their abuse of women, from their hideous sexual relations especially among the younger constituents of the community. The country breeds all the vices of the town only that there the people corrupt those waters of life that are nearest to human welfare because of the narrow limits of population and opportunity for improvement. The pastor of a village who does not elevate his people in their moral life, in their tastes, in their education for their career, is a traitorous shepherd; alas! He behaves like a little pompous boss. Has he this responsible post simply for droning sermons or for the performance of certain fixed ceremonials incident to birth, marriage and death? Nay, he is there to promote the best human interests in his little community and to put his flock into constant connection with the great world. He is there to teach them to beautify their home, their gardens, their streets, their ponds, their barns, to remove their stables and the manure heaps from before or on the side of their houses. He is there to put uplifting and stimulating social forces to work; and there are plenty of such slumbering among his people and ready and eager for some different and better phases of life than a soul-

destructive drudgery. A land will be upheld in the future just as in the past by the agricultural communities; let the pastors cleanse and keep the sources of a nation's wealth and growth pure and bright and vigorous. The spheres and the appliances are multitudinous, why are not the shepherds equal to their divinely ordered opportunity? For the comforting of the conscience which is so usual an expression with Schwenckfeld and other reformers as well, there is a sermon striking and earnest as usual, by Hans Greyffenberger. It is of the nature of a sinful disposition that the warfare of the Spirit against the inherent tendency of the flesh should be a long and wavering one. With fervor does he appeal to the agonist to take himself to Christ alone throughout the entire stretch of the life, and struggle with the fullest confidence in the possibility of realizing the scriptural promises of forgiveness and ultimate victory. This work is entitled: *Ein trostliche ermanung / den angefochten im gewissen / von wegen gethaner sündt / wie vnnnd wo mit / sie ge-tröst werden / Den | Sathan / sich nit | erschrecken | lassen. | Hans Greyffenberger. | M. D. X Xiiij.*

XLVI. Our authors present a further step in the episcopal reformation. They had read in 1 Cor. 14 about the preferability of the gift of interpretation and understanding and of prophesying to the gift of tongues. They inferred therefore that the apostle commanded all worship to be made intelligible, so that even if a man had the gift of tongues some brother should turn its strange sounds into the speech of the people. Hence they petition for the introduction of the popular speech, whatever that might be, into the public services. That alone could contribute to the mental apprehension and therefore to the moral betterment of the people. What good does the Latin mumbling do to God or men? Latin is in no wise a divine and consecrated speech any more than our native tongue. The Roman Church had to concede the use of a native liturgy to the early Spanish and Slavic peoples and even to the Milanese. Why does it not do the same for all its communions? The fiction of unity is already destroyed, why keep up the illusion? If we want to be logical, why not mumble in Hebrew, Aramaic or Hellenistic Greek? Let us be exact and return to the tongues which have at least the merit of having been spoken by prophets and apostles. But the Roman is devoted to his linguistic fiction and so is the Greek, the Armenian and the Copt. How long shall the unintelligible droning continue? How long shall the vanished vision of unity be rehabilitated? Some of the reformers were at this time in a tremor lest liturgical formularies might destroy spontaneity; for example: There is probably no finer bit of colloquial German writing than that which Hans Greyffenberger in 1524 has left us in *Ein warnung vor dem Teuffel / der sich wider | übt mit seinem denckelmarck / vnter | einem gleifenden schein / in merck-lichen stückenn / des Christen-lichen lebens betreffen.*

It is not only the raciness of the style but the freshness of the thought which makes him an attractive author. He warns against the creation of a new trumpery school which is now being formed about the Christ who has liberated the believing sinner. He sees the signs of building up fine liturgical structures; the beginnings of a rhetorical swing to prayers are evident; these are to be repeated by those who have less gifts of invention or artistic skill in formal utterance or who are too lazy to construct their own intercessions. This play at reality is rapidly taking the place of the mummary of the Mary and all Saints battology. In this fatal mouth-ing the name of Christ is reiterated again and again in vain repetitions. He cautions against the multiplication of prayers; the mere consideration of beauty in collects; the external massing of fine phrases; the men who say: repeat after me; the brood of formalistic clerics who delight in such quack lip-service. He insists on the contrary that prayer must be in-wrought, a real cry, a deep experience and expression of the necessities of the soul. It must be individual, it must be begotten in one's own spirit by the Holy Ghost. It has therefore to be daily, deeply and intelligently felt. It must be instinctive and alive; all else is a frivolous, idle business, a trading place for impotent empirical religious goods. Do not set such a shop up in your own hearts. Darumb so rath ich/ vnd erman alle meine brüder in Christo/ wölle sich flehssig hüten vor solchen denckelmercken/ auff das sie nit vmb sunst arbeyten/ so bald die klüg vernunft für nimbt etwas zü-treiben/ dardurch sich schön vñ gleyssen wil vor got/ mit worten oder mit weyß/ mit geberdt oder anderm eufferlichen ding/ das nit befolhen ist von got/ so ist es falsch Darumb so warne ich/ das man nichte anneme/ dann gottes wort/ vnd dasselbig rain vnd lauter/ Das die zwey stück/ als bekennen vnd bitten/ seind ganz befolhen/ dem erforscher der hertzen/ dem geist gottes/ daß wie kann ich bitten/ ich muß zuvor bekennen/ was ich mangel/ darfür oder darumb ich bitten sol/ das wirt aber mich kain mensch nymer mer lernen oder vnterrichten/ wie vnd wenn/ das ist verloren. Darumb sagt Paulus zun Rö-mern am viij. Wir wissen nicht was wir bitten sollen/ vnd wie es sich gebürt/ sunder der geist vertritt vns selbst mechtiglich mit vnaussprechlichem jenen vnd seuffßen.

XLVII. We must look at these proposed reforms from the sociological side. Our authors as practical men and owners of estates were deeply concerned about the religious and the allied economical welfare of their communities. The existing conditions as indicated by the text show the intimate relation of theology and sociology. This is exemplified in a way by the subjection of the common people to the mendicant orders who sought to secure properties or gifts in return for the good work supposed to be wrought by them. The peasants were brought up to believe in the system of externalism and in the substitutional value of the treasury of

supererogatory deeds. The most aggravating instances of the presumptuous application of this doctrine came to the surface in cases where senility was an easy carrion for the omnivorous birds of prey. The theories of formalism and of the possible transference of spiritual values led to an established system of barter and exchange. The real internal quality of religion was certainly extinguished by such processes and the little stores of cash or provisions disappeared with it. The use of local, magical pictures which had the effect of creating the spirit of pilgrimage not only for wonderment but for healings affords another proof. This too was a method of raising funds for the benefit of the Church or the monastery; it involved the spending of much additional money in the travel to and fro to say nothing of the calamitous moral consequences which were the inevitable sequence of this idle and wandering life. Another element of financial exhaustion was connected with the work of the stationers with their flagrant stationary or itinerant vendues. An occasional tour of the chief commissioner was bad enough, but the continuous market was still more disastrous for the pockets and the poverty of the common people. The representatives of a system which relieved the Cardinal Albrecht of some debts and enhanced the treasury of the Fuggers as well as contributed to the art expansions of the pope, were as a body who commercialized religion scarcely calculated to heighten the tone of public morality in the long run. It was an impudent trade from any point of view; while it degraded the pious, it encouraged the vicious and stamped an exalted, spiritual truth with an earthly and debased mintage. It is to be observed however, that our authors do not inveigh with large invective against the system. That aspect of the controversy against the old order had passed in sufficient review. The general world had made up its mind as to the moral quality of the procedure and it needed no further argument since so many earnest minded men of the Roman faith had themselves striven for the mitigation of the evil and were bent upon delivering it from the flagitious trammels in which it had been so deplorable a captive. Hence the petitioners do not discuss the merits of the theory on which the indulgence idea was based, but appeal for the removal of these flagrant hucksters from their office and indeed hint at the desirability of abolishing the business altogether. In their apprehension this was a lost cause whose lingering traces should be finally removed.

They next deprecate this whole system of solicitation under the guise of supporting religious intercessors, especially such as had taken the vow of poverty. They did not question some of the services which monasticism had rendered to learning, to the industrial arts and to agrarian development. The competitive advantages in commerce and agriculture which such communities enjoyed, over others engaged in similar pursuits they

do not stop to analyze, but they do protest that the Church should begin to care for the common householder. His disadvantages, his impoverished resources, his hampered conditions whether as farmer as mechanic or as tradesman were already sufficiently jeopardized by the mass of emulation that the rich monasteries and their manufacturing enterprises necessitated. The farmer too had founded no Innung or guild; he stood alone; all house industries were also in constant peril of lowered prices. And yet these pinched and distressed laboring classes are called upon to supply the larder, the cellar and the table of begging friars. The Church was forgetting its main duty of fostering the life of the common people and promoting their prosperity. The general welfare was being lost sight of in this oppressive greed of solicitation. The people felt kindly on the whole toward their religious guides; some feared to gainsay them supposing that spiritual power was lodged in them and that the future was in their exclusive keeping and administration. Some gave their very best and maintained themselves on the poor residue. The chance for financial improvement on the part of the humble householder was at the outside very small. In the cities the guilds could regulate matters more favorably and yet they too protested against the competitions not only, but the systematic mendicancy was to them also a grievous burden, for it had become an inexorable taxation, one with which they had to reckon weekly. Every one felt that the Church was neglecting the ordinary man who had to make his own living without help from any institutions or social forces. He was in danger of utter insolvency and destitution in spite of his most honest endeavor. The Church should take his case in hand in her duty to consider her neighbor; she should at least relieve him of the pressure which she herself was heaping upon him. She was rich and had vast possessions; she sported in much magnificence and indulged in splendid arts; she undertook expensive wars and borrowed money for her riotous troops; she kept a gorgeous court and maintained a store of legates; why should she neglect the welfare of the poor householder? Was she shearing him not only of his fleece but of his very hide? Was she driving her expenditures to such heights that her necessities were always on the increase and knew no rebate? Instead of diminishing her fiscal plans was she to go on augmenting their variety and minuteness? Would she still further devitalize the spiritual powers she claimed as her exclusive possession and convert them into methods of extorting larger revenues? Our authors suggest one of the gravest economic questions of the time, the fate of the ordinary householder; what was to become of him? Was he to be rescued or driven to extremity? If the Church could not solve the problem alone, she at least should contribute to a well-devised scheme of relief, for she owned more property than the State. The difficulty that

the villagers had in paying their tithes and raising the rentals due to the chapters, to the monasteries and to the parish priests was a very real and threatening one. It is no wonder that so many rejoiced in the exemptions which the changed current of the times seemed to bring with it. One ought not to be surprised, and least of all the sacerdotal and monastic creditors, if their assertion of these claims met with an emphatic refusal and the collection of them encountered a very determined resistance. Now the authors had no sympathy with such revolutionary movements, which were almost an appeal to the sword and worked a double injustice; but they did suggest that mercy be the prevailing usage accorded to the debtor when he was manifestly unable to pay. Foreclosure, seizure, eviction, imprisonment would be utterly unavailing processes where the debtor was well-intentioned. These expedients would only deprive him of opportunity and that was of more significance than that the creditor should add to his pocket-book. Charity could be the true way to recovery for both parties. The Church in all matters connected with money should be on the side of mercy and not insist on the enforcement of abstract personal rights without regard to the higher right of the debtor to live, for that is where rights ceased to be righteous. The use of the secular arm should be only in the lines of real justice and ethicality in the Christian sense. The law of forgiveness is higher than a *quid pro quo*.

Another calamity from which the hamlets were suffering lay in the arbitrary ruling of their clergy whose very mental incapacity led them to an unbearable use of their inconsiderate authority. They were unrestrained by any near and effective ecclesiastical oversight. The visitation duties were everywhere neglected. They did not study the situation of their people; and so disregardful were they of the conditions of those to whom they were supposed to minister that they invited satire, mockery and scorn on account of their impractical legislation. Do they know how poor the poor are, when they try to regulate the fasts by orders to eat eggs, cheese and butter and all the while their indigent parishioners have not even bread to satisfy their hunger? With the field-laborer it is a perpetual fast and it is hypocrisy to suggest richer diet for a Lenten menu than he can even provide for a feast. What our authors censure is the self-willed spirit which makes such requisitions without any inquiry into the exhausted state of their flock. Starvation sat at the empty table of many an honorable, conscientious soul, as his daily companion. The clergy as well as the patrons should minister not only to their relief and see that they have adequate sustaining food for their endless toil, but should also find a remedy for such intolerable wretchedness. To tell them that they must use a different diet was only to intensify the already exacerbated falsity of conscience. There was a wilful, callous disregard of the plainest

suggestions of humanity in such a brutal legislation. With no less acumen do our petitioners survey the mass of ignorance existing among the farm-laborers and point to one of the most incisive remedies. The people for the greater part knew but a patois, yet that lingo would help them to understand a more accurate speech, but the speech must be indigenous; it must appeal to the intelligence and the sympathies of the auditor. The first step in a true education of these communities would be to honor their native tongue. To make the service lucid and explicit was vital to their training. The Church should begin in the movement of lifting the people to superior levels of thought and life. The highest motives are stimulated only by the penetrative eloquence of one's own language and such sacred communion with God should be unambiguous to the apprehension of the commonest understanding. It is a most suggestive and previsionsal plea that our authors make; it magnifies the function of the Church to educate the masses, to lead in their rehabilitation by ministering to the understanding and to dignify the means by which they communicate their ideas and conduct their transactions with one another. Give sacredness to the common speech and you lift it to its true level and the people with it. The German at any rate had in it a mightier, a nobler spirit than ever the Latin had or could attain to; and Schwenckfeld was a man who felt that as much as any of his cotemporaries; he felt it so superbly that he soon abjured the old vehicle of the learned almost entirely, and that in the teeth of a humanism which had hoped to discover the causes of things by its revival of classicism. It was this vernacular spirit which as much as anything else brought on him the objurgations of Melancthon. This then is the wise forecasting prayer which recognized the religious rights of the people to understand the worship of God clear through. The Church must be the primary school and the university for the villagers. There was one phase of the life of the common people which showed their appreciation of and response to any rational treatment of them, to wit, the authors of this letter knew as a matter of experience that such priests as were pious and learned, who used a correct method of instruction for the simple folk were held in the highest regard and reverence by their hearers. The good disposition was alive and active in the major part of the community; the people were susceptible and eager for better things in spite of the tyrannous abuses and shameful neglects of the clergy. They were prompt to respond to the first overtures of a sensible, careful priest. The people were all right, if the Church would do its duty. Should the Church fail the authors were convinced that it would be shorn of its powers.

XLVIII. It is unquestionably the duty of the Church not to let the usages of the world determine her conduct. She must be loyal to the

ethics of everything that has a strand of ethicality in it. She must suffuse all relations with her higher light and must act in harmony therewith. Let her magnify instead of minimizing her opportunities for real leadership. It is her privilege to pervade all her business transactions with the spirit of love; it is her inherent call to sacrifice upon these very altars and to make that principle of sacrifice enter into the relation of debtor and creditor. It is never a question of where she can do the least comportsable with decency but where she can do the most in harmony with the affection that should bind her to every child of Adam who is equally a child of God. The Church should not learn economics or sociology from the world or the State, but should insist on pervading both with the Christian spirit. We are not the slaves of usage or the evolution of markets or banks. We do not have to yield to present conditions of commercial or industrial life as if they were inexorable laws. If real morals and religion have been ignored in questions of finance and in business relations, these sad deflections do not bind us to preserve their unwholesome rigors to-day and for all time. Indeed the abuses most affected by the social maxims of honesty and righteousness will not allow the dictators and upholders of the unfraternal ideas in business to go to sleep quietly in their selfishness. The underworld is full of energetic protest, and insists in harmonizing wealth and the restless movements of capital. Nor will that rising mass be satisfied with creating philanthropies outside of the financial realm; the thing itself in its very activities and uses must be baptized with the spirit of brotherly justice. Society in its structural vastness does not want a multitude of deforming lean-tos and rookeries and side-shows; the spirit of equality and fraternity must be put into the central edifice. The dollar must be a symbol of brotherhood, and not of what the hard, steel-eyed business-man has been pleased to call justice, terribly one-sided as that has been. The coin has hitherto represented property, it must learn to stand for the regenerated heart of man. The good-will must no longer be in the thanksgiving turkey, but in the wages and salaries. Some such thoughts filled the breasts of these two friends, four hundred years ago. If the sword has not succumbed to the teaching of Christ in this respect, that has been due to the general subservience of the churches to the business habits of that world. Now other instrumentalities are forcing the adoption of this fundamental relation of man to man and the Church is left behind and her Master ignored because of the folly of his very distant followers. One of the most excellent presentations of sociological truths from a Christian standpoint and enforced by very pat biblical passages is that of Johannes Lyndemayer. Ain furtzer gründtlicher bericht | vnd vnderweisung/ auß der heyligen ge-schafft/ Das der schöpffer aller ding | nit ansicht die person. Vnd wie | ain mensch dem andern

bienen | vñ helffen soll / mit seym zeitlichen güt / von Gott jm | verlihen / auß zu spendē | vñ was schaden die | geistigkeit bring / | darüb niemant | am zeitlichen | güt han-gen soll / mit dem | herzen ꝛ. It is based on the thought that God as the Creator of men is no respecter of persons. They are all really equal before him. In the distribution of gifts he has made no ethical distinctions, but rather proves what is in a man whether he will be a good economist of his trust or not. What varying talents he has conferred are for mutual service. The clefs existing in society are made by selfishness. The social conditions of rich and poor and the effects of this ignoring of mutuality are depicted in language which answers exactly to the human estrangements and miseries of to-day. He portrays the subjugation of the poor to the rich; the poverty which drives to animal courses so that the condemned man can no longer regain an honest livelihood; the daughters consigned to a life of shame because of the impossibility of marriage; the diminution of matrimony because one cannot earn enough from his work to found and sustain a household. The lamentable failures in life he ascribes to the abuse of their wealth by the rich. The corruption of the upper classes is just as excessive and leads to the opposite poles of sin. The writer is constrained to recall every one to the mutual fraternal plane from which human development should have started, and he pleads for a restoration of brotherhood and the adjustment of one to another by a practical mutuality and a real objective, fraternal service.

The very practical questions put by the oppressed classes to the Christian preacher as to *Leibeigenschaft* or *Knechtsheit* were not easy to answer. There was nobody to compel the master to treat his dependents with the Christian regard and brotherliness and substitution which St. Paul suggests. Only the conscience of the individual lord could be appealed to or was practically operative. It is after all the eternal question of duty between those who are highly favored and those who have the modicum endowment of talent, opportunity or property. How to bring about a workable Christian liberty which should not lose itself in spiritual clouds but should control the daily experience and regulate every feature of the Christian life, this was an absorbing question of the *Bundschuh* and of the Guilds. It would not down in the villages; it would still less be quiet and contented in the pushing life of the cities. One of the most ingenious treatises on this subject by a man who was so soon to come into more or less interrelations with Schwenckfeld is *Von leibangēschafft | oder knechts-
hait / wie | sich Herren vñnd angen | leit Christlich halten | sollend / Bericht | auß götliche Rechte. | Durch D. Urbanum Regium | zu Augspurg gepredigt. | M D XXV.* Yet it could satisfy nobody since it did not press the evolution of laws for equalization and for the enforcement of human rights by a communally elected power.

XLIX. With this slight enumeration the catalogue of abuses is by no means exhausted, say the petitioners; there is really no point gained by rehearsing them seriatim, for they are clearly apprehended by the Bishop who had remarked upon them so freely in by-gone days and had uttered the desire for their remedy. He is now reminded of the manifest duties of his office as affording him not only the opportunity, but as impressing upon him the obligation to purge the diocese of these offensive accretions. Such a feeling of his personal responsibility is of the first moment. What he had craved for is now in his power to eventuate and make good. First of all he must be influenced by no consideration other than the fact that these perversions exist; that they glaringly contravene the Scriptures; that they are even contradicted by many statutes of the earlier canons and many provisions of provincial and diocesan synods; moreover the general voice of public opinion cries for their abolition. Hence there exists no need of papal action. A court that had so disregarded his wish and against whose injustice he had acted with so much decision and independence did not deserve any mild treatment when the superior matters of faith and conduct were at issue. Rembrandt pictures Samson indignantly expostulating with his father-in-law who had given his wife to another; let something like that hero's honest wrath animate the Bishop toward the treachery of Leo. Nor had the whole college of cardinals been any better; they had abetted the Brandenburger policy of the Pope; it was only when the shekels had vanished from the pocket of the favorite son that the double-faced Janus drew nearer to Jacob. The genuine Christian Church does not establish a discipline which suppresses the initiative and spontaneity of the individual; rather its economy is designed to evoke the best that is in each one and impel him to do his utmost when the occasion arises in his path or offers itself to his own judgment. If there is a wrong he must right it on the instant. He must not tarry for breve or allocution. He has the most intelligent understanding of the field and the peril of the hour; conservatism is out of place when supreme values and treasures are endangered. Whatever stifles liberty of reason and action, gifts which the Gospel has conferred, must at once be clarified. The edict of Christ takes precedence of all decretals, canons and extravagances, especially where those formal instruments sustain the wrong. Halting indecision may be fatal to the realization of the advantages which freedom waits to bestow on men and women. Will Jacob act like a conservative lawyer or as a prompt, aggressive general? Will he abandon the field which may so easily be his and fall back on the ancient defences or await the interminable Fabian policies of Rome? Will he who had shown such a manly and resolute disposition in the signal strife of the Chapter be less of a hero and forsake his laurels and his standards on

the day when the Gospel summons him to break the chain? The two ways and the two choices are before him, as from of old they have come to every one in the long succession of the race. Will he be strong or will he be weak? On a simpler scale but one involving the salvation of a soul was the appeal for decision which a certain brother made to his sister. Nicolas Katelsberger (Cattelspurger, Katterspurger, Catelspurger) had come under the influence of the light and is anxious for the equal rescue of his sister Margaret, who lived in Bamberg, from the darkness enshrouding her former faith. Indeed she may have begun to embrace reformatory tenets, but under the reactionary Bishop Wigand there would be danger of losing her first impressions. However that may be, the brother writes her a letter with the title *Ain Missive (oder Sendtbrief)* | *Nicolai Cattelspurger / darinn Klarlich | durch hailig geschriefft angezaigt wirt | von den falsche leeren / auch Abgötterey / byßher gehalten / wie sy | auffgericht / vnd verstanden | werdē sollen / seiner Schwester / zu Bamberg wo-nen / vmb rechtē | glaubē verstand | geschriben. | 1. 5. 2. 4.* The introduction itself is of a certain sweet simplicity, so that we must reproduce it: *Ihesus. Mein liebe Schwester Margrett nach dem du mein Schwester bist nach dem fleisch / aber weiß ich nitt was du für ain glauben hast / darumb schreib ich dir ain wenig von dem rechten glaubē den wir in Christum sollen haben / wenn außserhalbē des selbigen glauben kan nyemandt salig werden / Darū hab ich dir das mit kurzen worten zu geschriben / was der herz spricht Johannis am zehenden Capittel. Ich bin die thür zu dem schaff stall / vnn̄d wer anderst eingeet dann durch dise thür / der ist ain dieb vnd morder / Also hastu kain andern eingang denn durch Ihesum Christum / das ist durch seyn blūt / Darumb hab ich dir das angezaigt / mit kurzen worten / wer die falschen leerer sein / darvor solt du dich h̄tten. Was ich dir geschriben hab des glaubens halben / nemlich vergebung der sündt / durch Christus blūt / das solt du eben mercken / Wa du das nit glauben kanst / so bitt Gott vmb den glauben / wenn er spricht bitt / so wirdt euch gebe Matthei am sybenden. Also mein liebe Schwester Margreth Katelspurgerin sey Gott beuolhen. 1524. Niclas Katterspurger.* As this intimates, the new life begins with the appropriation of Christ on the basis of his promises. There is no other gospel or salvation or mediation. Those who put up claims for the papacy as the sole administrator of the divine mercy, such as the barefootfriars, the Franciscans and the preaching monks or Dominicans do, are after all the enemies of this evangelical system. The schemes of sacerdotalism invalidate the simple Scriptures. Christ's companionship with the believer is constant, so that he needs no other supporter or completer as the Antichrist would tempt him to believe, nor can any one forgive sins but he. Hence those who uphold the confessional and have a lot of magical devices as symbols which are to fill out the work of Christ, who invest the images of Mary

or any saint with mediatorial qualities are only defending a hopeless superstition. Alle die das Büchlein lesen ober hören lesen/ das sy es zum besten auff nemen/ wañ ich hab es nit darumb geschriben/ das jr dem Papst oder seynen Propheten seynd seyn solt/ Ir solt ja für sy bitten/ das jnen Gott die genad verleih/ das sy zu ayner erkantnuß kummen seynes worts. Meyn liebe Schwester Margreth/ vnd alle brüder vnd schwester in Ihesum Christum/ seht Gott beuolhen/ Amen.

L. Jacob's line of action was influenced by his underlying view of what constituted ultimate authority; but who could convey eternal life and happiness, the Gospel or Rome? He had once acted as if Rome did not exist and he were free from its thralldom; although after a year's relative independence he had relapsed, yet the spark was there; could it be fanned into flame again or had it become a dead ember? These two friends would stir up the ashes to see if memory and feeling could once more be aroused. Could Christ and Paul awaken the dormant sense? Could the law of love persuade? And so they turned back to the thoughts from which they had set out and sound forth the leading strain once more; the undertone of the whole argumentation and pleading becomes again the sovereign theme. They put before him the sole warrantees of religious and moral jurisdiction and bid him see the contrasts between the existing situation and the simple propositions of the Scriptures. The voice of love to his God and to his neighbour once more bids him obey the Lord rather than men. We may here remark that the favorite theme of the early Reformation was Love as the fulfillment of the law; The two sides of this are frequently set forth either as one theme or as parts of other discourses. An instance of its solitary treatment is a sermon by Johannes Landtsperger which was preached in 1524. Ein nützlicher Sermon: dem ge-meynen volck/ von der lieben Gottes/ vnnnd | des nächsten/ nach rechtem verstand des natür-lichen geset/ vnd der wort Christi/ das jr wölt | das euch die menschen thünd/ solt jr jnen | auch thün/ Auch wie man den Be-gehenden geben/ vnd wer jn nemen soll/ nach ordnüg der | Christlichen Kirchen | gleichförmig den | Worten Christi | vnd der heyligen ge-schrifft. It is psychological in its analysis after Augustine's divisions of the personality. It has a very practical termination in urging the duty of paying tithes as against that type of evangelicals which were for casting off this financial yoke as a sign of their newly acquired liberty.

LI. The climax of our missive is reached in the prayer to break loose from Rome; to sever the connection with the Curia would be to declare for the supremacy of the Scriptures and would be a pledge of reform in all fundamental and oppugnant particulars. To set up the evangelical standard pure and simple would be to enthrone the living Word and would promulgate the purpose of beginning a renovating process which

would place spirituality and character above mental servitude and form; and why not? The Emperor Maximilian I had once conceived of getting rid of at least the Italian domination which was altogether the worst phase of the tyranny, by assuming the tiara himself. A few years after Charles V seriously debated whether he should not totally abolish the statecraft which so harassed the Empire. He was instrumental in bringing about that awful pillage of the city from whose ashes there seemed little hope of ever restoring the renaissance system of abuses again. And indeed that frightful sack did accomplish some external changes, although it finally intensified the mediæval theories. Luther and Carlstadt had broken irrevocably with the papacy and so had the general temper of Wittenberg both city and university. And now the opportunity had come to Silesia to declare its independence, and why should it not liberate itself from the aged tyranny? The Pope had attempted to break down the privileges of the diocese. He had insisted on the validity of his mental reservation. He had practically held out for almost one year in his opposition to the choice of the Chapter and the people. He had equally shown his weakness in succumbing at last, so that there was no dignity in his final sanction of Jacob's election, even though the breves were clad in the usual pretentious formulas and repeated as they were sevenfold, after all they were in manifest contravention of Leo's real sentiment. But the reasons for rupture rose much higher, because Rome claimed the jurisdiction and sovereignty which belonged exclusively to Christ. It made the Scriptures subordinate to tradition by imposing human interpretation and custom upon the sacred text. It was guilty of a grievous inhumanity in its destruction of the liberty of the individual and of society; this enslavement of the private judgment had proved the fruitful parent of religious and moral abuses; instead of leading human minds into a large and liberal space, it had crushed out spiritual instincts wherever these had developed free thought. It pretended to hold literal keys to human happiness for time and for eternity. It externalized all invisible truth, until it became what Bishop Berkeley said of the Neapolitan religious shows, *una bella devotione*, a sort of religious opera. Its worship had degenerated into spectacular exhibitions. Its theory of good works had substituted mechanical observances for the obedience and fruitage of faith. It had elaborated a polity which centralized every impulse of life in the permission of one man who assumed to be the vicar of Christ. Its sacerdotal and sacramentarian theories had in them the same genius for concentration and the mediatorial schemes were multiplied endlessly thereby. It had deputized Mary to be a chief intercessor whose functions Anna was now in a fair way to usurp. It had destroyed the sanctity of the marriage bond and the home. It had uprooted democracy with its larger evolution of human spirit and energy. It had marred the

consciousness of sin, the significance of repentance and the sweetness of forgiveness in the hearts of the people, especially among the ignorant folks of the towns and villages. It had evolved a type of Christianity which was essentially at variance with the christic and apostolic root and growth of the Church. Why not then cast aside the trammels? Jacob had stood out the once; he had carried on the episcopal functions without the curialistic approval; he had even proposed to seek his ordination at other hands. If he had done these venturesome things in vindication of his own legal rights, how much more should he do it because of the imperilled Kingdom of God! For a historical survey of the development of corruption in Christianity after Gregory I one should consult the tractate of Gengenbach *Der Evangelische Bürger*. Such solar glammers as the sun and moon metaphors of Hildebrand; such degradations of the State as were involved in the Canossa genuflections and osculations; such impudent pretensions as were demanded by Hadrian of Friedrich I as to sovereignty over the empire and the enfeeblement of its territories and ruler; indeed the whole bumptious externality and splendor of the curia were from the ground up abhorrent to Schwenckfeld. The correspondence between Hadrian and the Emperor was translated and published at the time as a contribution to the discussion: *Adriani Papsts troziger Sendbrief an Kayser Friedrich I und dessen Antwort*. One sees how much of Germany was ripe for so radical and vital a separation in 1524.

LII. The mental reservation which Leo resorted to was simply the quiet assumption of his purpose to take the diocese under his own sway and to donate it to a person of his own choice. It is not to be confused with the later Jesuitic tenet of the same name. It is rather based on the property claim, the *reservatum pontificis*, by which dioceses for example were appropriated immediately by the pope and the revenues thereof were drawn by him. In this case Leo made no demand upon the treasury of Breslau but he had engaged the see privately to Johann Albrecht. The reservation was not so secret but that the cardinals had agreed to the plan and the Brandenburgers were well-assured of the intention. The immorality of such a procedure needs no certification.

LIII. Our authors further would also guard the Bishop against certain prelatie sophisms: 1) that the Gospel as proclaimed by the evangelicals stirred up revolt and therefore should be suppressed by the rulers. This charge has been sufficiently enlarged upon; two things however must be noted: the Gospel here has a new complemental phrase, the truth of Christ, which means both the verities that Christ has revealed as contained in the record and Christ himself as the incarnate truth, for there is no truth without personality and personal activity, abstract truth is only an induction or deduction from the concrete. The other suggestion

is that the accusation of political tumult is the invariable refuge to which the adherents of existing abuses resort. The privileged conservatives charged the prophets as they did Christ and his apostles with the same false indictment. Every religious and moral improvement will have to encounter a similar obtuse imputation. The revolt against the truth is to be laid at the door of the stand-patters who hold fast to things as they are, as if human rights and opinions had no quality of advancement. One of the keenest books of this early period dealing with the question of revolt was that of Otto Brunfels, a monk and then a preacher in the Breisgau and subsequently a great physician in Strassburg where Schwwenckfeld and he became acquainted. Later on he settled in Bern. He is the founder of the modern science of botany; he however, never lost his sympathy with the course of theological thought. This early work is entitled: *Allein Gott die eer. | Von dem Euāgelischen anstoß. | wie/ vnnß in was | gestalt das wort Gottes | vffrür mache. | Durch Otthonem Brunfels. | newlich vßgangen.* M. D. XXIII. The papists suspected a Bundschuh in every effort to preach the Gospel. The Evangel was a synonym for revolution and both were identified with Lutheranism by the curialists of this turbulent Breisgau region. He dates his preface St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28, 1523, somewhere about the time our letter to the Bishop was probably begun. He finds the offense of the Gospel in its very nature as exacting a spiritual view and conduct of life and a spiritual conception of things and a spiritual interpretation of the universe. Such an elevated idea necessarily invites persecution; all who are on their fleshly lees and who rest in the safe moorings of established and comfortable institutions rise up in indignation at anything which disturbs their serenity and comfort. The course of spirituality in its conflicts with sensuosity is a repetition of the experience of Christ. There are therefore two gospels, that of Christ and that of Antichrist. Another reason for such revolt is found in the fluctuations of fortune; the lean years follow the years of plenty. The very poor and oppressed rise in actual rebellion and resist to violence, for they suffer the most in such periods of distress and yet the extra exactions increase. The dread of losing power also was invariably a reason for oppression and cruelty. The prelates imitate Herod now that they fear their seats of authority are to be shaken; and indeed a day for the rooting-up of all tyranny is speeding on. In part II he remarks in effect that those antagonize the Gospel who see that it interferes with their wicked business or pleasure. The minority alone espouse the truth. It is a fact accredited by all history that the majority will persecute the fraction which stands for progress and will shout heresy. Hence divisions will always exist because the human race cannot stand still. In part III there are the following suggestions: the Gospel movement after all is nothing else than

a concealed Bundschuh, according to the judgment of the curialists and the authorities, for it aims to uproot the existing social order. But the spirit of that Evangel is really gentle and yet it is true that offences must needs come; they however are the offenders who would suppress human progress. It is a duty then to preach the Gospel freely in spite of the persecutors. Councils too must be obedient to the Word. Wir müssen uns nach dem wort lenken/ und nit bi wort nach uns. He concludes with an appeal for all evangelicals to avoid revolt but to develop the Gospel by a peaceful and yet an advancing life as the way to dispel the long-time darkness and to overthrow the abomination.

2) Another arraignment by the prelates is that the evangelicals are subjecting the clergy to popular contempt and spoliation. The contempt of the clergy is a very ancient story. Numerous are the canons which have sought to stem its insults. The causes are invariably the same and lie in human nature itself. There is latent in every breast a doubt of another's sincerity unless it has been proved. The suspicion is increased, if one follow an avocation which requires special excellence of character and which sets him apart to pursue the largest possible spiritual ideals and to demonstrate them with some degree of earnestness and exemplariness. If men discern the devotion to be practical, continuous and genuine, the incredulity and criticism disappear. Hence when this high vocation degenerates into a formal profession the mistrust is intensified. When the clergy build on the fact of ordination, on privileges and exemptions, on vestments, on external qualities of voice or person, on affectations of superiority and differentiation, on sacerdotal and sacramental powers and authorities, on endless formalisms and symbolisms, the judgment of the world will soon ridicule and satirize them. If the would-be servants of God add to this a baseless clinging to traditions, a false conservatism, a hostility to rationality, an uneducated zeal for deformation, a readiness to condemn every pursuit of truth whose studies lead to a reexamination of the bases of faith, then the contempt of the thinking part of humanity is augmented. If too there is a perversion of power and a tyrannical temper which resorts to violent methods of repression or stirs up hate, creates prejudices and casts aspersions, then the cup of indignation is nearly full. When one remembers how the prelates spent much of their time in hunting fresh benefices, how they practiced absenteeism caring only for the revenues of their prebends, how they discharged their duties in a slipshod way while they gathered their tenths and rents imperiously, when one reflects with what vindictive energy they solicited princes and kings to crush the rising sentiments of independence, with what intensity they habituated themselves to drinking, good living, concubinage, then the cup surely must overflow and the grounds for popular contempt

are complete. Among the cotemporaries of our authors there is none that has illustrated this popular feeling more bitingly than the rebellious rector of Diss, John Skelton, particularly in his *Colyn Cloute and Why come ye nat to courte?* This latter is well introduced by the caption: *The relucient mirror for all Prelats and Presidents, as well spirituall as temporall, sadly to loke vpon, deuised in English by Skelton.* One cannot help mentioning also a work that appeared anonymously in London 1670, which issued from the witty pen of Dr. John Eachard, entitled: *The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion enquired into.* In a letter to R. L. Popular as was this book it failed to cover the chief reasons for the despise put upon ecclesiastical orders. Our authors insist that genuineness of character, fidelity to Christ as the head and to his Gospel as authority, the humble discharge of kindly offices toward others, the exhibition of loyal sympathy with varying human experiences and the true-hearted, affectionate ministrations to the poor, the sick and the dying will win the admiration and deep esteem of their fellows. They were witnesses of such fidelity and its ensuing commendation. There were many disciples of the truth whose quiet careers did not shine with prelatic splendors but did radiate beneficence, virtue, sincerity and truth; and so it will be evermore in the history of the Church.

LIV. The next step of the appeal brings to light the Christian optimism of the writers. This optimism is both scriptural and rational for it rests upon two elements of irresistibility. Truth cannot be finally overthrown, it must attain its complete manifestation. Conscience responds to the verities; it impels the dependent individual to contribute to the progress toward the permanently real; it necessitates the pursuit of eternal Being. The ultimate reality is what our nature prompts us to seek after. This eternal essence has come to us in manifold disclosures throughout the universe, in forms of activity, in displays of intelligence, will, love and righteousness. It must therefore be personality not abstraction. It has come to us particularly in the revelation of Christ and by Christ who assures us of the fatherhood of God, the sonship of the Word and the perfecting energy of the Holy Ghost. Christ claims to be that summation of truth, and to be that he must be Deity. This is the conviction of our authors. To seek Christ the truth is from their point of view the ethical duty of all men. The search for Christ is an obligation which no rational soul can forego without doing violence to his inner nature. In the process of acquisition occur many castings-off of sheaths, blossoms, leaves, and even fruit, for it is the potent, eternal seed of all life that one follows and grasps after. In Christ the all is enfolded and of his complete doxa we shall gradually partake and so realize a due proportion of the ultimate truth of being. Hence Christ as the Truth is irresistible. Nothing can vanquish although it may tem-

porarily hinder the transfiguration of matter and history for us; but such delays cannot prevent the thorough unfolding of life spiritual in the second fulness of times. It is pure vanity to contend with the onflow. Prot-evangelion, psalms, prophets, evangelists and apostles are full of the melioristic hymn. The Bible is a chronological and apocalyptic narrative of the central facts. Now to the irresistible truth the conscience irresistibly responds and toward its realization the conscience steadily drives. The moral sense, the ethical nature was designedly built in preparation for it; and when that is regenerated by the divine Spirit the sense of duty will be educated in that pursuit and will adopt its standards, ideals and ends. Against these inward goads no one can successfully kick; he only injures himself by resistance; he checks his own being and can never attain to the largest expression of his faculties or enter into the deepest enjoyment of its inward fruitage nor attain to the states of supreme happiness in the possession of infinite being or the ultimate truth. In the judgment of our authors a genuine Christian is bound to be an optimist however melioristic the way to blessedness may prove. He is called upon to make uninterrupted progress and to convert every grief and pain into spiritual gold. An inherent necessity of desire leads him to be obedient to its promptings; a genuine enthusiasm impels him in all faith, hope, love, to attain the goal of his own being; he is drawn of the Father to the Christ who is lifted up. These then are the two irresistible elements. The wisdom of the world dare not isolate itself from this pursuit of Christ, the truth. If its philosophy, its science, its art, its industry essays to resist, they do singly or collectively but mar their own rational development. They may make displays of independence and may boast of exemption from the all-comprehensive God, but it is a shallow conceit and a vain imagination which plays to itself in its own little theatre. Its beggarly rags are daily in evidence. The moral energies of the world cannot segregate themselves from God nor make head-way against him who founded them. Nor can force repress the expanding seed. Here again we have the reaffirmation of religious liberty as the prime demand of the Gospel and as essential to the proper and full development of its principles in the hearts of men and in the spirit of society. We must put a mighty emphasis on this reiteration on the part of Axleben and Schwenckfeld. The latter certainly remained faithful to the tenet and he practiced it without wavering; he never voluntarily withdrew complete fellowship from any human soul. He accorded invariably the same right to others which he demanded for himself. This must be born in mind as a differentiated and uniform teaching of the Middle Way. This fact must not be put into the back-ground nor minimized; it meant everything in itself and in its operation; it is a foundation stone and it is at the same time

the key position to a rational civilization; nor can the Christian faith endure without its exercise. Not a reformer who has captivated the world but violated it with unutterable brutalities. Without the confession of this truth their systems as such are worthless save as intellectual propositions. This inhumanity still dominates many states which have the forefront of the histories and the protagonists of liberty continue to be ostracized. It will not always be so. There is an era of rectification impending and sure.

Our authors reasoned in this wise as to the use of force in order to suppress or to maintain religious truth, because it is just as wrong to uphold by violence what you deem to be ultimate religious fact as it is to attempt its extirpation. The use of a punitive arm against truth is surveyed very calmly by them for they protest: *Für welcher die wahrheit wol sicher steet*, before which the truth will certainly stand secure. They express the quiet conviction that mere abuse of power can effect nothing permanent against the liberty to form one's own judgment; the truth abides in immovable security. They felt in this wise: if God and truth, Christ and the Gospel be so interrelated that the abstract statement and the historic record do reflect the divine, then force is only an invasion of the divine territory; it is to assault primary authority; and if that Gospel represents liberty and individuality and holds men responsible for what they think or do, anything that militates against that individuality or freedom is an attack upon God himself. His is the might to give ultimate decisions and to make final judgments; these things are not within the province of man. Again conscience is immediately related to God; if you cannot educate and convince it, your labor is lost for you cannot and ought not compel it by rigor. You may coerce the tongue to succumb through fear, or you may subject the body to unwilling obedience but the moral conviction, not at all; that is only amenable to persuasion, and the process of suasion requires freedom and respect for individuality. Moreover truth is the property of the spiritual nature, the outward can only be its physical expression. It is idle to reverse the order; chains and the stake do not reach the spirit much less control it. Then too the more you seek to restrain the free exercise of the spiritual nature, the more widely do you scatter its principles. This is an invariable result. Persecution has always accelerated the dissemination of ultimate facts; it has only stimulated inquiry, doubt, sympathy, and enlarged the field of liberality. Men will conquer their rights, if one seeks to check them, and no armaments or prisons or executions can annihilate them. The law of brotherhood and equality cannot be despised with impunity; it is a very large part of the truth. If one despises ordinary humanity and maltreats his fellows under any pretense whatsoever, it is already bad enough, but when you profess

to regard your fellows as members of the same household of love there is something even more intensely criminal in the effort to stifle their religious and moral opinions. The communions that have resorted to force to produce conviction or to punish the person for holding contrary views have forgotten that truth is life; it is a seed whose vitality will survive all efforts to crush it. What is fact will grow and abide because fact knows no change when once established. The deed done is irreversible when once it is accomplished. Again no one man or body of men has the whole of truth in custody; each has his appointed ministry and husbandry with regard to it, so that both the law of charity and the desire for unity together with the aim of progress to comprehend as much of essential being as possible do combine to urge mutual recognition and appropriation of what is common property, although it be distributed among so many.

And another element is forgotten by the persecutor or the society which uses physical coercion or that sort of mental violence which is even worse in its hateful, malign inquisition than the merely corporeal constraint; it is a fact that the Holy Spirit is capable of inspiring a Polycarp or a Wiclif or a Hus or a Luther or a Schwenckfeld or a Tyndale in the hour of trial. The divine defence of reality is never lacking for God cannot diminish himself. The courageous soul that stands firm and asserts its liberty of conscience has God in him and back of him. There is an eloquence which is brief but carries the arrows of conviction far and farther. It should here be observed that our authors trusted Christ's promise; they believed that the capacity of utterance and manly defense of religious and ethical right would be granted. The dispensation of the Spirit was a part of the truth and a very essential element of the Gospel. The Holy Ghost is an actual personality and a genuine inspirer, who grants the consciousness of his fellowship in the most exigent moments. They felt sure that Christ as truth could not deny his pledge of the comforting and speaking Paraclete. For them there was nothing that was incomprehensible in the exercise of such a helpful office. In the light of the tenet that the impact of God upon the soul was without any intermediation this ministration of the third person of the Trinity was not a miracle nor a fiction. For them the so-called supernatural was the most demonstrable of certainties; God is ever more than his work and his relation to his work is also more and greater than the creature itself. For man the highest thing is that there is a God and that he is a Father; that you are his son is of smaller import; but if you are his son, surely the Father can approach you without a medium. There is a very excellent treatise in spirit and in language on prayer, which belongs to this period, dwelling on its inwrought qualities and quite out of the usual

mechanical vein. So too is the exposition of the Lord's Prayer which completes the little work. The whole tractate is suffused with a rarely superior contemplative color. Each petition closes with an appropriate couplet. It was published anonymously and is entitled: Ein Christlich vnderricht | ob vnd vß welcher vrsach/ auch zu wem/ was/ vnd | waruff der ware Christen mensch betten soll/ damit | er sein gebet in der warheit vnd dem geist seliglich | thun möge. Welche vnderricht dan in das heylsam | (von Christo warem got vnnb mensch gelertes) | Vatter vnser/ mit etlichen zugefügten wort| ten darzu vielnahe das ganz Christlich lebē/ als ein innerliche redde | ober betrachtung zu got ver-|faßt vñ gezogen würt/ vast | nüt einem jedē Christ-| lichen menschen zu | wissen / aber | viel fruchtbarer mit | innerlichem ge-|müt zu übe.

LV. Our authors return to their main solicitude, how to provide for the progress of this truth. Again they express their opinion that this can be done only through the careful processes of culture and instruction. The first provision is to furnish competent shepherds or leaders and supervisors of education who themselves have proved their intellectual and spiritual fitness. No less must the preachers, who may be distinct from such pastors or not, be evangelical; that is, only such as acknowledge the sovereignty of Christ in the record and who begin, continue and end all things in that standard and who at the same time are born of God, who are thus in spirit and purpose really examples of the law of love and fraternity. Of course it follows that such teachers must be delivered from and be independent of prelacy and be imbued with a sense of their responsibility as stewards and not lords of the mysteries; they must feel that they are of the people and serve the people and represent them because chosen by them. Nor should they be ordained without due examination and after having been approved as qualified in character and in understanding. With such an auspicious beginning in the adoption and carrying out of a genuine reform in clerical spheres they feel sure of the result.

LVI. The effect upon the people will be equally elevating. The services will at once feel the change; the vernacular will speak with intelligence to the worshiper; a new thought will be introduced into religion since the medium of communion between God and men will be shown to be direct; all the frivolous elements will disappear and the crude symbolisms whose meaning has been a mixture of Old and New Testament ideas will fall away. The mere word priest is of no moment, if it be derived from presbyter, but if it convey Levitical notions and encourage sacrificial perversions, then away with it. Further, Christian exercises and practices would necessarily take the place of the mechanical forms in vogue. This reference to personal spiritual exercises and to the entire economy of relative duties now to be fulfilled in the Christian spirit has

been considered in documents IV and VI. We see however how elemental they have become as indicative of a genuine Christian experience. Corresponding deeds are requisite to demonstrate the inherency and vitality of the principles. Aristotle had long ago said that if one wants to become actually good he would have to do good. There is no life cure in words or in philosophy. The finest speculations have no force for character unless they have been tried and have manifested their strength by elevated deeds. When the patient does not follow the prescriptions of the physician the body cannot regain its soundness, although the sick man may have given the closest attention to the letter of the formula. How slow we are to learn that we are known only by our fruits. The doer of the Word alone realizes his liberty.

LVII. The administration of the episcopal office in this Gospel sense will have not only the divine approval and inure to the salvation of his charge but the warm support of princes and nobles who are of the same mind and intent upon the introduction of the Reformation. Their homage and loyalty to this rectified order the Bishop may be assured of.

LVIII. It is significant that our authors return to the prophets, this time as preachers of divine love. The way of restoring communion is six-fold: the consciousness of the nearness of a merciful God, the sense of estrangement through sin, prayer to him, repentance and conversion from the old habits of mind and action to the Lord of mercy, the outflowing of forgiveness and the felt experience of acceptance. They quote these wonderful words of Isaiah designedly, for it is the language of supreme reconciliation; it is a summary of what was revealed in the person and deed of Jesus Christ. Johann V had so turned to God and found his peace in those parting hours; how much better for the present incumbent of that high office and his successor to heed the deep meaning of that scene at the bed-side, and so be the Bishop in actuality that his predecessor so earnestly and solemnly longed to be. Why not fulfil the wish of Bishop Thurzo and act for him in this overshadowing hour of mercy and decision?

LIX. The elements of final pleading with the Bishop are not a whit less impressive. 1) His consciousness that what they say is true. 2) That what they plead for he himself had formerly professed to desire. 3) Such is their sense of his consistency and of his sterling qualities that they are convinced that he would not again so lightly assume the grave responsibilities of his office had he to do it over again. If that be the case he must surely heed the strong crying of his two friends and brothers, because they claim that all which they have written is the fruit of brotherly feeling. How tenacious this thought of fraternity had become may be seen from the numerous corporations which had a more or less beneficent

character mainly in making provision for death and the after-life. The reformers generally return to a more scriptural view of the Christian household. True, the method was not always conceived of in the same way. Thus Hanns Staygmayr of Rentlingen in 1524 wrote a little treatise called: *Ein kurze vn-berrichtung von der | waren Chriſtliche brü-berſchaft/ allen Chriſtenlichen men-ſchen ſer nußlich zu lee-ſen*. In this he treats such a fraternity from its spiritual nature. He who doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven, is my brother, sister and mother. He contrasts the natural and spiritual household: the latter has its origin in a gospel seed or a new birth through faith, the redemptive processes being begun in that regeneration. Hence the possessions also are mutual, what is Christ's is also ours. The Virgin Mary herself becomes our sister in this relationship. Further, we gradually realize the fatherhood of God. Moreover the unity of the household will prompt to deeds of fraternal regard and helpfulness. Now this explanation of the real family should eradicate the false brotherhoods because: 1) They make of God a tyrant and not a Father, by seeking other mediatorial and intercessional expedients. 2) They substitute their own works for the sufficient merits of Christ. 3) They resort to the papal paper-trade for justification and forgiveness. 4) They concern themselves anxiously about the dead. 5) Their societies are purely selfish because circumscribed to their own numbers. Hence the contrast with the right evangelical idea of the household of faith prompts to a discarding of this entire misconceived system.

LX. They ask the Bishop to solve the contradiction between the present aspect of the pontifical State with its splendors and trappings and two simple scriptural statements: That the Kingdom of Christ is not of this world, which is to say that it is spiritual essentially, supremely and eternally. And the thought that mere outwardness and externality, the bald magnificence, titles, show, pomposities and pride of men is in any case an abomination, a hateful thing in the sight of God; how much more must it be so when such ideals and ends are attached to his Kingdom. Turn to Rome and to your own see, our dear Bishop; is not the contrast between christic and apostolic simplicity with this exaggeration of pomp, ceremonialism and machinery terrible to the spiritual judgment? And should it not be an occasion for alarm? What excuse is possible? a reconciliation is not conceivable nor is it practicable. In the solution of this problem show us the same kindly and fraternal temper that we have tried to manifest toward you. Then give us the meter and rhymes of these two irreconcilable kingdoms. There is neither rhyme nor reason in thinking that the Roman Curia can be the offshoot of the New Testament pictures of Church and Kingdom, or that any theory of development can bring back the present conditions into accord with that original fountain,

or to hope that these existing deflections can ever be regarded as the just issue of those primitive institutions. It was on the 4th of January 1529 that Cardinal Contarini begged Clement VII not to devote his entire energy to the rescue of the States of the Church but rather to spend his solicitude upon the safety of the true Church which is the fellowship of all believers in Christ. The pope acknowledged the truth of his reflection and advice but contended that the condition of the world had compelled the practical secularization of the Church and that in spite of his own deeper feeling he must surrender to existing politics. It is not an unmeaning joke when it is stated in the *Schutzrede* that if Peter wanted to be pope, he would first have to become a cardinal.

LXI. So they commend him to the gracious care of the Lord Jesus Christ who has condescended to pour out his Spirit. The office of that Spirit is to complete the praise, honor and saving power of the Son of God. Here at the close we are brought back to the dispensation of the Holy Ghost and his relation to the living Word. We must habituate ourselves to Schwenckfeld's conception of what the Paraclete is to effect in the divine economy. His was not a mere name, nor is he an idle abstraction nor a sort of complement to the Trinity nor a dual and mutual energy nor a conglomerate of human and divine dynamics, but a veritable person who has come to us in the orphaned state of the Father's children to dwell with and in us for the completion of Christ's salvatory relationship to us. The doxa of the Word is brought to its full revelation and fruit through the uninterrupted ministration of the Holy Ghost. In that conviction a believing bishop and a believing Christian should live hourly would they enter into the mysteries of participation in the divine nature.

LXII. It is a fitting conclusion, this invocation at the end: May God illumine Your Grace and all who desire it, with his knowledge. This is that inexhaustible *ἐπίγνωσις* whose choicest terms come to us through faith, hope and love. It is self-illuminating; it brings its own light; it is the way toward complete truth. If our authors began with a salutation of grace and peace in the divine persons, they end with an invocation of the best that human hearts can enjoy. No one can possess this fullness of knowledge who does not long for it. The soul that craves self-indulgence, that magnifies its own isolation and solitariness, can receive no healing beams from God. The creature that does not feel its dependence upon its Maker can have no enjoyment of his society. The prayer of our authors is that every human being may have such a desire and enter into the fullness of the light of the Kingdom and glory of Christ.

LXIII. The freedom of the press is a part of the right of free speech. Naturally this freedom asserted itself the moment the tongues of men were unloosed; presses began to abound to give expression to the clarified

reasonings of men; but hardly had the liberty announced itself when presumptive authority began to extinguish it. One of the earliest specimens of Protestant restriction upon the freedom of the press we find in the apology of Johannes Groninger. On the inside of the title page there stands: *Dis buchlin ist durch die verordenten zu Wittenberg beschen/ vnd zu bruden zugelassen. M. L.* This was an early departure from the Christian liberty, so gallantly defended in 1521, and this too before Pentecost 1524. The very gift of tongues should have dissuaded from it.

G.

Note: a period separating the numbers given indicates full agreement between A and B. Although the two forms of *z* are not distinguished in the vocabulary, some of the explanations and verbal reprints have reference to the distinction between them.

H.

abberungen got into disuse, abolish 274¹⁰;
B **abbringen** 275¹⁰.

aber but, however, *conj.* 244¹⁴, 245¹², 248⁸⁻¹⁴⁻²⁰⁻²², 249⁸⁻¹⁴⁻²⁰⁻²², 250²¹, 251²², 252⁵⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁹⁻²¹, 253⁵⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁹⁻²¹, 254¹⁰⁻¹⁵, 255¹⁰⁻¹⁵, 256⁷, 257⁷, 258⁵⁻⁷⁻²², 259⁵⁻⁷⁻²², 260¹¹, 261¹¹, 264⁷⁻¹²⁻¹⁶⁻²⁰, 265⁷⁻¹²⁻¹⁶⁻²⁰, 266³⁻¹²⁻²², 267³⁻¹²⁻²¹, 268¹²⁻¹⁴, 269¹²⁻¹⁴, 270⁷⁻²¹⁻²⁰, 271⁷⁻²¹⁻²⁰, 276¹⁴, 277¹², 278²⁰, 279²⁰; **Äber** 248²⁴, 249²⁴, 252²⁴, 253²⁴, 254⁹, 255⁹, 268²⁴, 269²⁴, 270¹⁵, 271¹⁵, 280²⁰, 281²⁰.

abermalß again, *adv.* 260²⁰, 261²⁰, 269⁰;
aber malß 268⁰.

abgewichenen see sub **abweichen**.

[**Äbgott**] idol, *sb. m.*, **Äbgöttern** *dat. pl.* 268¹, 269¹.

abgötterey idolatry, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 256⁹, 257⁹.

[**abgötterisch**] idolatrous, *adj.*, **abgötterischen** *gen. pl. n.* 272²²; B **Äbgötterischen** 273²².

Äbgöttern see **Äbgott**.

[**abſchlagen**] refuse, reject, **abſchleſt** *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 256²⁰, 257²⁰.

abſteſſen remove, abolish, **abzuſteſſen** *inf. connected with prep. zu* 280¹⁰; B **abzuſteſſen** 281¹⁰.

[**abſthun**] do away with, abolish, **abſthue** *pres. subj. 3d sg.* 272²²; B **abſthū** 273²².

[**abweichen**] deviate, **abgewichenen** *p.p.* 244²⁰; B **abgewichen** 245²⁷.

abwenden turn aside, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 246²⁴, 247²⁴.

abzuſteſſen see **abſteſſen**.

Äh ah, exclamation of regret 278²¹, 279²¹, 280²², 281²².

Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum.

aſſten pay attention to, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 246²², 247²²; **aſſten wirß** dafür we hold, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 280²²; B **aſſten wirß** dafür 281²² *geacht p.p.* 262²⁷, 263²⁷.

Adam Adam, *nom. sg.* 252⁵, 253⁵; *dat. sg.* 252², 253⁴.

adder see **ader** = **ader**.

ader dialect, form of **ader** or, *conj.* 244², 246², 250¹⁰⁻²⁰, 256³¹, 260⁷, 262^{22 bis}, 264²⁴, 266²⁻¹⁴, 270²⁴, 272²²⁻²⁰, 276²¹, 280²², 282¹⁰; the spelling **adder** occurs 250²². B **ader** 245², 247², 251¹⁰⁻²⁷⁻²², 257²¹, 261¹⁰, 263^{22 bis}, 265²², 267²⁻¹⁴, 271²⁴, 273²²⁻²⁰, 277²¹, 281²², 283¹⁰.

Äder dialect form of **ader** however, *conj.* 258²; B **ader** 259².

adel nobility, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 268⁷; **adell** *dat. sg.* 274¹², 280²²; B spells **Ädel** 269⁷, 275¹², 281²².

albern foolish, *dat. pl. m.* 256³¹, 257³¹.

Älbo there, *adv.* 254¹⁴, 255¹⁴.

all all, *adj.*, uninflected, a pronoun following 258², 259²; spelt **Äll** 282¹⁵, 283¹⁵; the inflected forms occurring are in the singular of the masculine: **älſen** *acc. sg. m.* 244⁵, 245⁴, 252²², 253²², 272¹, 273¹; of the feminine: **Älle** *nom. sg. f.* 260²², 261²²; **älle** *acc. sg. f.* 270¹⁰, 271¹⁰; **älſer** *nom. sg. m.* 256⁴, 257⁴, 262²², 263²², 280⁹, 281⁹; *gen. sg. f.* 256²², 257²²; *dat. sg. f.* 248⁴, 249⁴, 254²⁴, 255²², 260⁷, 261⁷, 262²², 263²², 268³¹, 269³¹, 272²¹, 273²¹; of the neuter: **älſß** *nom. sg. n.* 248¹⁰, 249¹⁰, 252²², 253²², 256²²⁻²⁴, 257²²⁻²⁴, 270², 271², 280², 281²; *acc. sg. n.* 242¹⁰, 243²⁰, 258¹⁴, 259¹⁴, 280²², 281²². Of the plural these forms occur: **älſe** *nom. pl. m.* 244^{22 bis 22}, 245^{24 bis 27}, 254²⁴, 255²⁴, 262²¹.

263²¹; 264⁵⁻³³; 265⁵⁻³³; 270³¹; 271³¹; 272³⁰; 273³⁰; 278¹³; 279¹⁰; 280⁴; 281⁴; *acc. pl. m.* 246³⁰; 247³⁰; 252³⁰; 253³⁰; 256¹⁻¹²; 257¹⁻¹²; 262¹²⁻¹⁸; 263¹¹⁻¹⁸; 282³⁰; 283¹⁰; *nom. pl. f.* 258¹; 259¹; *nom. pl. n.* 256³; 257³; *acc. pl. n.* 242¹⁰; 243¹⁰; 246³⁰; 247³⁰; 252³⁰; 253³⁰; 254³¹; 255³⁰; 262³⁰; 263³⁰; spelt *Wille gen. pl. n.* 252³⁰; 253³⁰; *after gen. pl. m.* 244⁸; 245⁷; *gen. pl. f.* 274¹⁰; 275¹⁰; *gen. pl. n.* 252⁴; 253⁴; 262³⁰; 263³⁰; connected with a superlative it occurs in *aller geistlichste* 258⁴; B a. *geistlichste* 259⁴; and *aller tieffste* 258⁴; 259⁴; *allen dat. pl. m.* 244³⁰; 245³¹; 246³⁴; 247³⁴; 252¹⁰; 253¹⁰; 254³⁰; 255³⁰; 280³⁰; 281³⁰; spelt *allen* 242¹⁰; 282¹⁰; B *allen* 243¹⁷; 283¹⁰; *dat. pl. f.* 264¹; 265¹; 278³⁰; 279³⁰; *dat. pl. n.* 244³⁰; 245¹⁰; 254³⁰; 255³⁰. Note the *Wille* 252³⁰; 253³⁰ is mistake for *Wiler*. *allen* alone, only, *adv.* 246¹³; 248³⁷; 252³¹; 254³⁰; 256¹⁰; 258¹⁰⁻³⁴; 260¹; 262³⁰; 271³⁰; B; 272³¹; 274⁸; 278³⁰; 280³; spelt *allain* 262³⁰; B *allain* 247¹³; 249³⁷; 253³⁰; 255³¹; 257¹³; 259³⁻³⁴; 261¹; 263³⁰⁻³⁰; 273³¹; 275⁹; 279³⁰; 281²; *alline* the fuller form 270³⁰. *allenthalben* everywhere, in every way, *adv.* 248⁸; 249⁸. *aller geistlichste* see sub *all* and *geistlich*. *aller tieffste* see sub *all* and *tieff*. *allesamt* altogether 252¹⁰; spelt in B *alle sampt* 253¹⁰. *all gemeiniglich* in general, *adv.* 280³⁴; spelt in B *all gemayniglich* 281³⁴. *allhie* here, *adv.* 274³⁰; spelt in B *allhie* 275³⁴. *almos* *alma*, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 270¹; spelt *almos* 250¹³; B restores the older and fuller form *almosen* 251¹³; 271¹. *als* as, *adv.* 242³⁰⁻³⁰; 243¹⁰⁻³¹⁻³⁰; 244⁸; 245⁷; 246¹³; 247¹³; 248³⁰; 249³⁰; 258¹⁴⁻³⁰; 259¹⁴⁻³⁰; 266³⁰; 267³⁰; 270⁴; 271⁴; 272⁴⁻¹⁷; 273⁴⁻¹⁷; 278¹; 279¹; 280³⁰; 281³⁰. In the sense of as for example it occurs 257³⁰ it is = that is 262³⁰; 263³⁰; it is followed by the relative, as such who 280¹⁴; 281¹⁴; *als* war = *ja* war *als* as true as 254³⁰; 255³⁰. It corresponds to preceding *so* *ferren*, as far as 250⁹; 251⁹; to preceding *gleich so wenig* 258³⁰; 259³⁰; to preceding *eben* *sonst* 270⁴; 271⁴. It serves

as temporal conjunction *Als* 278¹⁷; 279¹⁰. It stands for *als* *ob* 254³⁰; 255³⁰. It introduces a parenthesis 246¹⁵; 247¹⁵. The spelling *als* is found 242¹⁵; *all* 246⁵; 254³⁰; 256³⁰; 262³⁷; 263³⁷; 280¹⁴; 281¹⁴. B *als* 247⁵; 255³⁰; 257³⁰. In 262³⁰ *als* may be misprint for *an*.

als denn then, *adv.* 256³; B *alsdenn* 257³; spelt *Als denn* 274³⁰; 275³⁰.

also so, thus, *adv.* 244³; 245³; 246³⁷; 247³⁷; 250¹⁻⁵; 251¹⁻⁵; 256³; 257³; 258³⁴; 259³⁴; 262³⁰; 263³⁰; 269³⁰; 270⁸; 271⁸; 274¹²; 275¹²; 276⁸; 277⁸; 280⁷; 281⁷. Spelt in B *also* 268³⁰; *Als* 246³¹; 247³¹; 248³⁰⁻³⁰; 249³⁰⁻³⁰; 280¹³; 281¹³; 284³⁰; 285³⁰; 288³; 269⁸; 274¹⁰; 275¹⁰.

alt old; the uninflected form in connection with a noun 250¹³; 251¹³. See also *alt herkommen*. The inflected forms occurring are *alten dat. sg. f.* 250³¹; B *alten* 251³¹; *alten dat. sg. m.* 268³; 269¹; *dat. sg. n.* 256¹¹; 257¹¹; 261¹⁰; spelt *alt* 260¹⁰; *alt* *acc. sg. m.* 266³⁰; B *alt* 267³⁰.

alt herkommen old usage, old tradition, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 280^{13/13}; B *alt h.* 281^{13/13}.

alweg always, *adv.* 278¹⁰; spelt in B *alweg* 279¹⁰; it shows its original composition as *acc. pl.* in the spelling *alle wege* 266³⁰⁻³⁰; 267³⁰⁻³⁰.

an, *ahn*, *ahn*, *ahn* see sub *an*.

Amen Amen, exclamation 264³⁰; 265¹⁰; spelt *AMEN* 282³¹; 283³⁰.

amt office, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 244³⁴; 245³⁰; 246³⁰; 247³⁰; 254¹⁰; 255¹⁰; 276³¹; 277³¹; *acc. sg.* 248⁹; 249⁹; *amt* *gen. sg.* 244¹; 245¹; 246³¹; 247³¹.

an on, in, with regard to, *prep. w. dat.* 243³⁷; 246³; 247³; 264³⁰; 265³⁰; 276³¹; 277³⁻³¹; 283¹⁷; spelt *ahn* 242³⁰; 276⁹; 282¹⁷; with the *acc.* *an* occurs 270³⁰; 271³⁰; 281¹⁰; spelt *ahn* 280¹⁰; *ahn* 240³; B *An* 241³. With the *dat.* of *m.* or *n.* article it appears contracted to *an* 244¹¹⁻¹²⁻¹⁵⁻³⁴; 245¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻³⁰; 250³⁰; 251³⁰; 253¹⁴; 268^{10-34 bis}; 269^{10-34 bis}; 271⁷; 273³⁰; 277¹⁰⁻³⁰; 279⁷; 280³⁰; 281³⁷; spelt *An* 272³⁰; 273³⁰; *ahn* 252¹⁴; 270⁷; 272³⁰; 276¹⁰⁻³⁰; 278⁶. See also *hat*.

ahn = *ohne* without, *prep. w. acc.* 244⁵; 252¹⁰; 274³⁰; B *an* 245⁴; 253¹³; 275³⁰;

an 252²³; 270²⁶; 276¹⁴; B an 253²³; 271²³; 277¹⁴; the fuller form *anc* occurs 250⁴; 258²⁴⁻²⁵; B an 251⁴; 259²⁴; *anc* 259²⁵. It ought to be noted that *ahn* 274²⁰; B *an* 275²⁰ seems to be the author's slip for *mit*. See sub *mit* and *nyummer* and *an*.

anbetthen worship 256²⁵; B *anbetten* 257²⁵. [*an bitten* = *an bieten*] offer, bitten . . . *an* *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250¹⁰; B *bieten an* 251^{10/11}. *ander* other, *nom. sg. m.* 252¹⁷. 253¹⁷; *acc. sg. f.* 260¹⁵⁻²⁴. 261²⁴; *acc. sg. n.* 264¹⁹. 265¹⁹; *acc. pl. n.* 252². 253²; *andere acc. sg. f. in B* 261¹⁵; *andern gen. sg. m.* 278²⁰. 279²⁰; *dat. sg. m.* 278². 279²; the neuter *anderß* 253¹⁹; it serves as adverb in the sense of otherwise, differently 266¹. 267¹, connected with *nichtß* it has the sense of nothing else 246²³. 247²³; 272¹⁶. 273¹⁶; with *nicht* it means invariably, confidently 280²⁴. 281²⁴; with *bil* it appears 266²⁷. 267²⁷. The spelling is *aanderß* 252¹⁹.

andermal with the indef. article preceding, another time, *adv.* 248²¹; B *unites aindermal* 249²¹.

ander wo elsewhere, *adv.* 262^{24/25}; 264⁵; 280¹¹; in B *anderßwa* 263²⁴; 265⁵; 281¹¹.

anderwert = *andervert* a second time; literally: a second journey, *adv.* 252⁷; in B *anderwryt* 253⁷. See also sub D3, p. 324.

anfang beginning, *s. m., nom. sg.* 252²⁷; 253²⁰. [*anfangen*] commence, start, *angefangen p. p.* 274¹. 275¹.

[*ahn geben*] denounce, *ahn gegeben p. p.* 254²⁰; B *angegeben* 255²⁰.

angeboren congenital 252⁴. 253⁴.

ahn gegeben see *ahn geben*.

angenommen see *annehmen*.

Angefehen considered, considering, *p. p.* serving almost in the function of a conjunction 246⁸. 247⁸; *angefehen* 272²¹. 273²¹.

angeheigt see *anheigen*.

[*ahn halten*] keep on, persevere, *halt . . . ahn sg. imper.* 248²; B *halbt . . . an* 249².

anhangen adhere to, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 246²⁰. 247²⁰.

an hechen instigate, urge, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 278¹⁴; B *an hechen* 279¹⁴.

an maßen sich, arrogate to oneself, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 272¹⁵; B *an maßen* 273¹⁵.

Annaß Annas, proper name, 266²⁰. 267²⁰. *annehmen* accept 242²³; 282⁶; in B *annehen* 243²⁴; 261^{15/16}; 267²²; 277¹⁷; 283⁶; *an nehmen* 266²³/268¹; *ahnnemen* 260^{15/16}; *sich . . . annehmen* take interest in, take pity on 276¹⁷; *ahmpt sich . . . ahn* 252^{27/28}; B *sich . . . an* 253²⁷; *angenahmen p. p.* 266⁹; B *angenommen* 267⁹.

anreißung incitement; *s. f., nom. sg.* 274¹⁹; in B misprinted *anzahßung* 275¹⁹.

anrufen invoke 260²⁰; B *anruffen* 261²⁰; *rufft . . . an imperat. pl.* 280²⁷; B *rufft . . . an* 281²⁷.

ansehen consider 278⁴; B *anfehen* 279⁴; *Sehen wirß darnor ahn we hold* 242¹⁵; B *Se. w. darfür an* 243¹⁶. For the *p. p.* *angesehen* in the function of a conjunction see above.

Antwort answer, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 262⁸; 266¹⁰; 267⁴⁻¹⁰; *Antwortt* 266⁴; B *Antwort* 263⁷.

antwort see sub *antworten*.

antworten answer 264²⁰; B *antworten* 265²⁰; *antworten* 262²⁰; B *antworten* 263²⁰; *Antworten* 270¹¹; B *Antworten* 271¹¹; *antworten* 276²⁰; B *antworten* 277²⁰; connected with *zu*: *zantworten* 268²⁰; B *zantworten* 269²⁰; *antworten pres. ind. 1st pl.* 268⁶; B *antworten* 269⁶; *antwort* shortened from *antwortete*, *past 3d sg.* 272¹⁰; B *antwort* 273¹⁰; *geantwort p. p.* 254^{20/20}; B *geantwort* 255²⁰.

anzeigen indicate, point out; infinitive used as a neuter noun, *acc. sg.* 272²⁰; B *anzeigen* 273²⁰; *anzeigen pres. ind. 1st pl.* 272^{4/5}; B *anzeigen* 273^{4/5}; *anzeigt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 276²⁰; B *anzeigt* 277²⁰; the shortened form *anzeigt* 246²⁷; 274¹⁷; 276¹; B *anzeigt* 247²⁷; 275^{16/17}; 277¹; *heigt . . . ahn pres. ind. 3d sg.* 268¹¹; B *heigt . . . an* 269¹¹; *anzeigt p. p.* 244²³; 258^{20/27}; B *anzeigt* 245²¹; 259^{20/27}.

ap if, conj. 254¹⁸; 280¹²; B *ab* 255¹⁸; 281¹². See also sub *ab*.

ap gleich although, *conj.* 252²⁰; B *abgleich* 253²⁰.

[*apostel*] apostle, *sb. m., aposteln nom. pl.* 278¹⁹; B *Aposteln* 279¹⁹; *gen. pl.* 280¹⁹; B *Aposteln* 281¹⁹; *apelt aposteln* 264²⁴; B *Aposteln* 265²⁴.

[arg] evil, *adj.* *arget* *acc. sg. n.* 242¹³, 243¹⁴.
 Argument argument, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 268¹⁷,
 269¹⁷; *acc. sg.* 270¹¹, 271¹¹.

arm poor, the uninflected form qualifying
 the *nom.* of a neuter noun occurs 260⁵.
 261⁵. The inflected forms appearing with
 the definite article preceding are *arme*
acc. sg. n. 250⁵, 251⁵; *acc. pl. m.* 250²⁸;
 B *armen* 251²⁸; *armen nom. pl. m.* 250²¹.
 251²¹; 272²⁷, 273²⁷; *gen. pl. m.* 250⁷, 251⁷;
 268²⁴, 269²⁴; 274⁶, 275⁶; *gen. pl. n.* 258³⁰;
 259³⁰; 276¹⁷, 277¹⁷; *armen dat. pl. m.*
 274²²; B *armen* 275³⁰. With the *indef.*
art. preceding occurs only the *nom. sg.*
m. armer 276¹⁴, 277¹⁴. In the function
 of a noun, with the *def. art.* preceding
 we find *armen gen. pl. m.* 252², 253²;
acc. pl. m. 246¹⁹, 247¹⁹.

[armuth] poverty, *sb. m., armuth* *gen. sg.*
 274²²; B *armûth* 275²¹. Note the mas-
 culine gender, being the legitimate suc-
 cessor of mhd. *armuot m.* which was in
 use by the side of the strong feminine
armuot.

artidel article, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 264²; *nom.*
pl. 268¹⁰; spelt *Artidell* 268⁸; *artidell*
gen. pl. 274²¹; B spells consistently *Ar-*
tidel in all instances 265² *nom. sg.*;
 269²⁻¹⁰ *nom. pl.*; 275²⁹ *gen. pl.*

auð also, *adv.* 242¹², 243¹⁴; 244⁸⁻³⁵, 245⁶⁻³⁴;
 246⁶⁻⁸⁻¹⁹, 247⁶⁻⁹⁻¹⁹; 248¹⁵⁻²³, 249¹⁴⁻²³;
 250²²⁻²⁶⁻³², 251²²⁻²⁶⁻³²; 252¹⁰⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰, 253¹⁰⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰;
 254¹⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻²²⁻²³, 255¹⁻¹²⁻²²⁻²³; 256¹⁻¹¹⁻²⁰,
 257²⁻¹¹⁻²⁰; 258¹⁻⁵⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁻²⁷, 259⁵⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁻²⁷;
 260²⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁸, 261²⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁸; 262²⁷, 263²⁷;
 264⁵⁻⁸⁻²²⁻³¹, 265⁵⁻⁸⁻²²⁻³⁰; 266⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻²⁹⁻³⁰.
 267⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻²⁹⁻³⁰; 268⁸⁻¹⁷⁻²¹⁻³², 269⁸⁻¹⁷⁻²¹⁻³²;
 270²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁶⁻²⁹, 271²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁶⁻²⁹; 272⁴⁻¹⁰⁻¹³⁻¹⁸⁻³²,
 273⁴⁻¹⁰⁻¹³⁻¹⁸⁻³²; 274¹⁻¹⁷⁻²³⁻²⁹;
 275¹⁻¹⁷⁻²³⁻²⁷; 276²⁵, 277²⁵; 278⁹⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰⁻²³⁻²⁶⁻³⁶,
 279⁹⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰⁻²³⁻²⁶⁻³⁶; 280¹⁻²³⁻²⁸¹⁻²². The spelling *Auð* occurs once
 in A 274⁵; in B three times: 255¹⁴;
 259¹; 275⁵.

auff upon, to, in, *prep. w. dat. and acc.*
 With the *dat.* it occurs 250³¹, 251³¹;
 274², 275²; with *acc.*: 244⁸⁻²⁹ bis, 245⁷⁻²⁸;
 246²²; 248²⁰, 249²⁰; 252¹⁴, 253¹⁴; 258²⁸,
 259²⁸; 260²², 261²²; 262¹⁰⁻²⁸, 263¹⁰⁻²⁸;
 264¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁻²², 265¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁻²²; 268⁶⁻²³⁻²⁴, 269⁶⁻²³⁻²⁴;
 270¹¹⁻³³, 271¹¹⁻³³; 272²⁸, 273²⁸;

274¹¹; 275¹¹; 280²⁴; B spells *auf* in these
 instances: 245²²; 247²²; 281²⁴; *auff* *das*
 so that, with a view that 244⁴; 244⁹.
 245²⁻⁸; 246²², 247^{22/23}; 248¹⁰, 249¹⁰;
 274²⁰, 275²⁵; 276²⁵; B *auf* *das* 277²²;
Auff *das* appears twice in A 246²⁻²²; in
 B it is *Auff* *das* 247²²; and *Auff* *bi* 247⁹;
auff see sub *leht* and *weniger*. See
 also sub *bi* *auff* and *herauff*.

auffblöhen inflate, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 258²; B
auffblöhen 259²; *auffgeblöhen p.p.* 242¹²;
 248¹⁹; B *auffgeblöhen* 243¹²; 249¹⁹.

auffbringen get up, raise 280²; B *auff* *brin-*
gen 281²; connected with *zu*: *auff* *zu-*
bringen 278^{11/12}; B *auffzûbringen* 279¹¹.

auffgeblöhen see *auffblöhen*.

auffgericht see *auffrichten*.

[*auff* *helffen*] help to rise from, *w. gen.*,
hülft ... *auff pres. ind. 3d sg.* 280²⁴; B
hülft ... *auf* 281²⁴.

auffrichten erect, raise 274¹⁰; B *auf* *richten*
 275¹⁰; connected with *zu*: *auff* *zurichten*
 274²⁰; B *auffzûrichten* 275²⁷; *richt* ... *auff*
pres. ind. 3d sg. 270²⁰; B *richt* ... *auf*
 271²⁰; *aufgericht*, *p.p.* 260⁶; 264²⁴⁻³¹;
 280¹², 281¹²; B *aufgericht* 261⁶; 265²²;
auff *gericht* 265²⁰.

auffrur uproar, riot, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 260⁶;
auffrur acc. sg. 278¹²⁻¹⁸; B *auffrûr* 261⁶;
 279¹²⁻¹⁸.

auffsehen looking upon, supervision, *inf.*
 used as neuter noun; *acc. sg.* 246²², 247²²;
 249¹⁰; spelt *auffsehen* 248¹⁰.

auff sperren unbar, unlock 258²⁵; B *auff-*
sperren 259²⁵.

auffsteden set up 250²², 251²²; *auff* *steden*
 this separate spelling appears in both
 for the *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250²⁷, 251²⁷.

auff nemen take up, receive, connected
 with *zu*: *auff* *zu* *nemen* 268²⁰; B *auff* *zû-*
nemen 269²⁰.

aufflösung rescinding, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 276²;
 B *aufflösung* 277².

auff werffen throw up, set up, 248⁶; B *auf*
werffen 249⁶.

[auge] eye, *sb. n., augen dat. pl.* 257²⁷; 258⁹.
 259⁸; 262¹⁷, 263¹⁶; spelt *augen* 256²⁷.
augenblick moment, *sb. m., acc. pl.* 256¹²,
 257¹².

Augustinus Augustine, proper name *nom.*
sg. 266⁷, 267⁷.

auf out of, *prep. w. dat.* 242¹⁰⁻²⁵, 243²⁰⁻²⁵; 244²⁴, 245²³; 246²¹⁻²⁵, 247²¹⁻²⁵; 248⁹, 249⁹; 258²⁰⁻²⁵, 259²¹⁻²⁵; 260²⁻¹⁵, 261²⁻¹⁵; 262²⁰⁻²⁵, 263²⁰⁻²⁵; 264²³, 265²²; 268¹⁸, 269¹⁸; 270²⁵, 271²⁵; 272¹⁴, 273¹⁴; 276²⁰, 277²⁰; 280¹², 281¹²; 282¹, 283¹; **auf** in the sense of **auf** *gehen* occurs 252⁶, 253⁵.
aufbreitung spreading, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 260²; **B** *aufbreitung* 261².
[außerweltlich] elect, *p.p.* used as *adj.* or noun, *außerweltlichen gen. pl. m.* 264⁶; **B** *außerwelten* 265⁶.
aufführen carry out 248²⁴; **B** *aufführen* 249²⁴.
 In the sense of carry out the requirements of establishing anything, clear a claim, a proposition etc. it occurs in *aufführt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 268⁷; **B** *aufführt* 269⁷; *auffgeführt p.p.* 268⁴⁻¹⁰; **B** *auffgeführt* 269⁴⁻¹⁰.
aufführung establishing, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 268¹¹; **B** *aufführung* 269¹¹.
auf *gehen* go out, *a. lassen* issue 246²²; **B** *aufgehen* 247²². *aufgehen pres. ind. 3d pl.* 244¹¹; **B** *aufgehen* 245¹⁰.
aufgelegt see **auflegen**.
auf *geschlossen* excluded, exempted, *p.p.*, occurs in the phrase *wol wir a. haben* we want to have excluded 278¹⁰; **B** *aufgeschlossen* 279¹⁰.
auf *jagen* chase out 252²²; **B** *auf Jagen* 253²².
auflegen interpret 260²⁴; **B** *auflegen* 261²⁴; *auflegen pres. ind. 3d pl.* 266⁶, 267⁶; *legen . . . auf* 260²⁰, 261²⁷⁻²⁸; *auflegt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 242¹⁷, 243¹⁸; contracted with the neuter personal pronoun *es*: *legt's auf* 262², 263¹; *aufgelegt p.p.* 260²⁴.
B *aufgelegt* by misprint 261²⁴.
auflegung interpretation, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 246²⁴, 247²⁴.
aufgenommen exempted, *p.p.* *wir wollen a. haben* we want to have exempted 248¹², 249¹².
aufgeworfen see **aufwerfen**.
aufgehogen *p.p.* taken out, exempted, *wir wollen a. haben* we want to have exempted 250¹⁵; **B** *aufgehogen* 251¹⁵.
aufrichten carry out, accomplish 250²⁴⁻²⁵; **B** *aufrichten* 251²⁴⁻²⁵; 257¹²; spelt *auf-richten* 256¹²; *richt . . . auf imper. sg.* 248⁹, 249⁹.

auffassung exposition, institution, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 264²⁰; **B** *auffassung* 265²⁵; *auffassungen acc. pl.* 280¹²; **B** *auffassungen* 281¹².
auff *schloßen* kick, connected with *prep. zu*: *auf zuschloßen* 278²⁵⁻²⁶; **B** *auf zu schloßen* 279²⁵⁻²⁶.
ausspender dispenser, *sb. m., acc. pl.* 272¹⁷, 273¹⁷.
aussprechenn uttering, infinitive used as neuter noun, *dat. sg.* 260⁶; **B** *aussprechen* 261⁶.
[aufwerffen] cast out, *aufgeworffen p.p.* 244¹⁸, 245¹⁷.
auf *zuschloßen* see **auffschloßen**.

B.

Bapst pope, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 262²¹, 263²¹; 271⁵; 277²¹; *bapst acc. sg.* 264⁷, 265⁷; 270⁵; 276²¹; *bapst* 278²; which serves also for the genitive 276¹⁵; **B** *bapst* 279²; *Bapst* 277¹⁵; *bapst's gen. sg.* 264⁹; **B** *Bapst's* 265⁹.
bann ban, interdict, *acc. sg.* 268²⁷; 274¹⁴, 275¹⁴; **B** *Bann* 269²⁰.
barmherzig merciful, *adj.* 252²², 253²².
barmherzigkeit mercy, pity, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 258²²; **B** *barmherzigkeit* 259²²; *barmherzigkeit dat. sg.* 256²⁰; **B** *barmherzigkeit* 257²⁰.
balb soon, *adv.* 244²⁰, 245²⁰; 246²², 247²²; the older form *balde* 266²², 267²².
[bauch] belly, *sb. m., bauch's gen. sg.* 250⁶, 251⁶.
baum tree, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 258²⁵, 259²⁵.
bawen build, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 268²², 269²².
bedarf see the next.
bedürffen need, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 268²²; **B** *bedürffen* 269²²; *bedarf pres. ind. 3d sg.* 268², 269².
bedeuten signify, mean 262⁴; **B** *bedeuten* 263⁴.
[bedrohen] threaten, *bedrew imper. sg.* 248⁴, 249⁴.
bedünden *flü*, imagine 270⁵; **B** *bedünden* 271⁵.
besinden find, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 274⁹, 275⁹; 276⁵, 277⁵; *besinden's past ind. 3d pl.* contracted with the neuter personal pronoun 260²⁰, 261²⁰.
besolhen see **beschlen**.

besunders see befinden.

begeren desire, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 254³¹. 255³¹; 274²⁵. 275²⁴; begerenn *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 282²⁰; B begeren 283¹⁹.

[begeben] sich happen, result, sich ... begibt *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 278²⁰. 279²⁰.

[begirde] desire, *sb. f.*, begirben *dat. pl.* 250^{24/25}. 251^{24/25}.

begirig desirous 274⁹. 275⁹.

[beginnen] begin, begunnen *past ind. 3^d pl.* 260¹⁹. 261¹⁹.

Begun see sub Megun.

behaft beset, *p.p.* serving as *adj.* 262¹⁵; B behaft 263¹⁵.

behalten retain 258²². 259²².

behilffen helpful, lending help 250²⁰. 251²⁰. This is an adjective formed by means of the affix -en from a noun behilff help.

[behalten] preserve, behält *pres. opt. 3^d sg.* 264¹⁰; B behält 265¹⁰.

beide both, *nom. pl. m.* 256⁶; B beyde 257⁶; beyder *gen. pl. n.* 264²⁰; B beyder 265²⁷.

bey by, at, in, with, *prep. w. dat.* 254¹⁴⁻²²⁻²⁵. 255¹⁴⁻²²⁻²⁵; 263²⁰; 267²²; 268¹⁻⁶. 269⁶. 270²⁻²⁴. 271²⁻²⁴; 276⁵. 277⁵; 280¹⁰. 281¹⁰. 282². 283²; Bey 262²⁰. Contracted with the *dat.* of the neuter article to beim 250²⁵; B bey 251²⁵.

bekennen confess 268²⁰. 269²⁰; 282²⁴. 283⁴.

beflagenn accuse 274²⁰; B beflagen 275²²; beflagen ... sich *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 278²⁷. 279²⁷.

belken bark 244²². 245²⁴.

[bemähen] sich, trouble oneself, *reflex.*, bemähet *p.p.* 246¹²; B bemähet 247¹².

[beruffen] call to, berufft *p.p.* 274¹²; B berufft 275¹²; 255^{10 bis 12}; see also sub ruffen.

beschliessen conclude 280²²; B beschliessen 281²².

beschneidung circumcision, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 246²⁰; B beschneidung 247²⁰.

beschreiben describe, write about 266⁹. It is possible that beschreiben stands short for b. haben; then it is *p.p.* As such the redactor of B must have taken it, since B prints beschryben 267⁹.

[beschuldigen] accuse, beschuldiget *p.p.* 278¹⁹; B beschuidet 279¹⁹.

besondern especially, *adv.* 242²⁰; B besonder 243²¹; Besondern 252⁴; B Besonder 253⁴. The older besundern occurs 274². 282⁶; B has besunder 275²; 283⁶.

beforgen apprehend, be afraid, *inf.* 278²⁷. 279²⁷; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 268¹². 269¹²; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 280¹². 281¹². Note that 268¹² A shows the exceptional *r* form.

besser see sub gut.

bessern make better, amend 280^{14/15}; B bessern 281¹⁴; bessern sich, *reflex.* get better, improve, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 250²². 251²²; 271⁵; spelt bessern 270⁶. See also peßern.

bessers see sub gut.

besserung betterment, improvement, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 254²⁻⁹. 255²⁻⁹; 270²⁰. 271²⁰; 274²⁷. 275²²; 276²⁷. 277²⁷; *dat. sg.* 272¹². 273¹²; *acc. sg.* 268¹². 269¹²; 270²⁷. 271²⁷.

bestellen appoint, united with *zu* in *zube-*stellen 272²⁵; B *zu* bestellen 273²⁵.

bestehn stand, pass examination 258⁹; B besteen 259⁹.

besten see sub gut.

[bestendig] constant, bestendigen *acc. sg. m.* 244⁶. 245⁷.

[bestetigen] confirm, establish the validity of bestetiget *p.p.* 268²⁵; B bestetigt 269²⁵.

besuchen visit 244¹⁹; B besüchen 245¹²; besucht *p.p.* 244¹²; B gesücht 245¹⁷.

besundern see sub besondern.

[betrachten] consider, betracht *past ind. 3^d sg.* 254¹². 255¹².

[betreffen] concern, betreffende *pres. p.* 248²². 249²².

betriegnis deceit, trick played upon one, *sb. f.*, *gen. sg.* 252⁹; B betriegnis 253⁹.

[betrübt] troubled, betrüben *p.p.* used as masculine noun, *dat. pl.* 254²⁴; B betrüben 255²²; *acc. pl.* 246¹⁹. 247¹⁹.

betten = beten pray 270¹. 271¹.

bettel beggery, mendicancy, *sb. m.*, *nom. sg.* 274⁶; B bettel 275⁶.

[bezeugen] bear witness, bezeug *pres. ind. 1st sg.* 248¹; B bezeug 249¹.

bezehl command, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 264²²; B beuel 265²²; beuehl *dat. sg.* 244²⁴; B beuel 245²².

beuehlen command, *inf.* 246²⁷; B beuehlen 247²⁷; 283^{14/15}; spelt beuehenn 282¹⁵; bewillt *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 260¹⁷; B bewillt

261¹⁷; *benohtenn* *p.p.* 272¹⁵; B *benohten* 273¹⁵; 257^{9/10}; spelt *benohtenn* 256¹⁰.

besleiffen sich apply oneself to 246¹⁰; B *besleiffen* 247¹⁰.

[*bewegen*] move, *beweget* *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 268²¹, 269²¹.

bewegung motion, motive, *sb. f., dat. sg.*, 268¹⁷, 269¹⁷. As noted sub verbo, *auch* may be a mistake for *auf* and *auf des gemeinen mannes bewegung* may = modern *von wegen des gemeinen mannes* because of the common people.

bewerung approbation, confirmation, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 254¹, 255¹; 266¹⁴, 267¹⁴; 270²⁴, 271²⁴.

bewtel purse, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 260¹², 261¹².

Bibel Bible, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 246¹², 247¹²; 273²⁰; *acc. sg.* 252²¹, 253²⁰; spelt *bibel* *dat. sg.* 272²¹.

bieten see sub *bitten*.

[*bild*] image, *sb. n., blibe gen. pl.* 272²², 273²².

billich by rights, fairly, properly, *adv.* 250⁶, 251⁶; 266¹⁰, 267¹⁰; 276²⁰, 277²⁰;

billicher comp. 250⁶, 251⁶; 272^{6/7}, 273⁶.

bin see sub *sein*.

bis see sub *bis*.

bischoff bishop, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 242²⁰, 244¹²; 246¹⁷; 272²²; 280²¹⁻²⁴⁻²⁵; *dat. sg.* 246¹²; 266²⁵; 272⁴; 278²; 280²⁰; *acc. sg.* 258²⁰; *nom. pl.* 254¹⁶; *acc. pl.* 244¹⁰; *bischoffen* *dat. pl.* 248¹⁰. With capital initial the word appears as *Bischoff* *nom. sg.* 242¹⁵; 248²⁰; *dat. sg.* 242⁴; *acc. sg.* 240⁴; *acc. pl.* 262²¹; B shows this spelling in the following instances: *Bischoff* *nom. sg.* 243¹²⁻²¹; 245¹²; 247¹⁷; 249²⁰; 273²²; 281²¹⁻²⁵; *dat. sg.* 243⁴; 247¹²; 259²²; 267²²; 279²; 281²⁵; *acc. sg.* 241^{4/5}; *nom. pl.* 255¹²; *acc. pl.* 245⁶; 263²¹; B *Bischoffen* 249¹⁰. The spelling *bischof* occurs in B twice: 281²⁴ as *nom. sg.*; 273⁴ as *dat. sg.*

bis up to, *prep. w. dat.*, connected with *zu* 252²⁴, 253²⁴; with *hie her* 260², 261²; spelt *bis*, connected with *auff* 244²⁰; B *bis* 245²⁰.

bis until, *conj.* 270²⁰, 271²⁰.

bistumb bishopric, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 244⁶; 246²⁵, 247²⁵; *acc. sg.* 278²; 282⁶; spelt *Bistumb* *dat. sg.* 245⁵; *acc. sg.* 279²; 283⁶.

bitten ask, pray, *inf.* 244⁴, 245²; 262²², 263²²; *pres. ind. 1st. pl.* 276²⁵, 277²⁵; which is spelt *biten* 260²; B *bitten* 261²; the curious spelling *bieten* occurs 246²¹; 254²²; 272¹²; B has the familiar *bitten* 247²¹; 255²¹; 273¹²; *bittenn* *inf.* 260⁹; B *bitten* 261⁹; *bittenn* *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 266⁵; B *bitten* 267⁵.

bleiben stay, remain, *inf.* 268¹; 270²⁰, 271²⁰; *bleiben* 251²¹; 269¹; the spelling is *bleiben* 250²¹; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 248²¹; 268⁷; B *bleiben* 249²¹; 269⁷. This is also the spelling in A and B 256¹⁵, 257¹⁵; *bliebe* *past subj. 3d sg.* 266²²; B *blibe* 267²²; *blieben* *p.p.* 252²⁰; B *bliben* 253²⁰; spelt *bliben* 260¹², 261¹².

blindt blind 244²⁵; B *blind* 245²⁴.

blindheit blindness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 250²; B *blindheit* 251².

blutt blood, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 244¹²; 258¹²⁻²²; 264²²; spelt varyingly in B *blut* 245¹⁴; 259²²; and *blitt* 259¹²; 265²².

blutvergicffen bloodshed, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 264⁹; B *blut vergicffen* 265⁹.

born well-spring, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 256²⁴; B *brunnen* 257²⁴.

böse bad, wicked 252¹¹; *böse* 258¹⁰. B *böse* 253¹¹; 259¹⁰; *böse* *acc. pl. n.* 268²²; B *böse* 269²²; *böse* *acc. sg. n.* 268¹², 269¹²; *bösen* *dat. pl. f.* 250²⁴; B *bößen* 251²⁴; 257¹²; *bösen* 256¹²; *bösen* *dat. pl. n.* 276⁶; B *bösen* 277⁶.

With the definite masculine article *böse* serves as *sb. m., nom. sg.* 280²²; B *böse* 281²².

böshheit wickedness, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 268²²; B *böshheit* 269²². The spelling is *böshheit* 244¹²; B *böshheit* 245¹².

branc custom, usage, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 246⁵, 247⁵; *dat. sg.* 266²⁴, 267²⁴; 268², 269¹; *acc. sg.* 266²⁰, 267²⁰.

breit see sub *hett* *breit*.

bringen bring, *inf.* 244²¹; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 268²²; B *bringen* 245²⁰; 269²²; *bringet* *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 258²⁴; B *bringt* 259²⁴. This spelling *bringt* occurs both in A and B 260²⁰, 261²⁰.

breunnen burning, *inf.* used as neuter noun, *acc. sg.* 276⁷; B *brinnen* 277⁷.

Bretlaw proper name 240⁵; 242⁵; 274¹, 275¹; 282²²; B *Bretlaw* 241^{6/7}; 243⁵.

best bread, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 276²²; B *brött* 277²².
 bræðer brother, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 250²²; B *bræðer* 251²².
 bræðerlið brotherly, in a brotherly way, *adv.* 244¹; 282¹²; B *bræðerlið* 245¹; 283¹²; *bræðerliðe* *adj., acc. sg. f.* 242¹²; 268²¹⁻²²; B *bræðerliðe* 243¹²; 269²¹⁻²²; *bræðerliðer* *dat. sg. f.* 242²²; 246⁷; B *bræðerliðer* 243²⁴; 247⁷.
 [bube] rascal, *sb. m., buben* *nom. pl.* 270¹²; B *båben* 271¹².
 bulren commit lewdness, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 268²¹; B *bålen* 269²¹.

C.

[Calixtus] proper name, *Calixti* *gen. sg.* 276¹²; 277¹⁵.
 cançelei chancery, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 268²; B *Cançelei* 269².
 Cardinal cardinal, *sb. m., acc. pl.* 262²¹; B *Carbiñd* 263²¹; *Cardinalenn* *dat. pl.* 264²; B *Cardinålen* 265².
 Caspar proper name, *nom. sg.* 242²; 243²; *acc. sg.* 240²; 241^{10/11}; 282²².
 Caphas Caiaphas, proper name 266²²; 267²².
 [Chorinther] Corinthians, *Chorinthern* *dat. pl.* 242^{10/11}; 273¹²; B *Corinthern* 243¹¹; 275¹²; 277²². Abbreviated *Chorin.* 272¹²; 274¹²; *Chor.* 276²².
 ðór choir, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 272²²; B *Chór* 273²²; *ju ðór gæben* celebrate high mass 252^{21/22}; B by misprint *ja herr gæben* 253²¹.
 [Christ] Christian, *sb. m., Christen* *nom. pl.* 254²⁰; 255²²; *gen. pl.* 244²; 245⁷; *dat. pl.* 274²; 275².
 [Christglaubig] believing in Christ, *Christglaubigen* *gen. sg. m.* 262^{5/6}; B *Christglaubigen* 263⁵; *Christ gläubiger* *gen. pl. n.* 262²²; B *Christgläubiger* 263²².
 Christlið Christian, *adj. standing predicatively* 246²; 247²; *adverbially* 278²¹; 279²¹; *qualifying a noun, with the indef. article preceding* *acc. sg. n.* 246²²; 247²²; 256²; 257²; 274²⁷; 275²². Inflected forms: *Christliðe* *nom. sg. m.* 252²²; B *Christliðe* 253²²; *Christliðe* *nom. sg. f.* 240¹; 241¹; 280⁵; 261⁵; 262²⁵⁻²²; 263²⁵⁻²²; 264⁷⁻¹⁰; 265⁷⁻¹⁰; *acc. sg. f.* 242¹²; 243¹²; 262²⁰; 263²⁰; 264²⁻²; 265²⁻²; 266²⁴; 269²⁴; 274¹²; 275¹²; 276¹²; 277¹²; 278¹²; 279¹²; 280¹²; 281¹²; 282¹²; 283¹²; 284¹²; 285¹²; 286¹²; 287¹²; 288¹²; 289¹²; 290¹²; 291¹²; 292¹²; 293¹²; 294¹²; 295¹²; 296¹²; 297¹²; 298¹²; 299¹²; 300¹²; 301¹²; 302¹²; 303¹²; 304¹²; 305¹²; 306¹²; 307¹²; 308¹²; 309¹²; 310¹²; 311¹²; 312¹²; 313¹²; 314¹²; 315¹²; 316¹²; 317¹²; 318¹²; 319¹²; 320¹²; 321¹²; 322¹²; 323¹²; 324¹²; 325¹²; 326¹²; 327¹²; 328¹²; 329¹²; 330¹²; 331¹²; 332¹²; 333¹²; 334¹²; 335¹²; 336¹²; 337¹²; 338¹²; 339¹²; 340¹²; 341¹²; 342¹²; 343¹²; 344¹²; 345¹²; 346¹²; 347¹²; 348¹²; 349¹²; 350¹²; 351¹²; 352¹²; 353¹²; 354¹²; 355¹²; 356¹²; 357¹²; 358¹²; 359¹²; 360¹²; 361¹²; 362¹²; 363¹²; 364¹²; 365¹²; 366¹²; 367¹²; 368¹²; 369¹²; 370¹²; 371¹²; 372¹²; 373¹²; 374¹²; 375¹²; 376¹²; 377¹²; 378¹²; 379¹²; 380¹²; 381¹²; 382¹²; 383¹²; 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956¹²; 957¹²; 958¹²; 959¹²; 960¹²; 961¹²; 962¹²; 963¹²; 964¹²; 965¹²; 966¹²; 967¹²; 968¹²; 969¹²; 970¹²; 971¹²; 972¹²; 973¹²; 974¹²; 975¹²; 976¹²; 977¹²; 978¹²; 979¹²; 980¹²; 981¹²; 982¹²; 983¹²; 984¹²; 985¹²; 986¹²; 987¹²; 988¹²; 989¹²; 990¹²; 991¹²; 992¹²; 993¹²; 994¹²; 995¹²; 996¹²; 997¹²; 998¹²; 999¹²; 1000¹²; 1001¹²; 1002¹²; 1003¹²; 1004¹²; 1005¹²; 1006¹²; 1007¹²; 1008¹²; 1009¹²; 1010¹²; 1011¹²; 1012¹²; 1013¹²; 1014¹²; 1015¹²; 1016¹²; 1017¹²; 1018¹²; 1019¹²; 1020¹²; 1021¹²; 1022¹²; 1023¹²; 1024¹²; 1025¹²; 1026¹²; 1027¹²; 1028¹²; 1029¹²; 1030¹²; 1031¹²; 1032¹²; 1033¹²; 1034¹²; 1035¹²; 1036¹²; 1037¹²; 1038¹²; 1039¹²; 1040¹²; 1041¹²; 1042¹²; 1043¹²; 1044¹²; 1045¹²; 1046¹²; 1047¹²; 1048¹²; 1049¹²; 1050¹²; 1051¹²; 1052¹²; 1053¹²; 1054¹²; 1055¹²; 1056¹²; 1057¹²; 1058¹²; 1059¹²; 1060¹²; 1061¹²; 1062¹²; 1063¹²; 1064¹²; 1065¹²; 1066¹²; 1067¹²; 1068¹²; 1069¹²; 1070¹²; 1071¹²; 1072¹²; 1073¹²; 1074¹²; 1075¹²; 1076¹²; 1077¹²; 1078¹²; 1079¹²; 1080¹²; 1081¹²; 1082¹²; 1083¹²; 1084¹²; 1085¹²; 1086¹²; 1087¹²; 1088¹²; 1089¹²; 1090¹²; 1091¹²; 1092¹²; 1093¹²; 1094¹²; 1095¹²; 1096¹²; 1097¹²; 1098¹²; 1099¹²; 1100¹²; 1101¹²; 1102¹²; 1103¹²; 1104¹²; 1105¹²; 1106¹²; 1107¹²; 1108¹²; 1109¹²; 1110¹²; 1111¹²; 1112¹²; 1113¹²; 1114¹²; 1115¹²; 1116¹²; 1117¹²; 1118¹²; 1119¹²; 1120¹²; 1121¹²; 1122¹²; 1123¹²; 1124¹²; 1125¹²; 1126¹²; 1127¹²; 1128¹

266², 267^{1/2}; *Concilijß dat. pl.* 264¹⁴, 265¹⁴, 266², 267².
Geftniß Constance, name of place, *dat. sg.* 268⁴⁻⁹, 269⁴⁻⁹.
craft power, sb. f., acc. sg. 266¹⁴, 267¹⁴, 278²⁰; *B craft* 279²⁰.
creuß cross, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 282¹²; *B Creuß* 283¹².
[creußigen] hang on the cross, crucify, *gecreußiget p. p.* 258^{21/22}; *B gecreußiget* 259^{21/22}.
ÿn to *prop. w. dat.* 254¹⁶; *B ÿn* 255¹⁶.
 See also *ÿn*.

D.

[da] *da* when, *conj.* 264²²; 268⁴; 272¹¹; *B da* 265³¹; 269⁴; 273¹⁰.
[da] *da* then, there, *adv.* 268⁹, 269⁹; connected with the relative 244¹⁷; 246²⁰; 248²⁻²⁰; 262¹²; 264⁴; 276¹²; 282⁹; *B da* 245¹⁶; 247³¹; 249²⁻¹⁹; 263¹¹; 265⁴; 277¹²; 283⁹. In relative function it occurs in *da... ein* in which 250^{7/8}; 248^{14/15}; *da... von* of whom; 252¹⁵ of which; 282² *da... für* for which, against which; *B da... ein* 251^{7/8}; *da... von* 249^{14/15}; 253¹⁵; *da... vor* 283²; *Da... vor* 264¹⁰; *B Da... vor* 265¹⁰. In the function of a demonstrative connected with a preposition it occurs in *daßur* 248¹²; *daßur* 254²⁵; *daßur* 242¹⁵; *daßur* 278¹; 280²⁰; *B daßur* 279¹; 281²⁰; *daßür* 243¹⁶; 249¹²; 255²⁰. See also sub *halten*, *sehen*, *schien*. Various are its functions in the following. *Daßer* whence 256⁴, 257⁴; *daßer* thence 252²⁰; *daßer* along 250²⁰; *B daßer* 251²⁰; 253²⁰; *daßeyn* at home 248³¹; *B daßeyn* 249³¹; *daßin* to that 270¹⁸; *B daßin* 271¹⁸; *damit* therewith 258⁶; wherewith 244¹⁰; 254²; *B damit* 259⁶; 245⁹; 255²; *da mitt* wherewith 278¹⁴; *B damit* 279¹²; *damit* wherewith 244⁷; *B damit* 245⁶; *da neben* besides that 246²²; *B da neben* 247²²; *daßan* upon that 254²; *daß an* 248¹⁴ see sub *verhindern*; *daßan* 268² see sub *manßen*; *B daßan* 249¹⁴; 255²; *daßan* 269²; *daßanff* upon which 244⁷; *daßanff* upon that 262²⁰; *B daßanff* 245⁶; 263²⁰; *Daßanff* 268⁶; *B Daßanff* 269⁶; *daßanß* out of which 258²; 278²⁰; out of it 264²²;

270²⁰; *B daßanß* 259²; 265²⁰; 271³¹; 279²⁰; *daßin* in it 252¹²; 276²⁰ see sub *ein* *sehen*; *B daßin* 253¹²; 277²⁰; *daß in* in it 274¹²; *B daßin* 275¹²; *daßnach* after it 244²⁰; *daßnach* 246²²; 256²²; 264²⁰; *daßnach* 280²⁰; *B daßnach* 245²⁰; 247²²; 257²²; 265²⁰; 281²²; *daßumb* therefore, therefor 250¹², 251¹²; 266¹⁰, 267^{9/10}; *daßumb* 280²⁰; 278²⁰; *daßumb* 266⁵; 268²²; *B daßumb* 261²⁰; 267⁵; 269²²; 279¹⁹; *Daßumb* 242²⁰; 244¹⁷, 245¹⁻¹⁶; 246⁵, 247⁵; *Daßumb* 256²²⁻³³; 260²²; 262¹⁴; 266²²; 268¹⁰; 272¹⁹; *Daßumb* 280²¹; *B Daßumb* 257²⁰⁻²²; 261²²; 266¹²; 267²²; 269¹⁰; 273¹⁹; 281²⁰; *da wider* against it 258¹⁹; 264²²; *da wider* 280²; *daß wider* 280²⁰; *B daßwider* 265³¹; *daßwider* 259¹⁹; 261²⁰; 281²; *daß ÿn* to it 256⁹; 278²⁰; *Daßyn* 250²⁰; 254¹⁷; *B daßyn* 257⁸; 279²⁰; *Daß ÿn* 251²⁰; *Daßyn* 255¹⁷.
daßur, *daßur*, *Daßer*, *daßeyn*, *daßin*, *damit*, *daßmitt* see sub *da*.
damit in order that, *conj.* 256²⁷, 257²⁷; *damit* 246²; 248¹¹; 252²²; 258¹⁵; 260⁶; 272¹⁻³¹; 274⁶; *da mitt* 278¹⁴; *B damit* 247²; 249¹¹; 253²²; 273¹⁻³¹; 275⁶; 279¹²; *damitt* 259¹⁵; 261⁵.
Dand thanks, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 260¹¹, 261¹¹.
[danden] thank, *dandt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 256³⁰, 257³⁰.
da neben see sub *da*.
daßne connected with *von*, thence, from there 278², 279⁶.
daßan, *daßanff*, *daßanß*, *daßin* see sub *da*.
daßin see sub *daßin*.
daß in, *daßnach*, *daßnach*, *daßnach*, *daßumb*, *Daßumb*, *daß wider*, *daß wider*, *daßyn* see sub *da*.
daß neuter article, see sub *der*.
daß that, *conj.* 242¹⁵⁻²⁵, 243¹⁶⁻²⁰; 244²⁶, 245¹³⁻³⁴; 246⁸⁻¹⁶, 247²⁻⁸⁻¹⁶⁻³¹; 248³¹, 249¹⁵⁻³¹⁻²²; 250¹⁻⁵⁻⁹⁻¹³⁻¹⁷⁻²²⁻³⁴, 251¹⁻⁵⁻⁹⁻¹³⁻¹⁷⁻²²⁻³⁴; 252⁶, 253¹⁻⁶⁻¹⁵⁻²⁰; 254²⁻¹⁸⁻³⁰⁻³²⁻³³⁻³⁶⁻³⁹, 255²⁻¹⁸⁻²⁹⁻³¹⁻³²⁻³⁵; 256⁴⁻⁶⁻¹⁸⁻²⁵⁻³⁰⁻³⁴, 257¹⁻⁴⁻⁶⁻¹⁷⁻²⁵⁻²⁸⁻³¹⁻³⁴; 258¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²⁶, 259⁷⁻⁹⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²⁶; 260¹⁻¹⁹⁻²⁸, 261¹⁻¹⁹⁻²⁸; 262²¹⁻²²⁻²², 263¹²⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²²; 264¹⁸⁻²⁰⁻²⁵, 265¹²⁻²⁰⁻²⁴⁻²⁷⁻²²; 266⁵⁻¹⁵, 267⁵⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁵; 268¹²⁻²⁶⁻²², 269²⁰⁻²²; 270¹¹⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁸, 271¹⁵; 272¹¹⁻²²⁻³⁰, 273²⁻⁹⁻²²⁻³⁰; 274¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²²⁻²⁶, 275¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²⁷; 276⁷⁻⁹⁻¹⁹⁻²¹, 277⁷⁻⁹⁻¹⁹⁻²¹; 278²⁷, 279²⁷;

280¹⁻⁵⁻³⁶; 281¹⁻⁵⁻³⁶; 282⁴⁻⁵; 283⁴⁻⁵; *Das* 242¹¹; 243¹²; 252¹⁰; 253¹⁰; 254²⁴; 255²⁴; 258¹; 259¹; 264²⁴; 266²²; 267²²; 268¹²; 269¹²; 271¹¹; 272²²; 273²²; 274⁴⁻⁸⁻²¹⁻³¹; 275⁴⁻⁸⁻²⁰⁻³¹; 276¹; 277¹. Of especial interest is *das* 266¹⁷; 267¹⁷; it seems to have there the sense of in that, because. The spelling *Das* occurs in B 267²². The abbreviated form *ḡ* we find in A 244¹⁴; 246³⁻²¹; 248¹⁵⁻²²; 252¹⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻³⁰; 256²²; 258⁷⁻⁸; 262¹⁴; 264²²; 266¹⁴; 272²⁻²⁻⁹; in B 253²²; 269¹²; 271¹²; 273²⁻¹¹; 275²¹. Once we have *ḡ* in A 266²⁵.

daßelb see sub *derfelbe*.

[*daßelb*] there, *adv.* *daßelb* 254¹⁰; *daßelb* 252¹²; 268¹⁴; B *daßelb* 255¹⁶; 269¹⁴; *daßelb* 253¹².

das wenige, *ḡ* wenige see sub *der* wenige. Datum dated 282¹⁷; 283¹².

David proper name 260²⁰; 261²⁰; 262¹⁰; 263⁹.

decken cover up, *in* *decken* 268²⁰; B *decken* 269²⁰.

dein thine, your, *acc. sg. n.* 248⁹; 249⁹; *nom. sg. n.* 262¹⁰; B *Dein* 263⁹; *deinem* *dat. sg. n.* 262¹¹; 263¹⁰; *deinen* *dat. pl. fem.* 244¹⁵; 245¹⁴.

dem see sub *der*.

demnach accordingly, *adv.* 280⁹; B *demnach* 281⁹.

demüt humility, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 262²²; B *demüt* 263²².

den, *denen* see sub *der* and *denn*.

denn then, *adv.* 244⁹; 245⁵; 252²²; 253²¹; 262²²; 263²²; 264²¹; 265²¹; almost the sense of in fact, of course it has 258¹²; 259¹²; 266²²; 267²²; 278²⁰; 279²⁰; augmenting the force of the relative 243¹²; 258²; 259²; the spelling is *den* 242¹²; 250²²; 251²²; 258²²; 259²²; the form *dann* occurs 261²¹; 262¹; 282¹; 283¹.

denn than, *conj.*, after a comparative and *nicht* (ander) 246²²; 247²²; 248¹¹⁻²⁰; 249¹¹⁻¹⁹; 250⁶⁻²⁴; 251⁶⁻²⁴; 252¹⁹; 253¹⁹; 254⁶⁻¹²⁻²²; 255⁵⁻⁶⁻¹²⁻³¹; 256²²; 257²²; 258²¹; 259²¹; 260¹⁶; 261¹⁶; 264¹²; 265¹²; 266⁶⁻²²; 267⁶⁻²²; 270⁶; 271⁶; 272⁷⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁻²¹; 273⁷⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁻²¹; 274²; 275²; 276²²; 277²²; 278⁶⁻²¹⁻²²; 279⁶⁻²¹⁻²²; 280²; 281²; the spelling is *den* 254⁵; the form *dann* occurs 276⁸; 277⁸.

denn for, *conj.* 248¹²⁻²⁴; 249¹²⁻²⁴; 252¹²; 253¹⁷; 264²²; 265²²; 268²²; 269²²; 270¹²; 271¹²; 282²; 283²; the spelling is *Denn* 248⁵; 249⁵. With the *subj. pres.* or *past* of the *verb.* *sein* preceding *denn* has the meaning unless: *es* *sei* *denn* *das*, *es* *wer* *denn* *das* unless it be that: 252⁶; 253⁶; 274²²; 275²¹; *es* *weren* *denn* *alle* *propheten* *selb* unless all the prophets are wrong 272²²; 273²².

dennoch nevertheless, *adv.* 252²²; 253²²; 268¹²; 270²²; the form *dennocht* in B 269¹⁵; 271²².

der the, article, *nom. sg. m.* 242¹⁰; 243¹¹; 244¹⁶⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁻²⁴⁻³⁰; 245¹²⁻¹⁸⁻¹⁹⁻²²⁻²⁹; 246¹⁻³⁻⁵⁻¹⁴; 247¹⁻²⁻⁵⁻¹⁴; 248²²; 249²²; 252⁶ *bis* 6-10-12-19 *bis* 20; 253^{6-7-8-10-12-19 *bis* 25; 254¹²⁻²²; 255¹²⁻²¹; 258¹²⁻²⁴⁻³⁰; 259¹²⁻²⁴⁻³⁰; 260²¹; 261²¹; 262⁴⁻¹⁰⁻¹²⁻²¹; 263⁴⁻⁹⁻¹⁷⁻²¹; 266²⁰⁻²¹; 267²⁰⁻²¹; 268⁴; 269⁴; 270²⁻⁶; 271²⁻⁶; 272¹¹; 273¹⁰; 274⁵⁻²²⁻²²; 275⁵⁻²¹⁻²²; 276⁷⁻¹⁹; 277⁷⁻¹⁹; 278¹²⁻²²; 279¹²; 280²⁷⁻²⁸⁻³¹; 281²² *bis* 31; 282⁵; 283⁵; *Der* *nom. sg. m.* 272¹²; 273¹²; 279²²; *der* *gen. sg. f.* 244²²; 245²²; 246²⁰⁻²⁴; 247²⁰⁻²⁴; 250¹; 251¹; 252⁹⁻¹²; 253⁹⁻¹¹; 254¹⁻²²; 255¹⁻²⁵; 256²¹; 257²¹; 258¹²; 259¹²; 260¹²; 261¹²; 262¹⁴⁻²²; 263¹²⁻²²; 264²; 265²; 266¹⁰; 267¹⁰; 270²; 271²; 272¹²; 273¹²; 274¹²; 275¹²; 276²; 277²; 278²⁴; 279²⁴; 280¹; 281¹; *dat. sg. f.* 242¹⁴; 243¹⁵; 244²⁴; 245²²; 246⁸⁻¹²⁻²²; 247⁸⁻¹²⁻²²; 248⁷⁻²²⁻²²; 249⁷⁻²²⁻²²; 250²¹; 251²¹; 254¹⁰; 255¹⁰; 256²²; 257²²; 260¹²; 261¹²; 262²²; 263²²; 266⁹⁻¹²⁻²⁴⁻²²; 267⁹⁻¹²⁻²⁴⁻²²; 268¹⁻¹²; 269¹⁻¹²; 270¹²⁻²²; 271¹²⁻²²; 272⁹⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰; 273⁹⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰; 274²²; 275²²; 276²¹; 277²¹; 278³⁻⁴⁻¹²; 279³ *bis* 12; 280³⁻⁹⁻²⁰; 281³⁻⁹⁻²⁰; 282²²; *gen. pl. m.* 250⁷⁻¹²; 251⁷⁻¹²; 252²⁻⁷; 253²⁻⁷; 260⁷⁻¹²; 261⁷⁻¹²; 264⁶; 265⁶; 266²⁴; 269²⁴; 274⁶⁻³¹; 275⁶⁻²⁰; 276²¹⁻²⁴; 277²⁰⁻²⁴; *gen. pl. f.* 244⁷; 245⁶; 246²²; 247²²; 254²²; 255²²; 270²⁷; 271²⁷; 272²; 273²; *Der* *gen. pl. f.* 256⁶; 257⁶; *der* *gen. pl. n.* 258²⁰; 259²⁰; 260¹⁴; 261¹⁴; 270¹⁹; 271¹⁹; 272¹⁷⁻²²; 273¹⁷⁻²²; 276¹⁷; 277¹⁷; *des* *gen. sg. m.* 244¹⁰⁻¹²; 245⁹⁻¹¹; 246¹¹⁻²⁰; 247¹¹⁻²⁰; 252⁹; 253⁹; 254²⁰; 255²⁰; 256¹⁷; 257¹⁷; 260²⁷; 261²⁷; 262²; 263⁵; 264²⁻⁹; 265²⁻⁹; 268¹⁷; 269¹⁷; 270⁹; 271⁹; 276¹⁵; 277¹⁵; 278⁴⁻²⁵; 279⁴⁻²⁵; *Des* *gen. sg. m.* 252¹⁰; 253¹⁰; *gen. sg. n.*}

246²⁰; 247²⁰; 248¹²; 249¹²; 250²²⁻²⁵;
 251²⁰⁻²⁵; 252²²; 253²²; 256¹⁸⁻²⁴; 257¹⁸⁻²⁴;
 258²; 259²; 260²; 261²; 264²⁰; 265²⁰;
 268¹⁰; 269¹⁰; 274¹²; 275¹²; 278²⁰; 279²⁰;
 282¹⁷; 283¹⁷; *dem dat. sg. m.* 242⁸; 243⁸;
 244⁴⁻²⁰; 245²⁻²⁰; 246²⁷; 247²⁷; 248¹⁻³²;
 249¹⁻²²; 250²⁷⁻³²; 251²⁷⁻³²; 256⁴; 257⁵;
 260²⁰⁻²⁷⁻³⁰; 261²⁰⁻²⁷⁻³⁰; 262²²; 263²²; 266²⁵;
 267²⁵; 274¹²; 275¹²; 276²¹; 277²¹; 280²⁰⁻²²;
 281²⁰⁻²²; *Dem dat. sg. m.* 242²; 243²; *dem*
dat. sg. n. 244¹²⁻²²; 245¹²⁻²⁷; 246¹⁰⁻¹²;
 247¹⁰⁻¹²; 248²⁰; 249²⁰; 252²⁴; 253²²; 254¹²;
 255¹²; 260¹²; 261¹²; 262¹⁰⁻²⁰; 263⁰⁻²⁰;
 264²⁰⁻²²; 265²²⁻²⁵; 266²²; 267²²; 268²⁰;
 269²⁰; 274⁰⁻²⁰; 275⁰⁻²⁵; 276²²; 277²²;
 278¹²; 279¹²; 280¹⁹⁻²¹; 281¹⁹⁻²¹; 282¹²;
 283¹¹; *den acc. sg. m.* 240²; 241⁴; 242²⁴;
 243²⁵; 244¹²⁻²⁰; 245¹¹⁻²⁰; 246¹; 247¹;
 248²⁷; 249²⁰; 250²⁻¹⁰; 251¹⁻²⁻¹⁰; 252¹⁻¹²;
 253¹⁻¹²⁻²⁰; 254^{6 bis}; 255⁵⁻⁶; 256¹⁷⁻²⁰;
 257¹⁰⁻²⁰; 258²⁰⁻²²⁻²⁴; 259¹⁰⁻²⁰⁻²⁴; 260²⁷⁻³⁰;
 261²⁰⁻²⁰; 262²¹; 263²¹; 264⁷⁻²⁴⁻²⁵⁻²⁹; 265⁷⁻²²⁻²⁴⁻²⁹;
 270⁵; 271⁵; 272²²; 273²²; 274⁴⁻¹⁴⁻²²⁻²²;
 275⁴⁻¹⁴⁻²¹⁻³⁰; 276²¹; 277²¹; 278²⁻⁷⁻²⁰⁻²⁵;
 279²⁻⁷⁻²⁰⁻²⁵; 280¹⁰⁻²⁷; 281¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁻²⁷;
 282¹¹; 283¹¹; *den acc. sg. m.* 250¹; 280¹²;
Den acc. sg. m. 258²²; B *Den* 259²²; *den*
dat. pl. m. 244¹⁵⁻¹⁷; 245¹⁵⁻¹⁶; 248¹⁵⁻¹⁷;
 249¹⁰⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁷; 254²²; 255²⁷; 256^{5-31 bis 24};
 257^{5-31 bis 24}; 258⁶; 259⁶; 260²¹; 261²¹;
 262¹²⁻²⁴; 263¹²⁻²⁴; 264¹²⁻¹⁴; 265¹²⁻¹⁴; 270⁵⁻¹⁵⁻²⁴;
 271⁵⁻¹⁵⁻²⁴; 274²⁻³⁻⁴⁻²¹⁻²²; 275^{2 bis 4-20-27-30};
 283¹⁰; *den dat. pl. m.* 248¹⁰;
 274²²; 282¹⁰; *den dat. pl. f.* 246¹⁰; 247¹⁰;
 248⁸; 249⁸; 254¹⁴; 255¹⁴; 256¹²; 257¹²;
 258²; 259²; 278¹²; 279¹²; *dat. pl. n.* 246^{20 bis};
 247^{20 bis}; 262¹⁷; 263¹²; 264¹⁴⁻²⁰; 265¹⁴⁻²⁰;
 274²⁻²⁰; 275²⁻²⁰; *die nom. sg. f.* 242¹¹;
 243¹²; 244²²; 245²¹; 246²; 247²; 252⁴⁻¹²;
 253⁴⁻¹²; 256¹¹; 257¹¹; 262^{5-7-25-22 bis};
 263^{5-6-25-22 bis}; 264⁶⁻⁷⁻⁹⁻²⁴; 265⁶⁻⁷⁻⁹⁻²²;
 266²²; 267²²; 268²¹; 269²¹; 272⁹; 273⁹;
 278²⁰; 279²⁰; 280¹⁻²; 281¹⁻²; 282⁴; 283⁴;
Die nom. sg. f. 262⁹; 263⁷; *die acc. sg. f.*
 242¹⁴; 243¹⁵; 244¹⁰⁻¹²; 245¹⁵⁻¹²; 246¹⁻²⁴;
 247¹⁻²⁴; 248¹²; 249¹²; 252²¹; 253²⁰; 254⁵⁻⁷⁻²⁰;
 255⁵⁻⁷⁻²⁰; 256¹¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁰; 259¹¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁰;
 260¹⁷⁻²²⁻²⁴; 261¹⁷⁻²²⁻²⁴; 262⁹⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰;
 263⁸⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁸⁻²⁰; 264¹⁻⁸⁻²²; 265¹⁻⁸⁻²²; 266¹⁶⁻²¹;
 267¹⁶⁻²¹; 268¹¹; 269¹¹; 270¹²; 271¹²; 272⁷⁻¹²;
 273⁷⁻¹¹; 276⁵; 277⁵; 278¹⁵⁻²⁰⁻²⁰; 279

14-20-20; 280²²; 281²²; *nom. pl. m.* 244⁰⁻²⁷;
 245⁰⁻²⁰; 250⁹; 251⁹; 254⁹; 255⁹; 256⁴;
 257⁴; 262⁷; 263⁶⁻¹⁷; 264⁸; 265⁸; 266⁴;
 267⁴; 268¹⁰⁻¹²; 269¹⁰⁻¹²; 270²⁵; 271²⁵;
 272²²⁻²⁷⁻³¹; 273²²⁻²⁷⁻³¹; 274⁰⁻²⁰; 275⁰⁻²⁰;
 276²²; 277²²; 278¹⁷⁻²⁵⁻³¹; 279¹⁷⁻²⁵⁻³⁰; *Die*
nom. pl. m. 244²⁴; 245²²; 250²¹; 251²¹;
 262²²; 263²²; 264⁴; 265⁴; *by nom. pl. m.*
 262¹²; *die nom. pl. f.* 264²; 265²; *nom.*
pl. n. 248⁷; 249⁷; 262²²; 263²²; 268⁷; 269⁷;
 270²; 271²; *acc. pl. m.* 240⁶; 241⁸; 244¹⁰⁻²⁰;
 245⁰⁻²⁵; 246¹⁹; 247¹⁹; 248^{2 bis 12};
 249^{2 bis 12}; 250²²; 251²²; 252¹⁴; 253¹⁴;
 256²⁰; 257²⁰; 268¹²; 269¹²; 272²²⁻²⁰; 273²²⁻²⁰;
 278¹⁰; 279¹⁰; *Die acc. pl. m.* 262²⁰;
 263²⁰; *die acc. sg. f.* 250¹²; 251¹²; 254²;
 255²; 280¹²⁻²²; 281¹²⁻²²; *acc. pl. n.* 244²⁰;
 245¹⁹; 246¹²; 247¹²; 248⁷; 249⁷; 252²⁻¹²;
 253²⁻¹²; 258⁶; 259⁵; 266¹; 267¹; 272²²;
 278²²; 279²²; *Die acc. pl. n.* 264¹¹;
 265¹¹; *den nom. sg. n.* 245²; 247²²; 252¹¹;
 253¹¹; 254⁴; 255⁴; 258⁴; 259⁴; 260¹²;
 261¹²; 262⁴⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰; 263⁴⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻²⁰; 264⁹;
 265⁹; 266¹⁴⁻²²; 267¹⁴⁻²²; 268¹⁷; 269¹⁷;
 270¹²; 271¹²⁻²²; 272²²; 273²²; 280⁹; 281⁹;
Den nom. sg. n. 262¹; 263¹; *by nom. sg. n.*
 244²; 246²²; 263¹¹; 270²²; *den acc. sg. n.*
 240²; 241²; 244⁵; 245⁴; 246²⁰; 247²⁰;
 248²; 249²⁻⁹⁻²⁰⁻²⁷; 250⁵⁻¹²⁻¹⁵; 251⁵⁻¹²⁻¹⁵;
 254⁵⁻²⁰; 255⁵⁻²⁰; 256¹⁶⁻²²⁻²⁵; 257¹⁶⁻²²⁻²⁵;
 258^{7-22 bis 259-7-10-22}; 260¹⁰⁻²²; 261¹⁰⁻²²;
 262¹¹; 263¹⁰; 264²²⁻²⁶⁵⁻²⁷⁻²²; 266⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁷⁻¹²;
 267⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁷⁻¹²; 268¹⁴⁻²⁴⁻²⁵⁻²⁹⁻²²; 269¹⁴⁻²⁴⁻²⁵⁻²⁹⁻²²;
 270¹¹; 271¹¹; 274¹²; 275¹²; 276⁷⁻¹⁵⁻²²;
 277⁷⁻¹⁵⁻²²⁻²⁵; 278⁸⁻⁷⁻¹⁴⁻²²⁻²¹⁻²²; 279⁸⁻⁷⁻¹⁴⁻²²⁻²¹⁻²²;
 282⁶; 283⁶; *by acc. sg. n.* 248⁰⁻²⁰⁻²⁷;
 258¹⁰; 259²²; 264²²; 276²².

der he that one, demonstrative, nom. sg. m.
 258¹⁴⁻²¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁵; 259¹⁴⁻²¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁵; 262¹²; 263¹²;
 264²⁷⁻²²; 265²²⁻²⁷; 280¹⁶; 281¹⁶; *dat. sg. f.*
 264²; 265²; *des gen. sg. n.* 256¹⁰⁻¹²; 257¹⁰⁻¹²;
Des 272¹²; 273¹¹; *dem dat. sg. m.* 242²²;
 243²²; 252¹⁰; 253¹⁰; 274²⁷; 275²²; *den*
dat. pl. m. 252¹²; 253¹²; *denen* 252²¹;
 268²²; B *dieuen* 253²¹; 269²²; *die nom.*
pl. m. 244²²; 245²¹; 246¹⁹⁻²²; 247¹⁹⁻²²;
 260¹⁹; 261¹⁹; 266¹²; 267¹²; 276¹²; 277¹²;
 280¹⁴; 281¹⁴; *acc. pl. m.* 250¹²; 251¹²;
nom. pl. f. 260¹²; 261¹²; *des nom. sg. n.*
 242²²; 243²²; 244¹²⁻²²; 245¹²⁻²²; 247²²;
 254¹²; 256¹⁷; 257¹⁷; 259²²; 262⁵; 263⁵;

264¹²⁻²⁰; 265¹²⁻²⁰; 266¹; 270²⁰; 271²²⁻²⁰;
274²¹; 275²⁰; *Das* *nom. sg. n.* 252¹; 253¹;
264⁰; 265⁰; 267¹; *h3* *nom. sg. n.* 246²⁰;
255¹²; 258²⁴; 270²².
 der who, which, relative, *nom. sg. m.* 248².
249²; 252¹⁰; 253¹⁰; 254¹⁵⁻³¹; 255¹⁵⁻²⁰;
258¹⁴; 259¹⁴; 262²²; 263²²; 274¹⁴; 275¹⁴;
276¹²; 277¹²; 278²⁻⁵; 279²⁻⁵; *gen. pl. n.*
252²⁰; 253²⁰; *Der* *gen. pl. f.* 262²²; 263²²;
des *gen. sg. m.* 246¹⁵; 247¹⁵; *dem* *dat. sg.*
m. 256²¹; 257²¹; 280⁴; 281⁴. Note that
dem 248⁷; 249⁷ is possible mistake for
den *dat. pl. m.* referring to the preceding
lerer which may be mistake for *lerer*. *Dem*
278²²; 279²²; *die* *nom. sg. f.* 266²⁰; 267²⁰;
nom. pl. m. 244¹⁰⁻¹⁷⁻²⁵⁻²⁷⁻³²; 245¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁻²⁴⁻²⁶⁻²²;
246²⁰; 247²⁰; 248¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰⁻²⁰; 249¹⁰;
19 *bis* 20; 260²¹; 261²¹; 268²⁵; 269²⁴; 270²⁵.
271²⁵; 278²²; 279²²; 282²⁰; 283¹⁹; *Die*
nom. pl. m. 270⁰; 271⁰; *die* *nom. pl. f.*
256²⁵; 257²⁵; *das* *nom. sg. n.* 256²²⁻²⁰;
257¹²⁻²²⁻²⁰; 258⁵⁻¹⁰; 259⁴⁻¹⁰; 260²⁷; 261²⁷;
262⁹⁻¹²; 263⁰⁻¹¹; 264¹⁵; 265¹⁵; *Das* *nom.*
sg. n. 282⁰; 283⁰; *h3* *nom. sg. n.* 256¹².
 der gleichen the like 250²⁰⁻²⁴; 251²⁰⁻²⁴; 254²⁰.
 B dergleichen 255²⁰; 256²⁰/258¹; 257²⁰/259¹.
 derhalb on that account, *adv.* 248¹²; 266¹².
267¹²; 268^{4/5}; 269⁴; 274²⁰; 275²⁰; 282².
283²; *der halb* 242¹⁷; *Der halb* 256¹⁰;
258¹²; B *Derhalb* 257¹⁹; 259¹²; *derhalbe*
274²; *der halben* 272²⁰; 278¹⁰; B *derhal-*
ben 273²⁰; 275²; 279¹⁰.
 [der ienige] the one, that one, *die ienigen*
nom. pl. m. 268^{12/19}; *die ienige* *nom. pl.*
m. 270¹¹; *die ienigen* *nom. pl. m.* 248¹⁴;
acc. pl. m. 246²⁰; *die ienigen* *nom. pl. m.*
270²²; 278²⁷; *acc. pl. m.* 244²⁰; B has
consistently *die ienigen* 245²²; 247²²;
249¹⁴; 269¹⁹; 271^{11-22/23}; 279²⁷; *das*
ienige *acc. sg. n.* 282¹⁵; B *das ienige*
283¹⁵; *h3* *ienige* *nom. sg. n.* 258¹⁷; B *das*
ienige 259¹⁷.
 der massen see sub *masse*.
 [derselbe] the same, *der selben* *gen. sg. f.*
264⁵; B *derselben* 265⁵; *der selben* *dat.*
sg. f. 242²¹; B *derselben* 243²²; *derselben*
gen. sg. m. 280^{12/14}; B *derselben* 267²⁰; *die*
selb *nom. sg. f.* 266²⁰; 267²⁰; *acc. sg. f.*
274¹²; 275¹²; *die selben* *nom. pl. m.* 256²².
257²²; *acc. pl. m.* 272²²; 273²²; *dasselb*
nom. sg. n. 264¹²; 265¹².

beßhalb on that account, *adv.* 274¹⁴; 275¹⁴.
beßthen interpret, interpretation, *inf.* used
as neuter noun, *nom. sg.* 260¹²; B *beßthen*
261¹²; *beßthen* *dat. sg.* 256⁷; B *beßthen*
257⁷; *gebeßth* *p.p.* 260¹¹⁻¹⁷; B *gebeßt*
261¹¹⁻¹⁷.
beßtung interpretation, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 260¹¹;
B *beßtung* 261¹¹; *beßtung* *acc. sg.* 260¹⁵;
B *beßtung* 261¹⁵.
beßisch German, *adj.* used as neuter noun,
acc. sg. 262²⁰; B *Beßisch* 263²⁰.
beß see sub *Da*.
bieuen (B) see sub *ber*.
bieuen serve, 256⁰; 257⁰.
bieuer servant, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 256²⁵; 257²⁵;
278²⁰⁻²⁴⁻²⁰; 279²⁰⁻²²⁻²⁰; *acc. pl.* 272¹⁷.
273¹⁷.
bieß service, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 250^{0 bis};
256⁰⁻¹⁰; 262²; *dat. sg.* 254²²; 256⁵; 260²⁰;
acc. pl. 252²⁰; B *bieß* 251^{0 bis}; 253²⁰;
255²²; 257⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁰; 261²⁰; 263².
bießer this one, *dat. sg. f.* 282⁰; *gen. pl. n.*
260²⁰; B *bießer* 283⁰; 261²⁰; *bieße* *nom.*
pl. m. 248²²; 268²⁻²⁴; B *bieße* 249²²; 269²⁻²²;
bieße *acc. sg. f.* 280²⁰; B *bieße* 281²⁰; *bie-*
ßen *dat. pl. f.* 282⁰; B *bießen* 283⁰; *bieß*
gen. sg. n. 254²⁴; 280²⁴; B *bieß* 255²⁴;
281²⁴; *Diß* *nom. sg. n.* 266²⁰; B *Diß* 267²⁰;
biß *nom. sg. n.* 282⁴; B *biß* 283⁴; *biß*
nom. sg. n. 276²⁰; 277²⁰; 280²; 281²; *acc.*
sg. n. 248¹²; 249¹²; 272²⁰; 273²⁰; *Diß*
244⁰; 245⁰; 258²⁰; 259²⁰.
bie weil since, *conj.* 244⁰; 262²¹; 276⁷;
B *biweyl* 245⁵; 263²¹; 277⁷; *Die weil*
262¹; B *Die weyl* 261²¹.
bing thing, *sb. n., acc. pl.* 242¹⁷; 248¹²;
262²⁰; 263²⁰.
[bißputiren] dispute, *inf.* used as neuter
noun, *bißputirens* *gen. sg.* 268⁵; B *bißpu-*
tirens 269⁵.
boß yet, *adv.* 246²; 247²; 250⁴⁻²⁵; 251⁴⁻²⁵;
254⁴; 255⁴; 256²⁴⁻²⁰; 257²⁴⁻²⁰; 258¹⁰;
259¹⁰; 260²⁰; 261²⁰; 262²⁰; 263²⁰; 266⁵⁻¹¹.
267⁵⁻¹¹; 270²⁻¹⁰; 271²⁻¹⁰; 272¹⁵⁻²⁴; 273¹⁵⁻²⁴;
274¹²; 275¹²; 276⁵⁻¹²⁻²²; 277⁵⁻¹²⁻²²;
278²⁻¹⁰⁻²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁵; 279²⁻¹⁰⁻²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁵; 282¹².
283¹²; *Doß* 262²⁷; 263²⁷; 270²⁰; 271²⁰;
272¹²; 273¹²; 274²⁵; 275²⁴; 276⁰; 277⁰;
278¹; 279¹; 282¹; 283². Note that *boß* 266⁵
may be mistake for *and* which goes with
the preceding *Es*, meaning so in fact.

[*doerff*] village, *sb. m.*, *doerffer acc. pl.* 272²⁰; *doerfferen dat. pl.* 274²; *doerfferen dat. pl.* 260⁸; B *doerffer* 273²⁰; *doerfferen* 261⁸; 275².

doerffparrer village pastor, *sb. m.*, *nom. sg.* 276¹⁴; B *doerff parrer* 277¹⁴.

[*Dorothēe*] Dorothy, proper name, *ju S. Dorothēen* at S. Dorothy's 274¹. 275^{1/2}.

dre three 270²⁰; B *dre* 271²⁰.

dringen urge 248²⁰; B *dringen* 249²⁰.

bruden print 268¹¹; B *bruden* 269¹¹; *Gebrudt p.p.* 262²².

Du thou, you, *nom. sg.* 244¹². 245¹¹; 248⁸⁻¹⁵; 249⁸⁻¹⁵; *du* 244¹⁴. 245¹²; *du* *acc. sg.* 244¹². 245¹²; 248²¹. 249²¹. *Jhr* you, *nom. pl.* 244¹²; B *Jr* 245¹⁷; *spelt jhr* 260¹²; B *jr* 261¹²; *end* you, *dat. pl.* 262¹. 263¹; 280⁴. 281⁴; *acc. pl.* 244¹⁰. 245¹⁸; 278²². 279²².

durck through, by means of, by, *prep. w. acc.* 242²⁴. 243²⁵; 244¹²⁻²². 245¹¹⁻²¹; 250¹⁸. 251¹⁸; 252¹. 253¹; 254²⁷. 255²⁷; 256¹⁹. 257¹⁹⁻²²; 258^{7-12-14 bis 20-22-33}. 259^{7-12-14 bis 19-22-33}; 260⁸⁻²³⁻²⁴. 261⁸⁻²³⁻²⁴; 262^{25 bis}. 263^{25 bis}; 264²⁴⁻²⁵⁻³². 265²³⁻²⁴⁻³¹; 266¹⁵⁻¹⁸. 267¹⁵⁻¹⁸; 268¹⁰⁻²¹. 269¹⁰⁻²¹; 274²¹. 275²⁰; 276². 277²; 280⁷. 281⁷; 282²²; *durck* 256¹⁹; 258¹²; *Durck* 240⁶. 241⁸; it has the meaning of because of 268²⁵. 269²⁵. With the neuter personal pronouns contracted to *durcks* 264¹⁻¹⁹. 265¹⁻¹⁹; 266²¹⁻²². 267²¹⁻²²; 270¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²². 271¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²²; *do durck* thereby 250¹⁷; 254⁷; 262¹⁶; 276²⁷; 278¹²; B *dadurck* 251¹⁷; 255⁷; 263¹⁵; 277²⁷; 279¹².

doerffen need, dare, *inf.* 274²⁰; B *doerffen* 275²⁰; *doerffen inf.* standing for the *p.p.* 266²²; B *doerffen* 267²²; *doerffen pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 254^{3/4}; 268²²; B *doerffen* 255²; *doerffen* 269²²; *doerffen pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 276¹⁰; B *doerffen* 277¹⁰; *darff pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 280⁵. 281⁵.

E.

eben even, just, *adv. c.* [until just as much] 270². 271⁴.

eben *bild* image, likeness, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 262⁵; B *ebenbild* 263⁵.

[*edel*] noble, *Edelenn acc. pl. m.* 240⁸; B *Edelenn* 241⁸.

edelkint men of the nobility, *sb. m.*, *pl. nom.* 254¹²; B *Edelkint* 255¹².

celich married, marital, *c. werden* marry 276⁷. 277⁷; *celichen acc. sg. m. den c.* standt matrimony 274²²; B *celichen* 275²⁰.

et see sub *et*.

Egipcier Egyptian, *sb. m.*, *nom. pl.* 262¹⁸. 263¹⁷.

et ere, before, *conj.* 250¹²; B *et* 251¹².

ehbrud adultery, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.* 256²⁸; B *ehbrud* 257²⁸.

et see sub *et*.

et see sub *et*.

et honor, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 254¹²; *dat. sg.* 278²; *acc. sg.* 254²⁰; 258¹¹⁻²⁰⁻²²; 262¹⁰; *et* *nom. sg.* 260¹; B *et* 261¹; *et* *dat. sg.* 278¹. 279¹; this spelling in B also for the *acc. sg.* 263¹⁸; while 255¹²⁻²⁰; 259²⁰⁻²²; 279² it is spelled *et* and 259¹¹.

et; *et* *dat. pl.* 278²²; B *et* 279²². *etlich* honest, contributing to one's honor 282¹⁶; B *etlich* 283¹⁶.

eigen own, *dat. pl. f.* 248⁶; *acc. sg. f.* 252¹⁵; B *eigen* 249⁶; 253¹⁵; *eigen dat. sg. n.* 282²; B *eigen* 283²; *eigen dat. pl. m.* 270²⁴; B *eigen* 271²⁴; *eigen nom. sg. n.* 246¹⁶; B *eigen* 247¹⁶. Special attention should be given to *eigen acc. sg. m.* in *eigen un* 242¹²; 258²²; B *eigen un* 243^{13/14}; 259²². It may form a unit with *un* and so belong under *eigen un*. *eigne nom. sg. f.* 258⁴; B *eigne* 259⁴; *eigne nom. sg. f.* 254¹²; 256²; *acc. sg. f.* 252⁴; 258²²; B *eigne* 253⁴; 257⁷; *eigne* 255¹²; 259²²; *eigne nom. pl. n.* 250¹⁹; B *eigne* 251¹⁹; *eigener dat. sg. f.* no article preceding 262¹⁵; *dat. sg. f.* 278¹; B *eigener* 263¹⁴; 279¹; *eigener nom. sg. m.* 254²; B *eigener* 255².

eigentlich properly, really, *adv.* 252¹⁷; 270¹²⁻²²; 282¹¹; B *eigentlich* 253¹⁷; *eigentlich* 271¹²⁻²²; 283¹¹.

ein a, *indef. article, nom. sg. m.* 242¹⁵; 244²⁰; 246¹⁷; 248²⁰; 250⁹⁻¹⁰; 252^{17 bis 27}; 254¹⁴; 256²⁴⁻²⁶; 258²²; 266^{1 bis 26}; 270²¹; 272²²; 276¹⁴⁻²²; 280³⁴⁻³⁵; 282¹⁰; *acc. sg. m.* 250²⁷; *nom. sg. f.* 250⁷; 258²²; 262¹⁰; 264²⁶; 270⁸; 272⁹; 274¹⁹; 276²⁷; *acc. sg. f.* 242¹⁸; 250²⁶; 252²⁷; 274¹²; 276²⁷; 280²; *nom. sg. n.* 252^{4-23-27 bis}; 256²⁰; 262⁹; 276⁹; *acc. sg. n.* 246²¹; 250¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹²;

256¹; 268¹⁰; 272¹; 276¹⁴; *eiun nom. sg. n.* 252²³; *eyu nom. sg. m.* 244¹³; B throughout *ain* 243¹⁶⁻¹⁹; 245²⁸; 247¹⁷⁻²²; 249³⁰; 251⁷⁻⁹⁻¹⁰ bis 11-12-26-27; 253⁴⁻¹⁷ bis 23-26 quater; 255¹⁴; 257²⁻²⁰⁻²⁴⁻²⁶; 259²⁵⁻²⁹; 263⁸⁻⁹⁻²⁶⁻³⁰; 265¹⁸⁻²⁵⁻³⁵; 267¹⁻²⁶; 269¹⁹; 271⁹⁻²¹; 273¹⁻⁹⁻²⁸; 275¹³⁻¹⁹; 277⁹⁻¹²⁻¹⁴ bis 27-32; 281²⁻³⁴ bis; 283¹⁰; *Ein* 240¹; B *Ein* 241¹; *eine nom. sg. f.* 244⁶; 260⁵⁻²⁴; 262²⁰; 274²⁷; B has throughout *ain* 245⁵; 261⁵⁻²⁴; 263²⁰; 275²⁶; *eine acc. sg. f.* 250²²; 264³⁻⁴; 266³⁰; 270³⁴; B has *aine* 259²²; 265⁸; but *ain* 267³⁰; 271²²; 265⁴ it has *ainen*, substituting the masculine for the feminine gender of A. *eyne nom. sg. f.* 248⁵; B *ain* 249⁵; *einem dat. sg. m.* 244¹³; 246¹³; 256²¹; 262²²; 276¹³; 278²⁻⁵; B *ainem* 245¹²; 257²¹; 263²²; 277¹²; 279²; *aynem* 247¹²; 279⁵; *eynem dat. sg. m.* 276²¹; B *ainem* 277²¹. In the function of a masculine noun *einem* occurs 244²⁰; B *ainem* 245²⁴; *ainen acc. sg. m.* 244⁸; 254³⁴; 258³⁻¹⁵; 262⁸; 264⁴ bis; 266²⁰; 280⁴; B *ainen* 245⁷; 259³⁻¹⁵; 265⁴ bis; 267²⁰; 281⁴; *aynen* 255²⁴; 263⁷; *eines gen. sg. m.* 248²⁰⁻²⁰; 278²⁸; B *aines* 249²⁰⁻²⁰; 279²⁸; *eius nom. sg. n.* 264¹⁹; B *ains* 265¹⁹.

[*ein*] one, numeral, *eiut nom. sg. f.* 254²⁴; B *aine* 255²⁴; *einer nom. sg. m.* 252²¹; 254¹⁸; B *ainer* 253³⁰; 255¹⁸; *einner nom. sg. m.* 274²¹; B *ayner* 275²⁰; *eyner nom. sg. m.* 268⁷; B *ainer* 269⁷.

einander one another 242¹⁹; B *ainander* 243²⁰.

einfeltheit simplicity, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 270¹²; B *ainfeltheit* 271¹².

[*einfelbig*] simple-hearted, *einfelbigen acc. sg. m.* 274⁴; B *ainfeltigen* 275⁴; *einfelbige acc. sg. f.* 280²⁶; B *ainfelstige* 281²⁶; the *adj.*; appears in the function of a masculine noun in the following: *einfelbigen nom. pl.* 262²⁰; *gen. pl.* 250⁷; 268²⁴; 276²⁴; B *ainfeltigen* 263²⁰; 251⁷; 269²⁴; 277²⁴; *einfelbigenn dat. pl.* 274^{2/3}; B *ainsfeltigen* 275⁴.

einu fuhrenu introduce, lead to think, *inf.* 254^{26/27}; B *einfuren* 255²⁰; *infuren pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 246²⁰; B *einfuren* 247²⁰; *ein gefurt p.p.* 250⁵; B *eingefurt* 251⁵.

ein gehu enter 252⁶⁻⁷; B *ein geen* 253⁶; *eingeen* 253⁷.

ein gefurt see sub *einu fuhrenu*.

eingesast see sub *einsechen*.

ein sechen look into, take steps to remedy 250⁸; B *einsechen* 251⁸.

ein treten come in, set in 248¹⁰; B *ein treten* 249¹⁰.

einig being without, free from, *adj.* governing the genitive 258⁵; B *ainig* 259⁵; cf. mhd. *weneo* free from, a derivative of the *prep.* *âne*, without, which at an early date was mixed up with *eines*, solitary; see Lexer I⁶⁶⁻¹²³ and compare *aleine von der sunde*, free from sin *ibid.* I²⁰.

[*einig*] only, single, unique, *einige nom. sg. f.* 244⁶; *acc. sg. f.* 264¹; *nom. sg. n.* 244⁹; *acc. sg. n.* 256²⁰; B *aynige* 245⁵⁻⁸; 257²²; 265¹; *eynige acc. sg. n.* 262⁴; 268²⁴; B *ainige* 263⁴; 269²⁴; *einiger nom. sg. m.* 256¹⁰; 266²²; B *ainiger* 257¹⁰; 267²².

ein mal once, *adv.* 244²⁰; B *ain mal* 245²⁴; *ein mal* 268²⁷; B *ain mal* 269²⁰.

eins at one, agreed 256⁸; B *ains* 257⁶.

[*einsechen*] institute, *eingesast p.p.* 274¹⁰. 275^{15/16}.

Eltern parents, *pl. tant., dat. pl.* 248¹⁷; B *Eltern* 249¹⁷.

[*elend*] wretched, *elenden nom. pl. m.* 250²¹; 251²¹.

Emmaus Emmaus, proper name 260²¹; B *Emaus* 261²¹.

empörung riot, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 278¹²; B *empörung* 279¹².

end end, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 252²⁷. 253²⁰; *dat. sg.* 280²²; B *endt* 281²²; *endt acc. sg.* 272¹. 273¹.

Endlich finally, *adv.* 280²⁰. 281²⁰.

Engel angel, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 266¹. 267¹.

Entbieten proffer, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 242⁵; B *Entbieten* 243⁵.

entlegen opposed 264²⁰; B *entgegen* 265²⁰; *entlegen legen sich*, put oneself against, oppose, *refl.* 278²⁴; B *entgegen* I. 279²⁴; *entlegen sechen sich* set oneself against, oppose, *refl.* 248²⁰; B *entgegen* f. 249²¹.

entpfangen receive, *p.p.* 264³¹. 265²⁰.

entschuldigen sich excuse oneself, *refl.* printed as one with *zu*: 254²²; B *zâ entschuldigen* 255²².

[ent]springen] spring from, originate, ent-
[springen *p.p.* 266²⁰, 267²⁰.

[Epheser] Ephesians, abbreviated Ephes.,
dat. pl. 262²⁴; B Ephesern 263²⁴.

epistel epistle, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 280²²; B Epistel
281²²; episteln *acc. pl.* 246¹⁵; B Episteln
247¹⁵.

er he, *nom. sg.* 252⁷⁻²⁴, 253⁷⁻²⁴; 260²¹, 261²¹;
280²⁰, 281²⁰; Er 272¹⁷, 273¹⁷; ehr 244²⁶;
246¹⁻³; 252¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²³⁻²⁴; 256²⁴; 260²⁰;
262¹²⁻²³; 264²²; 276¹; 280^{27 bis 28-29}; ehr
258⁹; 278¹²; B er 245²⁴; 247¹⁻³; 258^{17-19-21-22 bis 24 bis}; 257²⁴; 259⁹; 261²⁰; 263¹²⁻²³; 265³¹; 277¹; 279¹⁷; 281^{27 bis 28-29};
Ehr 280²⁰; B Er 281²⁰. Quite notable
is her for er 278²²; B er 279²². Con-
tracted with the neuter personal pronoun
to erß 256³¹, 257³¹; erß 264³¹; B erß
265³⁰. — [ein *gen. sg.* 280²⁰, 281²⁰. ihm
dat. sg. 270²¹; B jm 271²¹; ihm 244¹⁴;
260¹⁹; 274²⁴; 278¹⁷; B jm 245¹²; 261¹⁹;
275²²; 279¹⁷; jm 260¹; 282¹²; B jm
261¹; 283¹². The older form ihm 276²⁰;
B jm 277²⁰. ihn *acc. sg.* 258²²; 262²²;
270²⁰; B ju 259²²; 263²²; 271²⁰; ihm
256²⁰; 260²⁷; B ju 257²⁰; 281²⁷; ihm
278⁴; B ju 279⁴; especially noteworthy
is iuen 256²⁵; B ju 257²⁵; spelt iuen
254⁷; B iuen 255⁷. ihn *dat. pl.* 280²⁰;
266⁹; 272¹⁵; B ju 261²²; 267⁵; 273¹⁵;
reflexive 256²⁵; 258²; B ju 257²⁵; 259²;
spelt ihm 248²; B ju 249²; ihm 258²⁵;
B ju 259²⁴; the modern form ihnen
250⁵; B iuen 251⁵; spelt iuen 248²⁰;
276⁹⁻¹¹; B iuen 249²⁰; 277⁹⁻¹⁰; spelt
iuen 276⁷; B iuen 277⁷. ihr *gen. pl.*
266^{9-11 bis}; B jr 267^{9-11 bis}; spelt ir 250²²;
266⁹⁻¹²; B jr 251²²; 267⁹⁻¹¹. sie she,
nom. sg. f. 244⁷; 250¹²; 264²³⁻²⁶; 266²¹⁻²²;
272¹¹; Sie 242¹². sie her, *acc. sg. f.*
244¹²; 276². sie they, *nom. pl. m.* 244²⁵⁻²⁶⁻²⁴; 246²²; 248⁵⁻⁶⁻¹⁰⁻²¹⁻²⁴⁻²⁶⁻³¹⁻³²; 250^{1-3-11-12-13 bis 14-22-23-25-29 bis}; 252²³⁻²²; 254^{4 bis 10-11}; 256²¹⁻²⁴⁻²⁹⁻³⁴; 258¹⁻²⁻⁵; 262⁷⁻²⁵;
264⁴; 266³⁻⁵⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻¹⁴; 268^{1-3-10-29-30-31 bis}
23 bis 23-24, 270⁵⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻¹⁸⁻³⁰; 272⁷⁻¹⁴; 274⁹;
276^{7-8-10 bis}; 278^{11-12-14-23 bis 26}; 280²⁰;
nom. pl. f. 250¹⁷; *nom. pl. n.* 264¹¹⁻¹⁸;
276¹⁷⁻²¹; *nom. pl. n. or m.* 44²². sie
them, *acc. pl. m.* 246²²; 248⁷⁻³¹; 252²³⁻²⁴;
254¹²; 256¹⁰; 260²¹; *acc. pl. n. or m.*

244²¹⁻²²; B sy 245^{6-17-20-21 bis 24-25-23}
247²²⁻²³; 249^{5-6-7-10-20-24-26-31 bis 32}; 251^{1-3-11-12 bis 13 bis 14-17-22-23-25-29 bis}; 253^{23 bis}
24-31; 255³⁻⁴⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹²; 257¹⁰⁻²¹⁻²³⁻²⁹⁻³⁴; 259¹⁻³⁻⁵; 261²¹; 263⁶⁻²⁵; 265⁵⁻¹¹⁻¹⁸⁻²²⁻²⁵; 267³⁻⁵⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻³¹⁻³²; 269^{1-3-10-20-30-31 bis 32 bis};
269²³⁻³⁴; 271⁵⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰; 273⁷⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁴; 275⁹;
277^{3-7-8-10 bis 17-21}; 279^{11-12-13-17-23 bis 26};
281²⁰; Sy 243¹²; Sie *nom. pl. m.* 244²²;
256⁷; 262²⁶; 270²; 276²²; 278²⁰; *nom. pl.*
n. or m. 244²¹; B Sy 245²⁰⁻²⁷; 257⁷;
263²⁶; 277²²; 279²⁰; sy 271³. es it, *nom.*
sg. 242²², 243²²; 244²³⁻²⁷, 245²⁵; 246²⁻⁶.
247³⁻⁶; 248³⁻¹⁶, 249³⁻¹⁶; 250⁶⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁸⁻³¹;
251⁶⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁸⁻³⁰; 252⁵⁻²⁶⁻³⁰⁻³², 253⁵⁻²⁵⁻²⁹⁻³²;
254¹¹⁻²⁵, 255¹¹⁻²⁵, 256¹¹⁻²⁶, 257¹¹⁻²⁶; 260¹¹⁻²³⁻²⁴, 261¹¹⁻²³⁻²⁴; 262²⁻¹⁴⁻²⁶, 263²⁻¹³⁻²⁰;
264²⁶⁻²², 265²⁵⁻²⁰; 266¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁻²²⁻²⁶, 267³⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁻²²⁻²⁶; 268⁶⁻¹²⁻²¹, 269⁹⁻¹²⁻²¹; 270^{2 bis 7-18-28-30}, 271^{2 bis 7-18-28-30}; 272²⁷, 273²⁷;
274², 275²; 276¹⁹⁻²², 277¹⁹⁻²²; 278⁶⁻¹²⁻¹⁶⁻²⁵;
279⁹⁻¹²⁻¹⁶⁻²⁵; 280¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻²², 281¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻²²; 282⁷.
283⁷; *acc. sg.* 244¹⁴⁻³¹, 245¹²⁻³⁰; 250³⁻²⁰;
251³⁻²⁰; 252⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰, 253⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰; 258¹⁹;
259¹⁹; 262¹⁸⁻¹⁹, 263¹⁸⁻¹⁹; 264³⁰, 265²⁰;
268²¹⁻²⁴, 269²¹⁻²⁴; 270²⁰, 271²⁰; 282²⁻²⁰;
283²⁻¹⁹; Es *nom. sg.* 244¹²⁻²², 245¹¹⁻²²⁻³¹;
246²⁷, 247²²; 248¹⁴⁻²², 249¹⁴⁻²²; 250²⁶;
251²⁶; 252⁶⁻¹¹, 253⁶⁻¹¹; 254¹²⁻²², 255¹¹⁻²²;
256⁹, 257⁹; 258²⁰, 259²⁰; 264²⁰, 265²⁰;
266²; 268⁶⁻¹⁷⁻²¹, 269⁶⁻¹⁷⁻²¹; 270²¹⁻²²;
271²¹⁻²²; 272²²⁻²⁸, 273²²⁻²⁸; 274²², 275²¹;
276⁵⁻²⁰, 277⁵⁻²⁰; 278²², 279²²; 280⁵⁻²²;
281⁵⁻²²; es *nom. sg.* 248⁵; B es 249⁵.

ehr = eher sooner, *adv.* 280²⁵; B er 281²⁵.

erbarmen sich, pity, *refl.* 276¹⁹⁻²⁴, 277¹⁹⁻²⁴;
280²⁰, 281²⁰; Erbarm *opt. 3d sg.* 276²², 277²².

[erbauen] edify, build erbauet *p.p.* 244⁸,
245⁷.

[erhören sich] arise, erhöht *p.p.* 262²⁰; B er-
hört 263²⁰.

[erentfess] honorable, erentfess *acc. pl. m.*
240⁶; B Ererentfess 241^{6/7}.

erfaren learn as true, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 268²²,
269²²; erfarn *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 270²⁴;
B erfaren 271²⁴; the contracted form of
the *inf.* erfarn 268¹²; B erfaren 269^{12/16}.

erfinden find out, finding, *inf.* used as
neuter noun 260^{25/26}, 261²⁵.

erforschen investigate, infinitive printed;

with *ju* as one 256²⁰; B *ju* *erfərſchen* 257^{20,20}; *Erſerſet* imper. pl. 260¹⁷, 261¹⁷.
ergetſen go (out), fare 244²²; B *ergeten* 245²².
erget worse, comp. of *arg* 270¹², 271¹²; adverbially it stands 270¹⁷, 271¹⁷; 274², 275²; 276²², 277²²; *ergetſ* acc. sg. n. 278², 279². Note that 270¹² A uses the *r* form.
ergetliſ offensive, acc. sg. n. 268¹², 269¹²; 276¹², 277¹².
ergeruſ offense, scandal, sb. n., nom. sg. 278²⁰; dat. sg. 278²; B *ergeruſ* 277²; 279²⁰; *ergeruſ* nom. sg. 262²²; B *ergeruſ* 253²².
erhalten maintain, p.p. 244⁷; B *erhalten* 245⁶.
erinnern remind 244², 245².
erlaub, *erlaut* see *erleunen*.
erleunen recognize, inf. 250¹, 251¹; 252^{12,12}, 253^{12,12}; 270²¹, 271²¹; pres. ind. 1st pl. 242²², 243²²; 253¹², 259¹²; 266¹², 267¹²; pres. ind. 3^d pl. 252⁵, 253⁵; 254¹¹, 255¹¹; pres. ind. 3^d pl. contracted with the neuter pronoun *eſ* to *erleunenſ* 253⁵, 259⁵; *erleunt* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 252¹⁰, 253¹⁰; *erlent* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 254²¹, 255²⁰; 266¹², 267¹²; *erlaut* p.p. 268²²; *erlaub* 270¹⁷; B *erlaut* throughout 267²²; 271¹⁷.
erleuntuſ knowledge, cognition, sb. n., dat. sg. 250²²; 260¹²; 262²⁰; B *erleuntuſ* 251²²; *erlautuſ* 261¹²; 263¹².
erlaub leave, sb. m., nom. sg. 274⁴, 275⁴.
erleben live to see 264²¹; 265²⁰.
erleuchten illuminate, *erleucht* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 262¹²; B *erleucht* 263¹¹; *erleuchte* opt 3^d sg. 262¹²; B *erleuchte* 263¹².
erlöſer Redeemer, sb. m., *erlöſerſ* gen. sg. 254²²; B *erlöſerſ* 255²².
erlöſen redeem, release, save, *erlöſe* pres. subj. 3^d sg. 246²; B *erlöſe* 247²; *erlöſt* p.p. 258²²; B *erlöſt* 259²².
ermanen see *ermanen*.
ermanen admonish, exhort, inf. 244⁴, 245²; pres. ind. 1st pl. 272¹², 273¹²; *ermanet* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 246¹⁴, 247¹²; *ermanen* imper. sg. 248⁴, 249⁴.
ermanung admonition, sb. f., nom. sg. 240^{1,2}, 241^{1,2}; acc. sg. 280²², 281²².
ermertgen notice, perceive, *ermertgt* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 268¹²; B *ermertgt* 269¹².

erneren nourish, feed 246¹²; B *erneren* 247¹²; *ernert* p.p. 244⁷; B *ernert* 245⁶; spelt *ernertſ* 262²²; B *ernertſ* 263²².
[ernſt] earnest, severe, *ernſten* gen. sg. m. 244¹⁰; B by misprint *ernſen* 245².
eröffnen open up, reveal 262²²; B *eröffnen* 263²².
errett see *erretten*.
erretten save, rescue, inf. 258²⁷, 259²⁷; *erretten* 276⁴; B *erretten* 277⁴; *erret* p.p. 270²²; spelt *errett* ibid. which spelling is consistently employed in B 271²².
erretzung rescue, sb. f., acc. sg. 258²⁰, 259²⁰.
[erſcheinen] appear, *erſcheint* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 266¹², 267¹²; *erſchein* past ind. 3^d sg. 260²¹, 261²¹.
erſcheinung appearance, apparition, sb. f., dat. sg. 248², 249².
erſehen see, perceive 262¹⁷, 263¹².
[erſt] first, *erſten* dat. sg. n. 272²², 273²².
Erſtlich in the first place, adv. 262²², 263²².
[erſtſehen] heave a sigh, *erſtſt* p.p. 280²²; B *erſtſt* 281²².
[erſtſtet] fictitious, *erſtſte* nom. sg. f. 256²; acc. sg. f. 252¹²; B *erſtſte* 253¹²; 257¹².
ertragen bear, tolerate 280²⁰; B *ertragen* 281²⁰; *ertrag* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 260⁵, 261⁵.
erzeigen show by action 246²⁰; B *erzeigen* 247²⁰.
erzählen relate 272²; B *erzählen* 273².
erzürnen make angry 242¹²; B *erzürnen* 243¹⁴.
[erwachſen] grow up, *erwachſt* pres. ind. 3^d sg. 258⁴, 259⁴.
erwecken awaken 244²², 245²¹.
[erweilen] elect, *erweilt* p.p. 278²; B *erweilt* 279².
eſ see sub *er*.
Einſ Isaiah, proper name, nom. sg. 248²², 249²²; *Einſ* gen. sg. 244²⁴, 245²²; 280²², 281²².
eſſen eat, inf. 264²², 265²²; 274¹⁷, 275¹⁷; 276²² bis. 277²² bis; pres. ind. 3^d pl. 268²⁴, 269²⁴.
etc. abbreviation for *et cetera* and so on 242⁵, 243⁵; 256¹², 257¹²; 258¹, 259¹.
etwan at one time, adv. 274¹; B *etwan* 275¹; *etwan* 246², 247²; 272²², 273²¹; 274², 275²; 276¹², 277¹².
eylich some, e. bund *eylich* some forty

266⁸; B *etlich* 267⁸; *etliche* *nom. pl. m.* 248¹³; 250²⁰; 254²⁵; 260¹⁰⁻²⁰; 270¹⁵⁻²⁰; 272⁶; *acc. pl. m.* 278⁹; *acc. pl.* 268²⁵; B *etliche* 249¹²; 255²⁵; 261¹⁰; 271¹⁵⁻²⁰; 273⁶; 279⁹; *etliche* 251²⁰; 261²⁷⁻²⁸; 269²⁵; *etlichen* *dat. pl. m.* 274²; B *etlichen* 275².

etlicher *massen* to some degree, *adv.* 258⁶; B *etlicher* *massen* 259⁶.

ewr your, possessive pronoun. *nom. sg. n.* 260¹²; *dat. sg. f.* 260¹¹; B *ewr* 261¹¹⁻¹²; *ewrs* *gen. sg. n.* 244¹²; B *ewers* 245¹². Note especially the combination *Ewr* *gnad* Your Grace, *sb. f.*, title of address usually accorded to the bishop, *nom. sg.* 278⁹; *Ewr* *gnad* *dat. sg.* 282¹⁵; *acc. sg.* 282¹⁴; *ewr* *gnad* *acc. sg.* 282¹⁹. In B there occurs *Ewer* *gnad* 243¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²²; 243²⁷; 245¹⁰; 247⁷⁻¹⁵; 279⁹; 283¹⁴⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁸; otherwise the abbreviation is the rule in both: *E* *nom. sg.* 244⁴; 246⁸⁻⁹⁻¹¹⁻²¹; 248²⁰; 250⁷; 272²⁰⁻²⁴⁻³⁰⁻³³; 274¹⁻²⁸; 276²; 276¹⁵⁻²⁰⁻³⁰; 278¹⁻²³⁻³³⁻³⁴⁻³⁸; 280²¹⁻³⁸; 282^{2 bis 3-4-5}; *gen. sg.* 246²⁵; 280⁸; *dat. sg.* 242²⁰; 244⁹; 246¹³; 254²³⁻²⁸; 272¹⁻⁴; 280¹⁹; 282⁵⁻⁷; *acc. sg.* 244⁴⁻¹¹; 246⁷; 272⁸⁻¹⁹; 278⁸⁻¹⁰⁻³³; *E. G* *nom. sg.* 246¹⁵; *dat. sg.* 254²⁵; B 273¹; *acc. sg.* 244¹; B 249²⁰; *E. G.* *nom. sg.* 242²¹; 248²⁸; *acc. sg.* 248¹⁴⁻²⁸; *E. G.* *nom. sg.* 242¹⁵⁻²⁰; 245⁸; 247⁸⁻⁹⁻¹¹⁻²¹; 248¹²; 249¹²⁻²⁶⁻³⁰; 251⁷; 273²⁰⁻²⁴⁻³⁰⁻³³; 275¹⁻²⁰; 276⁹; 277³⁻⁹⁻¹⁵⁻²⁵⁻³⁰⁻³²; 278²⁵; 279^{1 bis 3-33-34-35-38}; 281²¹⁻³⁸; 283^{2 bis 3-4-6-7}; *gen. sg.* 247²⁵; 281⁸; *dat. sg.* 242¹⁷; 245⁸; 247¹²; 255²³⁻²⁵⁻²⁸; 258²⁰; 259²⁰; 273⁴; 280²³⁻²⁵; 281¹⁰⁻²³⁻²⁵; 283⁵; *acc. sg.* 245¹⁻³; 249¹²; 273³⁻¹⁹; 277⁸⁻¹⁰.

Euangelion gospel, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 246^{23/24}; 247²⁴; 254⁴; 255⁴; 260¹⁶; 261¹⁶; 266¹⁴; 267¹⁴; 270¹²; 271¹⁷; 272²²; 273²²; *acc. sg.* 244⁵; 245⁴; 260^{10-22/24}; 261¹⁰⁻²³; 266¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²¹⁻²²; 267¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²¹⁻²²; 268^{25/30-38}; 269²⁵⁻²⁸; 270¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²²; 271¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²²; 278¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻²⁰; 279¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻²⁸; The Latin form *Euangelium* occurs only in the *acc. sg.* 264¹; 265¹; 266⁹; 267^{8/9}; the genitive formed from the Greek form, *euangelions*, occurs 268¹⁹; B *Euangelions* 269¹⁹; from the *nom.* of the Latin form we have *Euangelij* 252²²; 253²²; 278²²; 279²²; from the

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same we have the dative *sg.* *Euangelio* 246¹²; 247¹²; 256¹; 257¹; 262²⁰; 263²⁰; 264²⁴; 265^{22/23}; 266¹²; 267¹²; 268²⁰; 269²⁰; 280¹⁰; 281¹⁹; 282⁸⁻¹²; 283⁸⁻¹²; and the *nom. pl.* *Euangelia* 266¹²; 267¹⁶.

Euangelisch Evangelical, *acc. sg. n.* 256¹; 257²; *euangelische* *nom. sg. f.* 260⁶; B *Euangelische* 261¹⁶; *Euangelische* *nom. pl. m.* 270⁶; B *Euangelische* 271⁶; *Euangelischen* *acc. sg. m.* 268^{20/27}; B *Euangelischen* 269²⁰; *Euangelischen* *dat. pl. m.* 280⁸; 281⁸; *gen. pl. f.* 272²; 273²; *Euangelischenn* *acc. sg. m.* 274¹⁴; B *Euangelischen* 275¹⁴; *Euangelischer* *gen. sg. f.* 246^{20/27}; 247^{20/27}; 280²¹; 281²¹; *euangelischer* 280²; B *Euangelischer* 261².

[*euangelist*] *Evangelist*, *sb. m., euangelisten* *gen. sg.* 248⁹; 249⁹.

ewh see sub *Dn*.

ehserlich external, *acc. pl. n.* 250¹⁸; B *eüßerlich* 251¹⁸; *eüßerlichem* *dat. sg. m.* 256²⁴; *dat. sg. n.* 256²⁸; B *eüßerlichem* 257²⁴⁻²⁸; *ehserlichen* *dat. pl. n.* 256¹⁴; B *eüßerlichen* 257¹⁴; *ehserlichen* *dat. sg. m.* 270¹⁵; *dat. pl. n.* 256²⁸; B *eüßerlichen* 257²⁸; *eüßerlichen* 271¹⁵.

[*ewig*] eternal, *ewige* *acc. sg. n.* 278⁷; 279⁷; *ewigen* *dat. sg. n.* 274²⁰; 275²⁵; *ewiger* *nom. sg. m.* 280²²; 281²².

ewig eternally, *adv.* 244⁷⁻²⁰; 245⁶⁻²⁰.

Exempel example, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 280²⁰; 261²⁰; 264²⁰; 265¹⁷; *acc. pl.* 268²⁵; 269²⁵; *exempel* *dat. sg.* 242¹⁰; B *Exempel* 243¹⁷; *exempeln* *dat. pl.* 254¹⁹; B *Exempeln* 255¹⁹.

[*eh*] egg, *sb. n., eyer* *acc. pl.* 276²¹; B *ayer* 277²¹.

eygen un^h selfish profit, selfish end, *acc. sg.* 242¹²; 258²²; B *aygen* un^h 243^{12/14}; 259²²; see also sub *eigen*.

eylent speedily, *adv.* 280¹⁴; B *eylent* 281¹⁴.

eytelheit vanity, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 244²⁰; B *eytelheit* 245²⁰.

[*Ezechiel*] *Ezekiel*, proper name, *Ezechiel* *acc. sg.* 244¹²; 245¹¹.

F.

[*fabel*] fable, *sb. f., fabeln* *dat. pl.* 248⁸; 249⁸; *acc. pl.* 246²⁰⁻²³; 247²³; 266¹²; B

fabeln 247²⁰; 267^{13/13}; **fabelun** *nom. pl.* 254²; **B fabeln** 255².
fabulei fable-writing, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 266¹⁹; **B Fabulei** 267¹⁹.
[fallen] fall, *felt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 258¹⁹; 259¹⁸.
fallsch false, wrong 272²⁰; 273²⁰; **fallschen** *nom. pl. m.* 256⁴; 257⁴.
[fangen] catch, take prisoner, **gefangen** *p.p.* 260²⁰; 261²⁰; **gefangen** = **gefangenen** *acc. pl. n.* 246¹⁸; 247¹⁸; *gen. pl. n.* 258²⁰; 259²⁰; **gefangener** *gen. pl. n.* 270²²; 271²².
fasten Lent, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 276²¹; 277²¹.
fastenn fast, 270¹; **B fasten** 271¹.
[faul] lazy, **faulen** *dat. sg. n.* 250¹⁴; 251¹⁴.
faulheit laziness, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 254¹²; **B faulheit** 255^{12/12}.
fegefeuer 'purgatory, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 254⁵; **B fegefür** 255⁵.
fehl skin, film, *sb. n., acc. pl.* 262¹⁷; **B feel** 263¹⁸.
fehlen fail, go amiss 264¹⁷; **B fâlen** 265¹⁷.
felt see **sub fallen**.
[fein] fine, nice, **feine** *nom. pl. m.* 270⁶; 271⁶.
fein finely, nicely, *adv.* 262¹⁹; 266¹⁷; **B feyn** 263¹⁸; 267¹⁷.
feissen rock, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 244⁸; **B Feissen** 245⁷.
[ferlich] dangerous, **ferliche** *nom. pl. f.* 248¹⁶; 249¹⁵; **ferlicheun** *dat. pl. f.* 282^{6/7}; **B ferlicheun** 283⁷; **ferlichst** superlative *nom. sg. n.* 244²; 245².
ferner further, *adv.* 280²⁰; 281²⁰.
ferr far, *adv.* 258²⁰; 266⁶; 272¹⁴; 276¹⁰; **B ferr** 259²⁷; 267⁶; 273¹⁴; 277¹⁰.
ferren far, *adv.* 250⁹; **B ferren** 251⁹.
finden find 278¹⁷; 279¹⁷; 280²⁷; 281²⁷; **findenn** 252²⁰; **B finden** 253²⁴; **findt** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 254¹⁵; 255¹⁵.
finster dark, obscure 262⁷; 263⁶.
finsternis darkness, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 262¹⁸; **B finsternis** 263¹⁷.
fisch fish, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 268²⁴; 269²⁴.
flechten fish, implicate one self, meddle with 246¹⁷; 247¹⁷.
fleisch flesh, meat, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 262¹⁹; *acc. sg.* 268²⁴; **B flaysch** 263¹⁸; **flaisch** 269²⁴; **fleisch** *gen. sg.* 250²⁰; 256¹⁸; **B flaysch** 251²⁰; 257¹⁸; Notable is the

absence of ending in the *gen.* **fleisch** 274¹²; **B flaysch** 275¹².
fleischlich carnal, *nom. sg. m.* 270²¹; **B flaischlich** 271²¹. Note the absence of ending. **fleischlicheun** *dat. sg. f.* 246⁸; **B flayschlichen** 247⁸; **fleischlicher** *dat. sg. f.*, no article preceding, 270¹⁰; **B flayschlicher** 271^{9/10}.
fleißig diligently, *adv.* 246²²; **bleißig** 248¹⁰; **B fleißig** 247²²; 249¹⁰. It is however, possible to construe **fleißig** closely with the following **auffechn**; then it would be the neuter acc. of the uninflected adjective.
flüchtig fugitive 270²¹; **B flüchtig** 271²¹.
fluch curse, anathema, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 266¹; **B fluch** 267¹.
folge consequence, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 278²⁴; 279²⁴.
folgen follow 254²; 255²; 276²⁷; **B volgen** 277²⁷; **folgenn** 254⁹; 258²⁰; **B volgen** 255⁹; 259²⁰; **folgt** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 270²⁰; **B folgt** 271²⁰; **gefolget** *p.p.* 254²; 255².
folgend fully, completely, *adv.* 268²; **B vollend** 269².
fürchten fear 256²¹; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 256²²; **B fürchten** 257^{21-21/22}; **fürchtenn** *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 276⁸; **B by misprint fürchten** 277⁸.
fürchtig timid 244²⁰; **B fürchtig** 245²².
fürderlich preeminently, *adv.* 248²⁷; **fürderlich** 250⁵; **B fürderlich** 249²⁷; 251⁵. Note the exceptional *r* form 248²⁷.
fürdern promote 244¹⁵; **B vordern** 245¹⁴; **fürdern** 248¹²; **B fürdern** 249¹²; **fürdern** 276²¹; **B vordern** 277²¹. Note the exceptional *r* form 244¹⁵.
[vorfahre] ancestor, *sb. m., vorsehern* *nom. pl.* 266²²; **B vorsehern** 267²². The form seems to be a mixture of **vorfahren**, *pl.* of **vorfahre**, and **vorfahrer**, *pl.* of **vorfahrer**, both meaning ancestor.
fortt see **henceforth**, *adv.* 262²⁰; **B fort** see 263²⁰.
fragen ask, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 266²⁰; **fragen** 268¹⁵; **B fragen** 267²⁰; 269¹⁵; **fragt** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 256²⁰; **B fragt** 257²⁰.
frech impudent 242¹²; 256²⁰; **B frech** 243¹²; 257²⁰.
[frei] free, **freien** *acc. sg. m.* 258²; **B freien** 259²; **freij** *lassen* leave free *pres. subj.*

- 3^d *sg.* 274³¹; B *freij* *lasse* 275²⁰; *freij* *ge-*
lassen *p.p.* 274²⁰/276¹; B *freij* *gelassen*
275²⁰/277¹.
- freijenn* free 276⁴; B *freien* 277⁴; *gefreiet*
p.p. 258²⁰; B *gefreit* 259²⁰.
- freiheit* freedom, liberty, *sb. f., acc. sg.*
268²⁰; 274¹²; B *freihait* 269²⁴/265; 275¹²;
freiheit *nom. sg.* 270⁹; *gen. sg.* 270⁹;
acc. sg. 274¹²; B *freihait* 271⁹; 275¹²;
Freihait 271⁹.
- freilich* surely, indeed, *adv.* 244²; 254¹²;
260¹⁰; 274¹²; 280¹⁵; *freilich* 250¹⁶; 262¹²;
274³¹; B *freilich* throughout: 245¹²;
255¹²; 261¹⁰; 275¹²; 281¹⁵; 251¹⁶; 263¹¹;
275²⁰.
- freitag* Friday, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 268²⁴;
freitag 276²¹; B *freitag* throughout:
269²⁴; 277²¹.
- [*frembb*] strange, alien, *frembbe* *nom. pl. n.*
250¹⁰; B *frembbe* 251¹⁰.
- frenetel* insolent, daring, overbearing per-
son *sb. m., nom. pl.* 248¹⁹; B *frenetel* 249¹⁹.
- frennd* friend, *sb. m., acc. pl.* 254²⁷; B
freind 255²⁷; *frenndt* *acc. pl.* 250²⁰; B
freindt 251²⁰; *fründt* *nom. sg.* 246⁹; B
freind 247⁹; *frennde* *nom. pl.* 260¹²; B
freunde 261¹²; *frennde* *gen. pl.* 250²⁰; B
freunde 251²⁰; *fründe* *gen. pl.* 264⁶; B
freunde 265⁶.
- freundlich* friendly, pleasant 242¹¹; B
freuntlich 243¹².
- [*fremen sich*] rejoice, *fremt* *pres. ind. 3^d sg.*
242¹²; B *fremd* 243¹⁴.
- friede* peace, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 262²; B *fride*
263²; *fride* *acc. sg.* 242⁶; B *fride* 243⁷.
- fröde* joy, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 262²; B *fröde*
263².
- from* good, pious 270¹⁶; B *fromm* 271¹⁶;
frome *nom. sg. m.* 270⁶; B *fromme* 271⁶;
fromen *nom. pl. m.* 278²¹; *dat. pl. m.*
270²⁴; B *frommen* 271²⁴; 279²¹; *frume*
nom. pl. m. 254²⁰; B *fromme* 255²⁰;
frömen *dat. sg. m.* 278⁵; *acc. pl. m.*
278¹⁰; B *frommen* 279⁵; *frommen* 279¹⁰;
frömen *nom. pl. m.* 272²⁴; B *frommen*
273²⁴; *fromer* *gen. pl. m.* 270²⁰; B *from-*
mer 270²⁰: By mistake the preceding
bil is united with it. *frommer* *gen. pl.*
m. 280¹⁸; B *frommer* 281¹⁸; *frömer* *gen.*
pl. m. 276⁵; B *frommer* 277⁵.
- fröß* voraciousness, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 252²;
B *Fröß* 253².
- frucht* fruit, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 258²⁰; B *frucht*
259²⁰.
- frömmelich* moral goodness, piety, *acc. sg.*
270²¹; B *frömmelich* 271²¹.
- [*fuß*] foot, *sb. m., fußenn* *dat. pl.* 262¹¹;
B *füßen* 263¹⁰.
- [*fäßen*] feel, *fäßen* *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 276⁷;
B *fülen* 277⁷.
- funffhundert* five hundred 282²⁴.
- funffzehend* fifteenth, *dat. sg. f.* 252¹⁶;
probably mistake for *funffzehenden*; B
puts the sign 15. 253¹⁶.
- für* for, *prep. w. acc.*, 262²⁰⁻²¹; 266³¹; 270¹⁶;
276²²⁻²³; 280²⁻²⁴; 282²; B *für* 263²⁰⁻²¹;
267²¹; 271¹⁶; 277²²⁻²³; 281²⁴; *vor* 281²;
283².
- für*, usually, *für* *und* *für* forever, *adv.* 250²¹;
256^{15/16}; B *für* 251²¹; 257¹⁵.
- fürdern* promote 240²; B *fürdern* 241².
- fürderung* promoting, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 280⁷;
B *fürderung* 281⁷.
- füren* lead, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 252¹⁴; 268²⁰;
B *füren* 253¹⁴; 269²⁰; *furenn* *inf.* 258²⁴;
pres. ind. 3^d pl. 266⁶; B *füren* 259²⁴;
267⁶; *fürth* *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 276¹²; B
fürt 277¹²; *furethen* *past. subj. 1st pl.* 256²;
B *fuereten* 257².
- fürgeben* pretend, make believe, *pres. ind.*
3^d pl. 268¹⁰; B *fürgeben* 269¹⁰; *furgeben*
266⁸; B *fürgeben* 267⁸; *Geben* ... *für*
278¹²; B *Geben* ... *für* 279¹²; *geben* ...
für 278²⁰; B *geben* ... *für* 279²⁰; *Gebenn*
für 270¹; B *Geben* *für* 271¹; *Gebenn* ...
für *past ind. 3^d pl.* 278¹⁸; B *Geben* ...
für 279¹⁷.
- furgeben* pretending, *inf.* used as neuter
noun, *nom. sg.* 262²⁷; B *fürgeben* 263²⁷.
- furgestellt* see *fürstellen*.
- furgewant* see *fürwenden*.
- [*furnemen*] undertake, set out to do, *für*
nympt *pres. ind. 3^d sg.*, 250⁴; B *für* *nympt*
251⁴; *für* *genommen* *p.p.* 242¹⁷; *furgens-*
men 274²; B *fürgenommen* 243¹⁸; 275².
- furnemen* undertaking, *inf.* used as neuter
noun, *nom. sg.* 244⁸; B *fürnemen* 245⁷; *fur-*
nemens *gen. sg.* 244¹⁸; 278⁹; B *fürne-*
mens 245¹⁸; 279⁹.
- furnemlich* especially, *adv.* 250⁶; B *fürnem-*
lich 251⁶.

fürſſchen lead, be leader 254¹⁰; B fürſſchen 255¹⁰.

[fürſſellen] set forward, before, fürgeſtelt p.p. 242¹⁰; B fürgeſtelt 243¹⁷.

[fürſt] prince, sb. m., fürſten gen. sg. 268⁸; nom pl. 280⁴⁻²⁴ acc. pl. 278¹⁴; fürſtenn nom. pl. 254¹⁷; B Fürſten 255¹⁷; 269⁸; 279¹⁴; 281⁴⁻²⁴.

fürwenden put forward as excuse, pretend 268²²; B fürwenden 269²²; für wenden 250^{14/15}; B fürwenden 251¹⁴; für wenden 256^{17/18}; B fürwenden 257¹⁷; fürgewant p.p. 274²⁷; B für gewant 275²⁰.

G.

[gabe] gift, sb. f., gaben gen. pl. 270²⁷. 271²⁷.

galgen gallows, sb. m., acc. sg. 270²⁰. 271²⁰. ganß entire, acc. sg. f. 246¹. 247¹; ganße acc. pl. n. 246²¹. 247²¹; ganße nom. sg. f. 264²⁴; B ganße 265²²; ganßen dat. sg. m. 276²¹. 277²¹; ganßenn gen. sg. f. 280¹. B ganßen 281⁴.

ganß entirely, perfectly, adv. 242¹¹; 250²²⁻²⁰; 252⁹; 256⁷; 258⁵; 264²²; 276²⁻¹²; ganß 262⁹; 280¹⁰; B throughout 243¹²; 251²²⁻²⁰; 253²; 255⁷; 259⁵; 265²²; 277²⁻¹²; 263²; 281¹⁰.

gar very, quite, adv. 246⁴. 247⁴; 254¹⁰. 255¹⁷; 266²². 267²². Note the position of g. in the last quotation being the same as that of English quite: g. ein ſtard (ſtard quite a strong saying. Modern usage requires gar after ein. gar nihts nothing at all 250¹⁰. 251¹⁰.

gedacht see sub ahten.

geantſwort see sub antworten.

geb see sub geben.

geben give, inf. 246³⁻⁴. 247³⁻⁴; 250²². 251²²; 260²². 261²²; 270¹⁻²². 271¹⁻²²; 272¹⁴. 273¹⁴; 274²²⁻²². 275²¹⁻²⁷; 276²². 277²²; 280⁴. 281⁴; 283¹⁵; gebenn 282¹⁵; geben pres. ind. 1st pl. 258¹¹. 259¹¹; pres. ind. 3^d pl. 260¹². 261¹²; 270⁶. 271⁶; gebenn p.p. 272¹²; B geben 273¹²; gegeben p.p. 244¹². 245¹²; 262⁴. 263²; 274⁵. 275⁵; gebt imp. pl. 260²⁷. 261²⁷; geb pres. subj. 3^d sg., gott g. es gehe anders wo wie es lan let things go elsewhere as they may 280¹⁰. 281¹⁰.

Geben . . . für see sub fürgeben.

geberbe bearing, attitude, sb. n., acc. sg. 248²⁰. 249²⁰.

[gebenen] bear, bring forth, geborn p.p. 252⁷; 262²². 263²²; 266²¹. 267²¹; B geborn 253⁷.

gebräch see sub gebieten.

[gebieten] command, gebräch pres. ind. 3^d sg. 276²²; B gebräch 277²²; gebotten p.p. 256¹². 257¹²; 276². 277⁷.

geborn see sub geberen.

gebot command, sb. n., acc. sg. 278⁴; nom. pl. 270². 271²; B gebott 279⁴; gebotts gen. sg. 274¹⁵. 275¹⁵.

gebotten see sub gebieten.

gebrauch usage, sb. m., dat. sg. 266²⁷. 267²⁷.

gebrauchen make use of 250²⁴. 251²⁴.

gebrechen frailty, sb. n., acc. pl. 256²². 257²². Note that in 252¹² A uses exceptionally the r form while B 253¹² reinstates r.

geburen belong to, be proper for 246¹²; B gebüren 247^{12/14}.

[geburlich] proper, geburlichem dat. sg. n. 246²²; 276²¹; B geburlichem 247²²; 277^{22/21}; geburlichen dat. sg. f. 278²⁴; B geburlichen 279²⁴.

geburt birth, sb. f., dat. sg. 246². 247².

geclaget see sub clagen.

getrenßiget see sub trenßigen.

[gebaude] thought, sb. m., gebauden nom. pl. 260²². 261²²; gebaudenn acc. pl. 280²²; B gebauden 281²².

gedacht see sub gebenden.

gebenden think, consider, intend, pres. ind. 3^d pl. 268²². 269²²; gebendt pres. ind. 3^d sg. 242¹². 243¹²; gedacht past subj. 3^d sg. 244²²; B gedacht 245²⁴.

gedäch see sub deñthen.

Gebrudt see sub bruden.

geduldig patient 242¹¹; B gedultig 243¹².

gedult patience, sb. f., dat. sg. 260⁷. 261⁷; acc. sg. 274²⁴. 275²².

gefallen please, 258²². 259²²; 278²²; may be either inf. or the inf. used as neuter noun; B unites ja with gefallen 279²².

gefangen see sub faugen.

gefangen see sub faugen.

gefolget see sub folgen.

gefreiet see sub freyen.

[gegen] against, *prep. w. dat.* *legen* 254³⁰; 270¹⁰; 278¹²; B *gegen* 255³⁵; 271¹⁰; 279¹²; the form *lein* occurs 260²¹; B *gen* 261²¹. Note the construction with the dative case as in mhd.; in 254³⁰ and 270¹⁰ it is however, not clear whether we have to do with the dative or accusative.

gegraben see sub graben.

gehabt see sub haben.

gehalten, gehaltenen see sub halten.

gehen go 280⁹; *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 252²²; B *geu* 253²¹; 281⁹; *geu inf.* 244³⁵; 258⁹; *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 250²⁰; B *geu* 245³⁴; 251²⁰; 259⁹ see also *umb geu*; *gehet pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 268²¹; B *geet* 279²¹; *gehe pres. subj.* 3^d *sg.* 280¹¹; B *geet* 281¹⁰; *gingen past ind.* 3^d *pl.* 260²¹; B *gingen* 261²¹. *geheimnis* mystery, *sb. n., gen. pl.* 272¹⁷; B *geheimnis* 273¹⁷.

geholfen see sub helfen.

gehorfam obedient 264¹². 265¹².

gehorfam obedience, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 256¹⁷. 257¹⁷; *dat. sg.* 256¹⁴. 257¹⁴; 272¹⁴. 273¹⁴; *acc. sg.* 254²⁰. 255²⁷; 256¹⁷ *bis*. 257¹⁷ *bis*. See also sub *leihen*.

geirret see sub irren.

geist spirit, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 252¹⁰; 256²⁴; 260²⁰; 262¹⁰; 266²¹; *dat. sg.* 256²⁰; 262²; *acc. sg.* 242²⁴; 252¹⁰; 254¹; 264⁴; 262¹⁵; *geist acc. sg.* 252¹; 264²⁰; B *geist* 253¹⁰. *geist* 243²⁵; 253¹; 257²⁴; 261²⁰; 263²; 265⁴; 267²¹; 268¹⁵; *Geist* 253¹⁰; *geistes gen. sg.* 270⁹; B *Geistes* 271⁹; *geistes* 252⁹; B *geistes* 253⁹; *geistes* 246¹¹; B *geistes* 247¹¹. See also sub *schwindel geist*.

geistlich spiritual, *nom. sg. n.* 246¹⁰; B *geistlich* 247¹⁰; *geistliche nom. sg. f.* 258⁴; B *geistliche* 259³; see also sub *all*.

[geistliche] clergyman, *sb. m., geistlichen nom. pl.* 250²⁰; 256⁴; *dat. pl.* 256⁵; B *geistlichen* 251²⁰; 257⁴.

geiz avarice, *sb. m. dat. sg.* 244²⁰; 256¹⁰; 262¹⁵; *acc. sg.* 252³; B *geiz* 245²⁰; 253³; 257¹⁰; 263¹⁴.

Geizig avaricious 248¹⁷; B *Geizig* 249¹⁷. gekauft see sub kaufen.

gelt money, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 250¹⁰. 251¹⁰; 258²⁰; 274¹⁵. 275¹⁵; 259²⁰; B *unitas umb* with *gelt*; *geltes gen. sg.* 250⁴; 252²²; 274⁶; B *geltes* 251⁴; 253²²; *geltes* 275⁶.

gelten be of value, be valid 262²⁰; B *gelten* 263²⁰.

geleget see sub liegen.

[gelerth] learned, *gelerthe acc. pl. m.* 272²⁰; B *gelerthe* 273²⁰; *gelerthen nom. pl. m.* 278²¹; in the function of a noun we have *gelerthen acc. pl. m.* 248¹²; *gelerthen* 272²⁰. 273²⁰; 249¹². So has B also 279²¹. *gelerthenn dat. pl.* 270^{2/3}; B *gelerthen* 271².

gelesen, gelesenen see sub lesen.

gelobet see sub loben.

gelassen see sub lassen.

gemein common, *gen. pl. m.* 274⁶; B *gemein* 275⁶; *gemein nom. sg. m.* 278¹²; B *gemein* 279¹²; *gemeinem dat. sg. m.* 278²⁰; B *gemeinem* 279²⁰; *gemeinen gen. sg. m.* 268¹⁷; *acc. sg. m.* 254⁶; 274⁴; B *gemeinen* 255^{5/6}; 269¹⁷; 275⁴.

gemein community, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 262²⁰. 22/23; *dat. sg.* 254¹⁰; B *gemein* 255¹⁰; 263²²; *gemein* 263²⁰.

gemert see sub meren.

gemurmel mumbling, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 250². 251².

[gemuth] mind, heart, *sb. n., gemuthes gen. sg.* 248¹²; B *gemuthes* 249¹².

geu see sub gegen.

geuant see sub nennen.

genommen, genommen see sub nemen.

geuiglich entirely, *adv.* 248¹². 249¹¹.

genug = genüge sufficiency, satisfaction, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 244²⁴; B *genugen* 245²⁰.

[genugl thun] satisfy, give satisfaction, *g. leihen, past subj.* 3^d *pl.* 250¹⁴; B *genug thäten* 251^{12/14}.

genugsam sufficiently, *adv.* 256¹²; B *genugsam* 257¹².

gepeffert see sub peffern.

gebew building, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 262²⁰; B *gebew* 263²⁰.

geplaget see sub plagen.

geprediget, gepredigt see sub predigen.

gepreist see sub preisen.

geprenge pomp, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 256²⁰. 257²⁰; *acc. sg.* 262¹²; B *geprenge* 263¹¹.

geratten see sub radten.

gerecht just, righteous, *adj. used as a noun, nom. sg. m.* 258^{10/10}. 259²⁰; *gerecht* 244^{20/21}. 245²⁰.

gerechtfertiget see sub rechtfertigen.

gerechtigkait justice, *acc. sg.* 270¹⁰; 20; B *gerechtigkait* 271¹⁰; *gerechtfait* 271²⁰; *gerechtfait nom. sg.* 262²; B *gerechtfait* 263².

gerecht see sub reben.
 gericht see sub reiben.
 gericht court, judgment, *sb. n.*, *angericht* gehn 258^o; B *angericht* geen 259^o go into court; see also sub richten.
 gerne gladly, willingly, *adv.* 258²⁰, 259²⁰; 264¹¹, 265¹¹; 278⁶, 279⁶; 282¹², 283¹².
 (geraden) be pleased to do, condescend, *gerade pres. opt. 3d sg.* 276²⁷, 277²⁷; 282¹², 283¹².
 gerufft see sub ruffen.
 gesagt see sub sagen.
 geschaffen see sub schaffen.
 geschach see sub gescheen.
 gescheen happen, *inf.* 268¹²; *p.p.* 272²¹; 278¹⁰; B *gescheen* 269¹²; 273²¹; 279¹⁰; *gescheen pres. ind. 3d pl.* 252¹⁰, 253¹⁰; *p.p.* 264²⁰, 265²⁰; *gescheen p.p.* 254¹¹; B *gescheen* 255¹¹; *geschiedt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 242²², 243²²; 250²¹⁻²⁰, 251²¹⁻²⁰; 258¹², 259¹²; 264¹², 265¹²; 280³, 281³; 282¹, 283¹; *geschach past ind. 3d sg.* 254¹⁴, 255¹⁴.
 [geschichte] history, *sb. f.*, *geschichten dat. pl.* 260¹², 261¹²; refers to the Acts of the Apostles.
 geschickt adapted, *fit.* 254¹², 255¹²; 280¹⁰, 281¹⁰.
 geschlagen see sub schlagen.
 gescholten see sub scheiden.
 geschrieben see sub schreiben.
 geschweigen pass over in silence 252^o; B *geschweigen* 253^o; the infinitive stands here equivalent to the English participle: passing over, omitting. See also *schweigen*.
 gefeliget see sub seligen.
 gefetiget see sub setigen.
 gefech law, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 276¹⁵, 277¹⁵; *gefech gen. sg.* 246²⁰, 247²⁰; *gefete acc. pl.* 258²⁴, 259²⁴; *gefeten dat. pl.* 276¹⁸⁻²⁰, 277¹⁸⁻²⁰.
 gefalt form, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 264²⁰, 265²⁷⁻²⁸; *gefalt gen. sg.* 246¹⁷; B *gefalt* 247¹⁷; see also sub sein.
 gefanden see sub fien.
 geflisset see sub flissen.
 gestrafft see sub straffen.
 gesandt see sub inden.
 gesandt sound 246²²⁻²³; B *gesand* 247²².
 gethan see sub thuen.
 getobdt see sub tobten.

getriebenn see sub treiben.
 gewalt force, *sb. m.*, *nom. sg.* 272¹⁸; B *gewalt* 273¹⁸; *gewalt dat. sg.* 272¹⁰, 273¹⁰; *gewalt acc. sg.* 280²; B *gewalt* 281².
 Note the masculine gender which refutes the contention of Kluge that the masculine gender of this word is peculiarly oberdeutsch. It is masculine and feminine already in mhd. and also with Luther.
 gewarnt see sub warnen.
 gewest see sub sein.
 gewonheit custom, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 266²⁰; *dat. sg.* 266²⁴⁻²⁷; 268¹; *acc. sg.* 266²⁰; B *gewonheit* 267²⁴⁻²⁵⁻²⁷⁻²⁸⁻³⁰; 269¹.
 [gewinnen] win, *gewunne past subj. 3d sg.* 246², 247²; *gewunnen past subj. 3d pl.* 254²⁰; B *gewinnen* 255²⁰.
 [gewin] gain, *sb. m.*, *gen. sg.* *gewin* 246²¹; B *gewyn* 247²¹⁻²².
 gewis sure, certain, 264²⁵-265²⁴; *nom. sg. f.* 258²⁰; B *gewys* 259²⁰; *gewis acc. pl. m.* 262²¹; B *gewys* 263²¹.
 gewisslich assuredly, *adv.* 262²; B *gewisslich* 263²⁻³.
 gewissen conscience, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 254²⁰, 255²⁰; 270²², 271²²; 278⁵, 279⁵; 282², 283²; *gen. pl.* 258²⁰, 259²⁰; 280¹⁴, 261¹⁴; 270²², 271²²; *dat. pl.* 274²⁰, 275²⁰; *dat. pl. or sg.* 280²⁰, 281²⁰; *acc. pl.* 246¹⁰, 247¹⁰; *acc. pl. n. or sg. f.* 276²⁰, 277²⁰; *gewissen acc. sg.* 270²⁰; *nom. pl.* 264¹⁰; *dat. pl.* 276²; *acc. pl.* 276²; B *gewissen* 265¹²; 271²⁰; 277²⁻⁶. As has been indicated, it is not always clear whether we have to do with a *sg. or pl.* form of the word. In one instance, that of 276²⁰, even the gender is doubtful. It is possible that there is a case of the feminine noted in previous documents.
 gewunne, gewinnen see sub gewinnen.
 geher vulture, *sb. m.*, *nom. sg.* 250¹⁰; B *Geher* 251¹⁰.
 [glatt] smooth, *glatten dat. pl. n.* 274⁵, 275⁵.
 glaub belief, faith, *sb. m.*, *nom. sg.* 252¹⁰, 253¹⁰; 258²⁴, 259²⁴; 264²⁵; B *Glaub* 265²⁴; *Glaub acc. sg.* 256⁹; B *glaub* 257⁹; *glauhen gen. sg.* 246²⁰, 247²⁰; 256¹⁷, 257¹⁷; 264², 265²⁻³; 272², 273²; *glauhen dat. sg.* 246²⁰, 247²⁰; 248²⁴, 249²⁴; 256¹⁰, 257¹⁰; 258¹⁷, 259¹⁷; 270⁴⁻¹², 271⁴⁻¹²; *acc. sg.*

248^{27/28}; 249²⁸; 254³⁵; 255³⁴; 264⁴; 265⁴;
 gläubenn *dat. sg.* 258¹¹; *acc. sg.* 250⁴;
 256³³; B gläuben 259¹¹; 251⁴; 257³³.
 gläub see sub gläuben *vb.*
 gläubenn believe 266^{5/6}; B gläuben 267⁶;
 gläuben *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 264¹⁴; 265¹⁴;
 gläuben *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 280²⁴; B gläuben
 281²⁴; gläub *pres. ind. 1st sg.* 264³; B
 gläube 265³.
 [gläubig] believing, faithful, gläubigen *dat.*
sg. n. 262¹⁰; 263⁹; gläubige *acc. pl. m.*
 262¹²; 263¹¹.
 gläubiger creditor, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 274²⁸;
 B gläubiger 275²².
 gleich like 262¹⁷; 263¹⁷; gleich *so* wenig
 just as little, *adv.* 258²⁴; B gleich 259²⁴;
 wenn... gleich see sub wenn 264¹⁸; 270²⁸.
 271²⁸; B gleich 265¹⁷. See also der gleichen.
 Gleicher weiß in the same way, *gen.* used
 as adverb 248²²; B Gleicher weis 249²².
 gleichsam as if, *conj.* 250²⁰; 251²⁰.
 gleichner hypocrite, sham holy one, *sb. m.,*
nom. pl. 270¹³; 271¹³; gleichner *dat. pl.*
 270^{24/25}; B gleichner 271²⁴.
 gleichneren hypocrisy, sham, *sb. f., nom. sg.*
 256⁹; *dat. sg.* 250²⁰; B gleichneren 257⁹;
 251²⁰.
 [gleichnerisch] hypocritical, shamming, gleich-
 nerische *nom. pl. n.* 256³; B gleichnerische
 527³.
 gliedmäs limb, member, *sb. n., nom. pl.* 242²⁵;
 B gliedmäs 243²⁵; gliedmäs *nom. pl.* 264⁵;
 B gliedmäs 265⁵.
 Gnäd grace, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 242⁷; 243⁷; Gnäd
dat. sg. 282¹⁵; *acc. sg.* 282¹⁴; B Gnäd
 283¹⁴⁻¹⁵; gnäd *nom. sg.* 252¹³; 278⁹; *acc.*
sg. 262²³; 282¹⁹; B gnäd 253¹³; 263²³;
 Gnäd 279⁹; 283¹⁸; gnaden *gen. sg.* 252¹²;
 B gnaden 253¹². The form genade for
 the *gen. sg.* occurs 278²⁵; B genade 279²⁵.
 B Gnäd *nom. sg.* 243¹⁶⁻²⁰⁻²¹; 247¹⁵; *dat.*
sg. 243¹⁷⁻²⁷; *acc. sg.* 245¹¹; 247⁷. As to
 the abbreviations see sub twer.
 [guedig] gracious, guediger *voc. sg. m.* 242¹⁰;
 B Guediger 243¹¹. Abbreviated G. in
 connection with Herr 280²⁶; B gnädiger
 281²⁶. The two words appear abbrevi-
 ated G. *§.* 272¹; 273¹; guedigen *acc.*
sg. m. 255¹⁵; 259¹⁵.
 göbe gift, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 260²; *acc. sg.* 276⁵;
 B gabe 261²; 277⁵.

Gebenn... fur see sub fargeben.
 Gomerria Gomorrah, name of place 270⁹.
 271⁸.
 gunst favor, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 278²⁵; B gunst
 279²⁵.
 [gunstig] favorably inclined, gunstiger *nom.*
sg. m. 246⁹; B günstiger 247⁹.
 Gott God, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 282¹⁹; 283¹⁹;
dat. sg. 242³; 243³; gott *nom. sg.* 244¹⁰.
 12-17; 252¹⁵⁻²⁰⁻²⁷; 254¹²⁻³⁰; 256¹⁰⁻¹²;
 258¹⁰⁻²⁰; 260³¹; 264¹⁰; 268²⁶; 272²; 280¹⁰.
 23-24; 282²; *dat. sg.* 242⁸⁻²⁰; 248¹;
 254¹⁰⁻²⁵; 256⁶⁻¹⁹; 258^{11-14-26 bis}; 260²⁻²⁷;
 262²⁻²²; 264¹²; 272⁹⁻²⁷; 280²⁰; 282¹⁰;
acc. sg. 244²³; 248²⁰; 256²²⁻²⁴; 258¹⁻¹⁵;
 270¹⁸; 272²¹; 276²⁻²³; B Gott 243⁸⁻²⁷;
 245¹¹; 249¹; 253²⁶; 255²⁴; 257¹²⁻²³⁻²⁴;
 259⁹; 261²⁻²⁷; 263²²; 265¹⁰; 269²⁶; 271¹⁶;
 273²⁷; 277²³; 281¹⁰⁻²⁹; gott 253¹⁵⁻²⁵;
 255¹²; 257⁹; 259¹¹⁻¹⁹; 261²¹; 263³; 277⁸;
 281²³; Got 245¹⁶⁻²¹; 249¹⁹; 259¹⁴; 265¹²;
 got 245⁹; 255¹⁰⁻²⁰; 257⁶⁻¹²; 259¹⁻¹⁵⁻²⁵⁻²⁶;
 273²⁻⁸⁻²¹; 281²⁴; 283²⁻¹⁰; got *dat. sg.* 248²⁶;
 258²¹; B Gott 249²⁰; 259²¹; gotte *dat. sg.*
 262⁵; B gott 263⁴; gottes *gen. sg.* 250¹⁵;
 254²²; 256⁵; 264²²; 266⁶; 267⁶; 268¹⁷;
 B Gottes 251¹⁵; 255²¹; 257⁵; 265²¹;
 281¹⁷; gotes 248²⁷; B Gottes 249²⁷; Gottis
 240³; B Gottes 241³; gottis 244²⁰⁻²⁴;
 246¹⁰; 248²⁰; 254⁷⁻²⁰; 258⁷⁻⁸⁻²⁰; 260¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁷;
 262¹⁻⁹⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰⁻²⁷; 264⁶⁻²⁴⁻²⁶; 266¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁻²²⁻²³;
 268²⁴; 270²⁷⁻²⁸; 272⁹⁻¹⁷; 278⁴⁻²⁰; 280¹⁻¹⁰.
 23; B Gottes 245²⁷⁻²⁸; 247¹⁰; 249²⁰;
 255⁷⁻²⁰; 259²⁰; 261¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁷; 263¹⁻⁸⁻²⁰⁻²⁷;
 267¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁻²³; 271²³; 279⁴⁻²⁰; 281¹⁻⁹; gottes
 259⁸; 263¹⁸; 265⁶⁻²²⁻²⁵; 267²²; 269²⁴;
 273¹⁷; 281²³; gotes 259⁷; 271²⁷; 273⁹;
 gottis 270²⁶; 280²¹; B gottes 271²⁶; 281²¹;
 see also sub gottis dienst, gottis weg,
 gottis wort.
 gottis dienst divine service, *sb. m., nom. sg.*
 280¹⁰; B Gottes dienst 281^{9/10}; gottis dienst
nom. sg. 250⁶; 256⁸; 266²⁰; B Gottes
 dienst 251⁶; 267²⁰; gottes dienst 257⁶;
 gotis dienst *acc. sg.* 250³; 251³.
 [gottis weg] divine path, *sb. m., gottis weg*
acc. pl. 256²⁰; B gottes wege 257²⁰.
 gottis wort divine Word, *sb. n., nom. sg.*
 244⁶; 248¹¹; 252²⁰; 272²²; *acc. sg.* 244⁵;
 262^{25 bis}; 264¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻²⁴; 266²²; 280¹²; B
 Gottes wort 245⁴⁻⁵; 263^{25 bis}; 265¹¹;

gottes wort 249¹¹; 265¹⁶⁻²²; 267²²; 273²²; 281¹²; godes wort 253²²; gottis wort *acc. sg.* 266¹⁵; B Gottes wort 267¹⁵.

[gottfürchtig] God-fearing, gottfürchtigen *acc. pl. m.* 248¹²; B gottfürchtigen 249¹².

göttlich divine, *nom. sg. n.* 254²²; *acc. sg. n.* 262²⁴; B götlich 255²²; Göttlich 263²⁴; götliche *nom. sg. f.* 252¹²; B Göttliche 253¹²; götliche *acc. sg. f.* 258²²; 270²⁰; B götliche 259²²; götliche 271²⁰; götlichem *dat. sg. n.* 278²⁴; B götlichem 279²⁴; götlichen *gen. sg. f.* 252¹²; *acc. sg. m.* 256¹⁷; B götlichen 253¹¹; Göttlichen 257¹⁷; götlichen *gen. sg. f.* 270²²; *gen. sg. n.* 280¹⁷; *dat. pl. n.* 256²⁷; B götlichen 271²²; Göttlichen 281¹⁷; götlichen 257^{20,27}; götlicher *dat. sg. f.* 260²²; B Göttlicher 261²²; götlich *gen. sg. n.* 274¹⁵; B götlich 275¹⁵; götlich *gen. sg. n.* 260⁶; *acc. sg. n.* 252²²; 258²⁴; B götlich 261⁶; 253²²; 259²⁴.

[gottlos] godless, gottlose *nom. sg. m.* 280²²; the *adj.* used as noun; B gottlose 281²²; gottlosen *nom. pl. m.* 270²²; the *adj.* used as noun; B Gottlosen 271²²; gottlosen *gen. sg. n.* 248²²; 249²²; *acc. pl. m.* 244¹⁰; B Gottlosen 245⁹.

[gottselig] happy in God, blessed, gottseligen *gen. sg. m.* 248²⁰; B gottseligen 249²⁰.

[graben] dig, gegrabenn *p. p.* 256²²; B gegraben 257²².

grewell abomination, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 256²²; B grewel 257²²; grewel 282¹⁰; B grewel 283¹⁰.

groß great, 280²⁰; 281²⁰; groß *nom. sg. n.* 276⁹; B groß 277⁹; größte *nom. sg. n.* 276²⁰; 264⁹; 265⁹; größte *nom. sg. f.* 280¹; B größte 281¹; größte *acc. pl. n.* 277²⁰; größtem *dat. sg. n.* 276⁹; 277⁹; größten *acc. sg. m.* 272²²; 273²²; 282¹¹; 283¹¹; größtes *gen. sg. m.* 274²²; B größtes 275²¹; größte *nom. sg. m.* of the superlative 276²⁰; B größte 277¹⁹. Note that 276²⁰ it is possible that we have to do with the *acc. sg. f.*; see sub gewissen.

grund ground, basis, reason, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 272¹; 273¹; grundt *acc. sg.* 252³¹; B grund 253³⁰.

gut good, *nom. sg. m.* 258²²; B güt 259²²; güt *nom. sg. n.* 258⁸; B güt 259⁷; güt *acc. sg. n.* 266¹²; B güt 267¹²;

güt *nom. pl. n.* 256⁸; *acc. pl. m.* 254¹²; *acc. pl. n.* 250¹¹; 258²⁴; B güt 251¹¹; güt 255¹²; 257⁶; 259²⁴; gütten *nom. pl. m.* 272²²; *dat. pl. m.* 280⁸; *dat. pl. n.* 256⁵; 270¹⁴; *acc. pl. n.* 258⁶; B gütten 259⁶; 271¹²; gütten 257⁵; 273²⁴; 281⁸; gütten *dat. pl. n.* 258¹⁷; B gütten 259¹⁷; gütter *dat. sg. f.* 254¹²; 278²²; B gütter 255¹²; gütter 279²²; besser better, *comp.* 256¹²; 257¹²; 278²¹; 279²¹; besser *gen. sg. n.* 258²²; 259²²; besten best, *superl. nom. pl. n.* 258⁸; 259⁸; *dat. sg. n.* 242¹⁷; 243¹²; 259²²; besten 258²².

güt good, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 274²²; B güt 275²²; güt *acc. sg.* 242¹²; 250¹²; 260⁴; 262⁵; B güt 243²⁰; 251¹²; 261⁴; güt 263⁴; güt *gen. sg.* 250²⁴; B güt 251²²; güttern *dat. pl.* 274²²; B güttern 275²⁴.

gütlich kindly, gently, *adv.* 282¹²; B gütlich 283¹².

gütigkeit goodness, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 254⁷; B gütigkeit 255⁷.

§.

haben have, *inf.* 246⁷⁻²²; 247⁸⁻²²; 248¹⁴; 249¹²; 250²²; 251²²; 254¹²⁻²⁰; 255¹²⁻²²; 262⁸; 263⁷; 266¹⁵; 267¹⁵; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 242¹⁷; 243¹²; 256¹¹; 257¹¹; 258¹²⁻²²; 259¹²⁻²²; 266¹¹⁻¹⁷; 267¹¹⁻¹⁷; 272¹⁻¹²; 273¹⁻¹²; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 244²²; 245²⁷; 248¹¹⁻²⁰; 249¹⁰⁻¹⁹; 250⁴; 251⁴; 254²²; 255²²; 256²⁴; 257²⁴; 262²⁰; 263²²; 264⁴⁻¹⁹; 265⁴⁻¹⁹; 266¹²; 267¹²; 268¹⁴; 269¹⁴; 270²²⁻²⁵; 271²²⁻²⁵; 272⁶; 273⁶; 276²²; 277²²; 278²²; 279²²; haben *inf.* 250¹²; 260¹⁰; 268⁹; 278¹⁰; 280²²; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 258²²; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 252²²; 254⁸⁻¹⁶; 256²²; 266⁴; B haben 251¹²; 253²¹; 255⁸⁻¹⁶; 257²²; 259²²; 261¹⁰; 267⁴; 269⁹; 279¹⁰; 281²². The contracted form of the *pres. ind. 1st pl.* han 260³; B han 261³; hab *pres. ind. 1st sg.* 244¹²; 245¹²; hab *pres. subj. 3^d sg.* 264²²; 265²²; habt *pres. ind. 2^d pl.* 244¹²; 245¹⁷; 260¹¹; 261¹²; gehabt *p. p.* 252³¹; 253³⁰; hat *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 256¹⁰; 257¹⁰; 266²²; 270²²; 271²²; 276¹; B hatt 267²²; 277¹; hatt *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 246¹²⁻¹⁵; 247¹²⁻¹⁵; 252³¹; 254³⁻¹²⁻²⁰; 255²²; 256¹²⁻³¹; 257³¹; 264³¹; 266³¹; 267³¹; 276¹².

277¹⁰; 278²; 282⁵; B *hät* 245¹; 253²⁰; 255²⁻¹²; 257¹²; 265²⁰; 279³; 283⁵; *hett* *past subj.* 3^d *sg.* 280¹²; B *het* 261¹²; *hettenu* *past subj.* 1st *pl.* 256¹²; 257¹²; *past subj.* 3^d *pl.* 250²⁰; 251²⁰; 266²⁰⁻²²; 267²⁰⁻²²; 268¹; 269¹; *hettenu* *past subj.* 1st *pl.* 264²²; B *hettenu* 265²¹.

hæder quarrel, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 256⁴; 257⁴.
hæer *breit* a hair's breadth, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 252²⁰; B *hær* *Bratt* 253²⁷; *hærr* *breit* 280²; B *hær* *brætt* 281².

[*hælf*] *halve*, *zu halben* 268²⁰; B *zåhalben* 269²⁰ by halves.

halten hold, consider, take, *inf.* 272¹⁷; 273¹⁷; *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* 262²²; 263²²; *haltenu* *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* 282⁶; B *halten* 283⁶.

Contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person: *haltens* we hold, *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* 248¹¹; 249¹¹; 254²⁵; 255²⁵; *haltthen* *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 252²¹; B *halten* 253²¹; Compare also sub *weß*; *haltthenn* *inf.* *über* E. G. ... *weß* *h.* hold fast to Y. G. 280²⁵; *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* *h.* *wirß* *höfær* we hold 278¹; B *halten* 279¹; 281²⁵; *helt* *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 264¹²; 266²⁷; 267²⁷; 268⁶; 269⁶; B *helt* 265¹²; *halben* *inf.* 256²⁰; 264¹¹⁻²⁵; 266²⁷; *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 248¹⁷; B *halten* 249¹⁶; 257²⁶; 265¹¹⁻²⁴; 267²⁷; *halbenn* *inf.* 272¹²; B *halten* 273¹².

Contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person to *halbens* *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* 252²²; B *haltens* 253²²; *hielten* *past conditional* 1st *pl.* 268⁸; 269⁸; *hieltenu* *past conditional* 1st *pl.* 264²¹; B *hielten* 265²⁰; *hieltthenn* *past ind.* 3^d *pl.* 266^{20/31}; B *hielten* 267³¹; *gehalben* *p. p.* 262²⁰; 268¹⁴; 270¹⁶; 278²²; B *gehalten* 263²⁰; 269¹⁴; 271¹⁶; 279²²; *gehalbenn* *p. p.* 266¹⁶; B *gehalten* 267¹⁶. See also sub *ahnu* *halten*.

[*hændel*] commerce, affair, *sb. m., hændel* *acc. pl.* 246¹⁷; 247¹⁷; *hændeln* *dat. pl.* 246¹²; 247¹²; 266²⁰; 267²⁰.

hændeln handle a subject, talk about 274²⁰; 275²⁰; *hændlenn* *act.* 272²²; B *hændlen* 273²².

hændt hand, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 280¹⁰⁻²²; 281¹⁰⁻²² *hænden* *dat. pl.* 244¹⁵; 245¹⁴; *hændenn* 246¹⁵; B *hænden* 247¹⁵.

hæns John, surname 240⁷; 241⁹; *hæns* 242⁵; B *hæns* 243⁵.

hæren wait for, *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 270²⁰; B *hæren* 271²⁰.

[*hært*] hard, severe *hært* *nom. sg. f.* 244²²; B *hært* 245²¹; *hærtten* *nom. pl. m.* 244⁹; B *hærtten* 245⁹.

hændt hide, skin, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 270¹⁰; 271¹⁰; *bunden* in der *h.* rascals with the skin on i. e. complete, out and out rascals.

hæuff heap, crowd *sb. m., nom. sg.* 276²⁰; 277²⁰; der grøste *h.* the great majority.

hæuf house, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 244¹²; 245¹²; *hæufær* *acc. pl.* 246²¹; *hæufær* 247²¹.

hæufæntt house-owners, people with some property, *gen. pl.* 274⁶; B *hæufænt* 275⁶.

[*hæftig*] vehemently, ardently, *adv.* *hæftigers* comparative 254²¹; 255²¹. As the word qualifies *bieten* = *bitten*, it is plain that *hæftigers* must be adverb and stand for the more common form *hæftiger*. The *s* is either due to the influence of the preceding *hæfers* or to be considered like that in *eylent* 280¹⁴.

[*hæide*] heathen, *sb. m., hældenn* *dat. pl.* 274^{2/4}; B *hæyden* 275^{2/4}.

[*hæidtnis*] heathenish, *hæidtnis* *gen. sg. f.* 254¹; B *hæidtnis* 255¹.

hæil health, salvation, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 242²⁰; B *hæil* 243²⁷.

hæylig holy, *nom. sg. n.* 272²²; *gen. sg. n.* 278²⁰; but *hæylig* is probably mistake for *hæiligen*, or forms a unit with the following *Ænangeltj*; *acc. sg. n.* 268²²; B *hæilig* 273²²; 279²²; *hæylig* 269²⁰; *hæylige* *nom. sg. m.* 242¹⁰; 246¹⁴; *acc. sg. f.* 264³; B *hæylig* 243¹¹; 247¹⁴; *hæilige* 265³; *hæyligen* *gen. sg. f.* 246²⁴; *dat. sg. m.* 262^{2/2}; 266²⁵; *acc. sg. m.* 264²⁵; B *hæiligen* 247²⁴; 263²; 265²⁴; 267²⁵; *hæyligenn* *dat. sg. n.* 246¹²; *nom. pl. m.* 266⁴; B *hæyligen* 247¹²; 267⁴; *hæyliger* *dat. sg. f.* 258²²; B *hæyliger* 259²²; *hæyliger* *gen. pl. m.* 266⁹; *dat. sg. f.* 278¹¹; B *hæyliger* 267⁹; 279¹¹.

[*hæylsam*] wholesome, salutary, *hæylsame* *acc. sg. f.* 248⁵; B *hæylsame* 249⁵.

hæimlich secret 276⁸; B *hæymlich* 277⁸.

hæimlidit secrecy, secrets, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 270¹⁰; B *hæimlidit* 271^{10/10}.

hæiffen call, name, *inf.* 264⁸; *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 268²⁴; B *hæiffen* 265⁸; *hæiffen* 269²⁴; *hæiffenn* *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 268²¹; B *hæiffen* 269²¹;

heißt *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 244¹²; 252²⁰; 262²²⁻²³; B heißt 245¹²; 263²²⁻²³; heißt 253²⁰. Contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person to *Heißt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 278²⁵; B *Heißt* 279²⁵.

helfenn help, be of avail, *inf.* 254²⁰; 280²²; B helfen 255²²; 281²²; hilff *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 252⁵; 253⁵; see also sub auffhelfen. Contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person to *hilffst* 246¹; 247¹; geholfenn *p. p.* 254¹⁷; B geholffen 255¹⁷.

hell hell, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 254⁵; 255⁵; hellen *gen. sg.* 264²; 265².

[hell] bright, helles *nom. sg. n.* 262⁹; 263⁹.

henden, hendenn see sub handt.

hendel, hendeln see sub handel.

[hengen] hang, hingen *past ind. 3^d pl.* 270²⁰; B hingen 271²⁰.

her ago, since, *adv.* 252²⁰; B hør 253²⁰.

her see sub er.

herdt herd, flock, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 244²⁰; 245¹²; *acc. sg.* 244¹⁶⁻¹⁸; 245¹⁷; B herdt 245¹⁵.

Herr Lord, sir, master, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 244¹⁰⁻²⁰; 246¹; 252⁶⁻¹⁶; 254¹²⁻²³⁻³⁰; 260³¹; 262³⁴; 266²⁹; 267²⁹; 272¹¹; 278²¹; 280²⁰; B Herr 253⁶⁻¹⁶; herr 245¹⁶⁻¹⁹; 247¹; 255¹²⁻²²⁻³⁰; 261³¹; 263³⁴; 273¹⁰; 279²¹; 281²²; herr 242¹⁰; 243¹¹; 244¹⁷⁻²⁴; 245¹⁶⁻²²; 278²²; 279²²; herren *dat. sg.* 248¹; 249¹; Herren *dat. sg.* 244⁴; 282¹⁴; *acc. sg.* 260⁴; B herren 245³; 261³; 283¹⁴; herren *dat. sg.* 242⁹; B herren 243⁹; Herrn *acc. sg.* 260²⁰; B herren 261²⁰; herrn 280²⁷; B herren 281²⁷; herrun *nom. pl.* 280²⁴; B herren 281²⁴; Her *nom. sg.* 270⁶; B Herr 271⁶; Herrn *dat. sg.* 258¹⁴; 280²⁹; B Herren 259¹⁴; 281²⁰; hern *dat. sg.* 242⁴; *acc. pl.* 278¹⁴; B herrn 243⁴; Herren 279¹⁴; herrun *gen. sg.* 278²⁸⁻³⁶; *dat. sg.* 242⁴; *acc. sg.* 240⁴; 260⁹; *nom. pl.* 254¹⁸; B Herren 241⁴; 255¹⁷; herren 243⁴; 261⁸; 279³⁵; herrn 279²⁸.

heraus führen bring out, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 256²⁷; B heraus führen 257²⁷.

[herfur brengen] bring forward, her fur brengt *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 270¹⁹; B herfür bringt 271¹⁹; herfur bracht *p. p.* 254²; B herfür bracht 255^{1/2}.

Herr gott Lord God, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 260³¹. B herr gott 261³¹.

herkommen see sub alst herkommen.

hernach afterwards, *adv.* 254¹⁵; 255¹⁵.

herz heart, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 252⁹⁻¹¹; 253⁹⁻¹¹; *dat. sg.* 272²⁰; 273²⁰; *acc. sg.* 250⁴; 251⁴; 256¹⁷; 257¹⁶; 258¹⁰; 259¹⁰; 268²¹; 269²¹; herzen *dat. sg.* 262¹⁰; 263⁹; 264¹⁷; 265¹⁷; *dat. sg.* 244²¹⁻²⁵; 245²⁰⁻²⁴; 270¹⁶; 271¹⁶; *gen. pl.* 262²²; 263²²; *acc. pl.* 254²¹; 255²⁰; herzen *gen. pl.* 270¹⁹; *dat. pl.* 264²²; B herzen 265²²; 271¹⁹; herzens *gen. sg.* 250²; 251²; 258²; 259²; 262¹⁵; 263¹⁴.

herzlich hearty, cordial, *acc. sg. n.* 254²⁶; 255²⁴; *adv.* 280²²; 281²².

hezen urge, incite 248²⁰; B by mistake herzen 249²⁰.

heuchley hypocrisy, sham, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 246⁶; B heuchleren 247⁶.

heupt head, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 262³⁴; 264⁶ note the umlaut; B heupt 263²²; 265⁶.

heuptlafter principal vice, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 252⁴; B heuptlafter 253⁴.

[heutig] of to-day, heutigs tags, *gen. sg. m.* used as adverb 268¹⁵; B heutig 269¹⁵; heutigens tags nowadays 250¹²; B heutigens 251².

hie here, *adv.* 246¹⁶; 252⁹; 253⁹; B hie 247¹⁶.

hie her coupled with bis, up to now *adv.* 260²; B by mistake hieher 261².

hielten, hieltenn, hieltenn see sub halten.

hiemit herewith, *adv.* 246⁵; 254²⁰; 255²⁰; B hiemit 247⁵; Hiemit 282¹⁴; B Hiemit 283¹⁴; hiemit 272²; B hiemit 273².

Hiereinas Jeremiah, proper name, *nom. sg.* 252¹⁰; 253¹⁰; Hiemie *gen. sg.* 244¹⁵; 245¹⁴.

hierin herein, *adv.* 254²⁰; 255²⁰; hierin 272²²; B hierin 273²²; hier in 268⁵.

Hiervoam Jeroboam, proper name, *gen. sg.* 254¹⁴; 255¹⁴.

Hieronimus Jerome, proper name, *nom. sg.* 266⁷; B Hieronimus 267⁷.

hilff, hilffst see sub helfen.

hinderuſ obstacle, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 276⁹; *dat. sg.* 276²⁵. Note the phrase in hinderuſ sein be in the way as an obstacle; B hinderuſ 277⁹⁻²⁵.

hinfur henceforth, *adv.* 244²²; B hinfür 245²²; hinfür 246⁹; B hinfür 247¹⁰.

hinfurt henceforth, *adv.* 246²²; B hinfür 247²²; hinfurth *adv.* 274⁴; B hinfür 275⁴.

hingen see sub hengen.

ſtrauß hereupon, *adv.* 268²⁰; B ſtrauß 269²⁰.

[hirt] herdsman, shepherd, *sb. m.* hirten *nom. pl.* 244²⁸; *gen. pl.* 272¹⁴; *dat. pl.* 244¹⁷; *acc. pl.* 244²²; B hirten 245¹⁸⁻²¹⁻²⁶; 273¹⁴; hirten *dat. pl.* 280⁸; B hirten 281⁸; hirten *dat. pl.* 244¹⁸; *acc. pl.* 244¹¹; B hirten 245¹⁰⁻¹⁵.

hoh high 278²⁷; 279²⁷; hohe *nom. sg. f.* 254¹²; 255¹²; hoh *gen. sg. f.* 270²; B hohen 271²; hoher comparative *acc. sg. n.* 254²⁰; B höher 255²¹; höhsten superlative, *dat. sg. n.* 254²⁰; B höhsten 255²⁰.

[hoch] highly, *adv.* hoch greatly highly esteemed 262²⁷; 263²⁷; hochgeacht 282¹⁰; 283¹⁰.

hochlich highly, *adv.* 244⁹; B hochlich 245⁸.

[hochwürdig] right reverend, title of address accorded to the bishop, Hochwürbiger *voc. sg. m.* 242¹⁰; B Hochwürbiger 243¹¹; hochwürbigen *dat. sg. m.* 242³; 243³; epithet applied to the holy sacrament of the eucharist hochwürbigen *dat. sg. n.* 274⁹; B hochwürbigen 275⁹.

hoffart haughtiness, pride, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 258⁴; 259⁴; *dat. sg.* 258¹⁶; *acc. sg.* 252²; B Hoffart 253²; hochhoffart 257¹⁸.

[hoff] court, *sb. m.*, hofte *dat. sg.* 276²²; 277²²; 278⁷; B hof 279⁷; hofen *dat. pl.* 246⁵; 247⁵.

hoffen hope, *inf.* 256²⁰; 257²⁰; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 246²¹; 247²¹; 270²⁶; 271²⁶; 272²⁴; 273²⁴; 280⁷; 281⁷.

hoffertig haughty, proud 248¹⁷; B hochhoffertig 249¹⁷.

hoffren court, *inf.* 256²⁴; B hoffren 257²⁴.

hoh, hoher, hoh see sub hoch.

holenn get, 278⁸; B hollen 279⁸.

holz wood, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 256²²; 257²²; *acc. sg.* 262²⁰; 263²⁰.

horen hear, *inf.* 248²⁷; 260²¹; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 246¹⁵; B horen 247¹⁵; 249²⁷; 261²¹; horen *inf.* 272⁶; 273⁶. Wie wol ich ehlche Prelaten haben h. lassen although some prelates have been heard saying. 278⁶; 279²²; horen *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 280²¹; B horen 281²¹; horen 278²²; B 279⁶.

hilff help, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 262²⁸; hilff 280²⁸; B hilff 283²⁸; 281²⁸.

[hund] dog, *sb. m.*, hunde *nom. pl.* 244²⁵⁻²⁷; 245²⁴⁻²⁶.

hundert hundred, numeral 252^{20 bis}; 253^{20 bis};

hungerig hungry 274⁹; 275⁹.

Hus, proper name 268⁴⁻¹²; B Hus 269⁴⁻¹²; Hus 268¹⁵; 269¹⁴.

hymel heaven, *dat. sg.* 258¹⁸; 259¹⁸; 266¹; *acc. sg.* 250¹⁸; 251¹⁸; 254⁶; 255⁶; 258⁶; 258²³⁻²⁴; 259⁶⁻²³⁻²⁴; 278⁷; 279⁷; B hymel 267¹; hymel *gen. pl.* 252⁷; B hymel 253⁷.

I.

ich *nom. sg.* 244¹³⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁹⁻²²; 245¹³⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻²¹; 248¹; 249¹; 264¹³; 280²⁴; 281²⁴; Ich 260²¹; 261²⁰; 262¹²; 263¹²; 264²; 265⁸⁻¹²; 280⁴⁻²⁴; 281⁴⁻²⁴; mir to me, *dat. sg.* 260¹⁸⁻²¹; 261¹⁸⁻²¹; 264²⁷⁻²⁸; 265^{28 bis}; 280²⁴; 281²⁴; mich me, *acc. sg.* 264²⁸; 265²⁷; 278²²; 279²²; wir we, *nom. pl.* 242⁵⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰⁻²⁴⁻²⁵; 243⁵⁻²⁰⁻²¹⁻²⁵⁻²⁶; 246^{4-5 bis 15-21}; 247^{4-5 bis 15-21}; 248¹¹⁻¹²; 249¹¹⁻¹²; 250¹⁵⁻²²⁻²⁴; 251¹⁴⁻²²⁻²⁴; 252¹⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻³¹; 253¹⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻³⁰; 254⁷⁻²⁸⁻²⁹⁻³⁰⁻³¹⁻²⁵; 255⁷⁻²⁶⁻²⁸⁻²⁹⁻³⁰⁻²⁵; 256^{1 bis 6-7-8-10-12 bis 16-19-27}; 257^{1 bis 7-8-10-11-12-16-19-27}; 258^{2-11-12-15 bis 17-19-21-22-23 bis 26-27-28}; 259^{2-11-12-15 bis 17-19-21-22-23 bis 26-27-28}; 260¹⁻²⁻⁴⁻⁸⁻¹⁰⁻¹²⁻²⁶⁻³⁰; 261^{1 bis 4-8-10-12-26-30}; 262^{8-11-16-17 bis 22 bis 27-28}; 263^{7-10-15-16-17-22 bis 27-28}; 264^{11-12-14-15-16-17-20 bis 21-22-23-25-26-28-35}; 265^{11-12-14-15-16-17-19-20 bis 21-22-24-27-31-24}; 266¹⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻²⁴; 267¹⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻²⁴; 268²⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁵⁻²⁰⁻²²; 269²⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁵⁻²⁰⁻²²; 270¹¹⁻²²⁻²⁴⁻²⁴; 271¹¹⁻²²⁻²⁴⁻²⁴; 272¹⁻²⁻⁶⁻⁹⁻¹⁰⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁹⁻²⁴; 273¹⁻²⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻⁹⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁹⁻²⁴; 274¹¹⁻¹²⁻²⁵; 275¹¹⁻¹²⁻²⁴; 276²²⁻²⁹; 277²²⁻²⁹; 278⁷⁻¹⁰⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²⁴; 279⁷⁻¹⁰⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²⁴; 280^{7 bis 12-26}; 281^{7 bis 12-26}; 282⁵⁻⁶⁻¹¹⁻¹⁴; 283⁵⁻⁶⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁴; Ich 246¹⁶; 247¹⁶; 252²²; 254²⁵; 255²⁵; 258⁷; 259⁶; 260¹⁵; 261¹⁵; 266²⁰; 267²⁰; 268¹²⁻²⁸; 269¹²⁻²⁸; 272¹²; 273¹²; 274²⁷; 275²⁸; 276¹²⁻²⁵; 277¹²⁻²⁵; 278⁵⁻³⁰; 279⁵⁻³⁰; 280²¹; 281²¹; B wir 253²²; wir contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person to wir 242¹⁵; 243¹⁶; 256¹³⁻²⁷; 257¹³⁻²⁷; 258¹²; 259¹²; 262¹⁴; 263¹²; 264²⁵; 265²⁴; 268²¹; 269²²; 272¹; 273¹; 278¹; 279¹; 280²⁴⁻²⁸; 281²⁴⁻²⁸; unser *gen. pl.*, dependent on vergeffen 254²²; 255²²; uns us, *dat. pl.* 246²⁴; 247²⁴; 250²⁵; 252²; 253²; 258⁹; 259⁹; 260²⁻¹²; 261¹²; 262²⁰⁻²²; 263²⁰; 264¹⁵; 265¹⁵; 268⁶⁻¹¹⁻²¹; 269⁶⁻¹¹⁻²¹; 272²; 273²; 280¹⁰⁻²²; 281²²; B uns 251²⁵;

261²; 263²³; 281¹⁰; *unn* 242¹⁵⁻²⁰⁻²²; 258²⁴; 264²⁰; 272¹⁸; 282¹⁶; B *un* 243¹⁷⁻²¹⁻²³; 259²⁴; 265²⁵; 273¹⁸; 283¹⁶. *un* *acc. pl.* 242¹⁸; 243¹⁹; 254²⁵⁻²⁶; 255²⁵⁻²⁶; 256¹¹⁻¹²; 257¹⁰⁻¹²; 258¹⁴; 259¹⁴; 260⁴; 261⁴; 264¹⁷⁻²¹; 265¹⁷⁻²¹; 268²¹; 269²¹; 272⁰⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁶; 273⁰⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁶; 278^{24 bis 25}; 279²⁴⁻²⁵; 280⁵; 281⁵; B *unn* 279²⁴; *unn* 250¹⁸; 254²²; 258¹²; 264¹⁰; 274²⁰; 280¹⁵; B *un* 251¹⁸; 255²²; 259¹²; 265¹⁰; 275²⁸; 281¹⁵.

*i*hm, *ihm*, *hm*, *i*hn, *h*hn, *h*hcn, *h*cn, *h*cnun see sub *er*.

*I*hr, *ih*r you see sub *du*; *i*hr, *ir* of them see sub *er*.

*i*hr her, possessive pronoun of the 3^d *fem.*: *i*. *cygeuu geifflid* reht *her i. e.* Your Grace's own canonical law 246¹⁶; B *jr* 247¹⁶.

*i*hr their, possessive pronoun of the 3^d person, *acc. sg. f.* 252¹⁵; 268²⁰; *nom. sg. m.* 270⁷; *nom. sg. n.* 266²⁰; *acc. sg. n.* 280²²; *nom. pl. n.* 266¹⁶; B *jr* 253¹⁵; 267¹⁵⁻²⁰; 269²⁰; 271⁷; 281²²; *ir nom. sg. n.* 264⁶; *acc. sg. f.* 272⁷; B *jr* 265⁶; 273⁷; *hr acc. sg. n.* 246¹⁰; B *jr* 247¹⁰; *ih*r *nom. sg. f.* 248²⁴; B *jr* 249²⁴; *i*hre *nom. sg. f.* 256⁸; *acc. sg. f.* 256²⁰; *acc. pl. m.* 266²¹; B *jre* 257⁷⁻²⁰; 267²¹; *ih*re *nom. sg. f.* 272¹¹; *acc. pl. m.* 244²⁰; 274²⁸; *acc. pl. n.* 250¹¹; B *jre* 245²⁰; 251¹¹; 275²⁷; *jr* 273¹¹; *i*hre used as neuter noun, their own, *acc. sg.* 278²²; B *jre* 279²². *i*hrem *dat. sg. m.* 256¹⁶; 280²⁵; *dat. sg. n.* 254⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹⁷; B *jrem* 255⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹⁶; 257¹⁵; 281²⁵; *irem dat. sg. m.* 268¹⁴; B *jrem* 269¹⁴; *ih*rem *dat. sg. m.* 272¹⁶; *dat. sg. n.* 244⁶⁻²⁴; 250¹⁴; B *jrem* 245⁵⁻²²; 251¹⁴; 273¹⁶; *h*rem *dat. sg. n.* 250²²; B *jrem* 251²²; *i*hren *acc. sg. m.* 260²²; *dat. pl. m.* 268¹; 276¹⁸; *dat. pl. f.* 272¹²; B *jren* 261²²; 269¹; 273¹²; 277¹²; *h*hren *dat. pl. f.* 248⁶; 282² it seems mistake for *ih*rem *dat. sg. n.*; B *jren* 249⁶; 283². *i*hrer *dat. sg. f.* 250²⁰; 274²¹; *gen. pl. m.* 250²⁵; B *jrer* 251²⁵⁻²⁹; 275²⁰; *ih*rer *gen. sg. f.* 282²; *dat. sg. f.* 244²¹; 276²⁰; B *jrer* 245²⁰; 277²⁰; 283²; *yrer gen. sg. f.* 244²; 272¹⁹; *gen. pl. f.* 276⁹; B *jrer* 245²; 273¹⁹; 277⁹; *i*hres *gen. sg. n.* 248²⁰; B *jres* 249²⁰; *ih*res *gen. sg. n.* 250²;

280¹⁴; B *jres* 251²; 281¹⁴; *hres gen. sg. n.* 246²¹; *gen. sg. m.* 250⁶; B *jres* 247²¹; 251⁶.

*I*hm, *im*, *hm* see sub in *prep.*

in in *prep. w. dat. and acc.*; with the *dat.* 242²; 243²; 244²⁰⁻²²; 245²⁷⁻³¹; 248¹⁵⁻²⁷; 249¹⁵⁻²⁷; 252¹⁹; 253¹⁹; 258²; 259²; 280¹⁹; 281¹⁹; 282²²⁻²³; 283²²⁻²³; 288⁷⁻²¹; 269⁷⁻²⁰; 270¹⁸; 271¹⁶; with the *acc.* 246¹⁷; 247¹⁷; 272²⁵; 273²⁵ where it may be contraction of *in dem*. The spelling with double *n* occurs in numerous instances: *I*nn *w. dat.* 258²¹; B *I*n 259²¹; *h*nn *w. dat.* 242²¹⁻²²; 244⁴⁻⁵; 246⁵⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻¹⁵⁻²⁴; 248²; 250²¹⁻²⁰; 254^{44-36 bis}; 256¹⁶⁻²⁷; 258⁷⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰; 260¹⁻²⁻⁷⁻⁸⁻²¹; 262¹⁻¹¹; 264²²; 266¹¹⁻²⁷⁻²⁸; 270¹²; 272¹²⁻²⁰; 278¹⁻²⁻²²; 280⁹; with *acc.* 256²⁻²⁰; 274¹¹⁻¹²; 280²²⁻²³; B *in* 243²²⁻²⁴; 245²⁻⁴; 247⁵⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁵⁻²⁵; 249²; 251²¹⁻²⁰; 255²²⁻²⁵; 257¹⁻²⁻²⁰; 259⁷⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰; 261¹⁻²⁻⁷⁻⁸⁻²¹; 263¹⁻¹⁰; 265²²; 267¹¹⁻²⁷⁻²⁸; 271¹²; 273¹²⁻²⁰; 279¹⁻²⁻¹²; 281⁰⁻²²⁻²³; *inn* 247¹¹; 257¹⁵⁻²⁷.

We have a contraction of the preposition with the forms of the article in the following instances: *h*nn for *hn dem*, *acc. sg. m.* 250¹⁸; 268²⁰⁻²²; B *has in* 251¹⁸; 269²⁰⁻²²; *h*nn for *hn dem dat. pl. m.* 260¹⁸; 264¹⁵; B *in* 261¹⁸; 265¹⁵; *h*nn *dat. pl. n.* 266²; B *in* 267²; *h*nn 264¹²; B *in* 265¹² may be mistake for *hm* contraction of *hn dem dat. m.*; *h*nn for *hn dem dat. pl. n.* seems to stand 280²⁰; B *in* 281²⁰; just so *in* for *in dem*, *dat. pl. n.* 270²²; 271²²; *hn* with the *dat. sg. of the masculine article* coalesces into *hm* 246¹⁻²²; 252⁶⁻¹⁶; 256¹²⁻²⁵⁻²⁰; 258¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹; 260¹²⁻¹⁷; 262²⁻¹²; 264²⁷; 270¹²⁻¹⁵; 280¹⁵; 282^{9 bis}; it is = *hn* with the *dat. sg. of the neuter article* 256⁷⁻¹¹; 258²²; 262¹²; 264¹⁷⁻²¹; 266¹⁰⁻¹²; 268⁴⁻⁷; 270¹²; 282⁸⁻²²; B *has im* 247¹⁻²²; 257⁷⁻¹⁰⁻¹²⁻²⁵⁻³⁰; 259¹⁶⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁻²⁶; 261¹²⁻¹⁷; 263²⁻¹²; 265¹⁷⁻²¹⁻²⁶; 267¹⁰⁻¹²; 269⁴⁻⁷; 271¹²⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁶; 281¹²; 283^{8-9 bis}; *hm* 253⁶; 259¹¹. Note *I*hm for *in dem*, *dat. n.* 282¹²; B *I*m 283¹⁷. *h*ns for *in das acc. sg. n.* 252⁷; B *ins* 253⁷. Quite notable is the contraction *i*hns 268⁶; B *ins* 269⁶ where *i*hns *fur*-*hen can*helei stands for *in des fur*hen *can*helei.

*in*cn, *h*nn see sub *er*.

ihns = **in des** see sub **in prep.**
[innerlich] inner, inward, **innerlichen dat. pl. f.** 258², 259².
inwendig inside, **adv.** 262¹, 263¹.
irleinn any one, **nom. sg. n.** 258¹²; **B jr** **lain** 259¹².
[irre] astray, at error, **irrer** comparative 270²²; **B irrer** 271²².
irren err, **inf.** 262¹²; **irren** 278¹⁰; **B irren** 263²²; 279¹⁰; **irrenn** 266⁴; **B irren** 267⁴; **irre pres. subj.** 8⁴ **sg.** 262²¹; 264¹⁶; **B irre** 263²¹; 265¹²; **geirret p.p.** 264¹⁹; 266⁵; **B geirret** 265¹⁹; 267⁵.
irrer see sub **irre**.
irrtumb error, **sb. m., nom. sg.** 262²⁰; **B irrtumb** 263²⁰.
[Israel] Israel, proper name, **dat. sg.** 244¹⁴, 245¹²; **gen. sg.** 244¹⁷, 245¹⁶.
ir, Ir, irs see sub **lein**.
Item likewise, **adv.** 244¹⁵⁻²⁴, 245¹⁴⁻²²; 248¹, 249¹; 260²⁰, 261²⁰; 262¹¹, 263¹⁰; 272²⁰, 273²⁰; 274¹¹⁻³¹, 275¹¹⁻²⁹; 276¹⁷, 277¹⁷; 282⁹, 283⁹.
[iſig] present, **iſigen dat. sg. f.** 268¹²; **B heſigen** 269¹².
iſmois at the present time, **adv.** 264¹²; **B heſmois** 265¹².
iſt at present, now, **adv.** 256¹; 268⁵; 272²⁴; **B heſt** 269⁵; 273²⁴; **heſt** 257¹.
iſundt at present, now 242²⁰; 270²²; 274²; **B heſundt** 243²⁷; **heſund** 271²²; 275².
iſunder at present, now 256⁴; **B heſund** 257⁴.

J.

Ja yes, indeed, **adv.** 250²⁻²², 251²⁻²²; 260¹⁰, 261¹⁰; 262⁷, 263⁶; 266¹⁷⁻²⁰, 267¹⁷⁻²⁰; 268²⁰⁻²², 269²²; 270²², 271²²; 272²⁻²⁷, 273²⁻²⁷; 274², 275²; 276³¹, 277³¹; 278¹⁰⁻¹⁴, 279¹⁰⁻¹²; **B ja** 269²²; **Jha** 250¹², 266²²; 268²; 276¹⁰⁻¹²; 278¹⁶; 282⁵; **B Ja** 251¹²; 267²²; 269²; 277²⁻¹²; 279¹⁶; 283⁶; **ja** 244²; 254¹¹; 256²⁰; 258⁵; 260⁷; 268²¹; 270¹²; 282⁸; **B ja** 245²; 255¹¹; 259⁵; 261⁷; 271¹²; 283⁸; **Ja** 257²⁰; 269²¹; **hja** 250²²; 252²⁰; 256¹²; 274¹²; **Jha** 252²²; **B ja** 253¹⁹; 257¹²; **Ja** 251²²; 253²²; 275¹².
Jacob Jacob, proper name, **dat. sg.** 242⁴, 243⁴.
Jambres Jambres, proper name, **nom. sg.** 248²²; **B Jambres** 249²².

Jannes Jannes, proper name, **nom. sg.** 248²²; **B Jannes** 249²².
iar year, **sb. n., dat. sg.** 282¹²⁻²²; **acc. sg.** 250¹¹; **acc. pl.** 252²⁰; 270²²; **B iar** 251¹¹; 253²⁰; 271²²; 283¹⁷; **iarſ gen. sg.** 282¹⁷; **B Jarſ** 283¹⁷; **iaru dat. pl.** 270⁴; **B iaren** 271⁴.
[jener] that one, **Jhene nom. pl. m.** 256¹⁴, 257¹⁴.
Jerusalem Jerusalem, name of place, **dat. sg.** 270²²; **B Jherusalem** 271²².
[Jeſus] Jesus, proper name, **Jeſu gen. sg.** 254²²; **B Jheſu** 255²²; **Jheſu gen. sg.** 258¹², 259¹²; **dat. sg.** 242⁹, 243⁹; 248¹, 249¹; 282¹⁴, 283¹⁴; **Jeſum acc. sg.** 258²¹, 259²¹.
[Joannes] John, proper name, **Joanne dat. sg.** 252⁶; 260¹⁷; 262¹²; 264¹²; 282⁹, 283⁹; **B Johanne** 253⁶; 261¹⁷; 263¹²; 265¹².
[Jude] Jew, **sb. m., Juden nom. pl.** 276²², 277²²; **Judenn** 278¹⁷; **B Juden** 279¹⁷.
[Judisſch] Jewish, **Judiſche acc. pl. f.** 246²²; **B Jüdiſche** 247²².
[Julius] Julius, proper name, **Julij. gen. sg.** 264⁹, 265⁹.
[jung] young, **iungen nom. pl. m.** 272²¹; **B jungen** 273²¹; **iungſten** superlative, **dat. sg. m.** 244¹¹; 270⁷; **B Jungſten** 245¹⁰; **jungſten** 271⁷; **hjungſten** 272²²; 276¹⁰; **B Jungſten** 273²²⁻²⁹; 277¹⁰⁻²²; **hjungſten** 276²².
iunger disciple, **sb. m., nom. pl.** 270²¹; **B Junger** 271²¹; **Jungern dat. pl.** 260²¹, 261²¹.

K.

kan see sub **lönnen**.
[kauffen] buy, **gekauffte nom. pl. n., of the p.p.** 250²⁰, 251¹⁹⁻²⁰.
kaum hardly, **adv.** 252²¹, 253²⁰; 264²⁰, 265²⁰, 276²², 277²².
legen, lein see sub **gegen**.
lein no, none, not any, **nom. sg. m.** 258⁵; 260¹²; 264²⁴; **nom. sg. n.** 278¹⁵; **acc. sg. n.** 270²⁵; 274²⁷; **B lain** 259⁵; 265²²; 271²⁵; 275²²; 279¹⁵; **layn** 261¹²; **leinn acc. sg. f.** 262¹²; **B lain** 263¹²; see also sub **irleinn**; **leine nom. sg. f.** 254²; **acc. sg. f.** 260¹⁵; 278¹⁷; 280¹⁴; **B layne** 255²; **layn** 261¹⁵; 281¹⁴; **lain** 279¹⁷; **leynen acc. sg. m.** 244²²; **B lainen** 245²⁷; **leiner nom.**

sg. m. 244²²; *gen. sg. f.* 246¹⁷; B *layner* 245²²; 247¹⁷.
leiher emperor, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 260²⁷; B *Rayser* 261²⁷; *leiher's gen. sg.* 260²⁷; B *Rayser's* 261²⁷.
leunen pres. ind. 1st pl. 270²⁰, 271²⁰.
leren turn, inf. 248⁸, 249⁸; *ler pres. opt. 3d sg.* 280²⁰; B *lör* 281²⁰; *lerr pres. opt. 3d sg.* 280²⁰; B *lör* 281²⁰. It is possible, as has been pointed out sub D, that for 280²⁰ a separate verb *lerren* = OE. *cerren* turn will have to be posited.
leste cheese, *sb. m., acc.* 276²¹; B *lāf* 277²¹.
lether heretic, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 252¹⁷, 253¹⁷.
leischheit chastity, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 276⁸; B *leischheit* 277⁸.
liht child, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 256²⁰, 257²⁰.
kirche church, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 262²⁰⁻²², 263²²; 264⁷, 265⁷; *acc. sg.* 266²¹; B *kirche* 263²²; 267²¹; *kirche dat. sg.* 262²⁰, 263²²; *kirch nom. sg.* 264¹⁰, 265¹⁰; 266²⁰, 267²⁰; *acc. sg.* 262²⁰, 263²⁰; 272⁸; B *kirch* 273⁷; *kirch dat. sg.* 266⁹; *acc. sg.* 264⁸, 265⁸; B *kirchen* 267⁹; *kirchen gen. sg.* 266¹⁰; *acc. sg.* 264⁸, 265⁸; *dat. pl.* 272¹³, 273¹³; B *kirchen* 267¹⁰.
kirchferthen go on a pilgrimage to a votive church, *inf.* 250²⁷. Usually in the combination *kirchferthen sihen*; B *kirchferthen* 251²⁷; *kirch ferthen inf.* 250²²; B by misprint *kirchferthen* 251²².
klar clear, bright, *adj.* 256²⁰, 257²⁰.
klarheit clarity, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 262⁹; B *klarheit* 263⁸; *klarheit* 262¹³; B *klarheit* 263¹².
klarlich clearly, *adv.* 252^{16/17}, 253¹⁶; 266⁷; 276¹; B *klarlich* 267⁷; 277¹.
kleid cloth, vestment, *sb. n., kleider dat. pl.* 256²²; B *klayder* 257²²; the strictly grammatical form, of course, would be *kleibern*; the form we find is due to the influence of the preceding datives *hōlch/lein/peiff* which all lack their proper dative ending *e*.
klein little, small, *kleiner gen. pl. n.* 282⁸; B *klayner* 283⁸; *adj. used as masc. noun: kleinen dat. pl.* 256²¹; B *klaynen* 257²¹; *kleinisten* superlative, *gen. pl. f.* 254²²; B *klainisten* 255²².
klug wise, clever, *kluge nom. sg. m.* 252⁸; B *kluge* 252

knacht servant, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 278²², 279²².
kommen come, *inf.* 250¹⁸, 251¹⁸; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250¹⁰⁻²², 251¹⁰⁻²²; *kommen inf.* 246³; B *kommen* 247²; *kompt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 252²⁰, 253²⁰; 256⁴; B *kompt* 257⁴.
kommer grief, distress, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 250²⁰; B *kommer* 251²⁰.
kommeru sich care for, reflexive, *inf.* 272⁷; B *komern* 273⁷; *kommerich pres. ind. 3d sg.* 278²; B *komert* 279².
[kōnig] king, *sb. m., kōnige nom. pl.* 280⁴; *acc. pl.* 278¹⁴; B *kōnige* 279¹⁴; 281⁴.
[kōniglich] royal, *kōniglichen dat. sg. f.* 282²².
können be able, *pres. ind. 1st pl.*, 264¹⁷, 265¹⁶; *können pres. ind. 1st pl.* 258²²; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 244²⁰⁻²⁷; 256²²; 270⁵; B *können* 245²⁰⁻²²; 257²²; 259²²; 271⁵. Contracted with the neuter pronoun of the third person to *könnens pres. ind. 1st pl.* 268¹⁵; B *könnens* 269¹⁵; *könnens pres. ind. 3d pl.* 280²⁰, 281²⁰; *kan pres. ind. 3d sg.* 246², 247²; 252⁷, 253⁷; 262²², 263²²; 264¹⁷, 265¹⁷; 270²¹, 271²¹; 280¹¹, 281¹¹; *kunde past ind. 3d sg.* 252⁸; B *kunde* 253⁸.
[korn] grain, *sb. n. korns gen. sg.* 250²⁷; *korns* 250²²; B *korns* 251²⁷⁻²².
kraft strength, power, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 280⁹, 281⁹; *acc. sg.* 248²¹, 249²⁰; *kraft acc. sg.* 266¹⁴, 267¹⁴; 278²⁰; B *kraft* 279²⁰; *kraften dat. pl.* 258⁸, 259⁷.
[krefftig] strong, *krefftiger* comparative 270¹², 271¹².
[krank] patient, sick person, *sb. m., kranken dat. pl.* 250¹⁰, 251¹⁰. But it is possible that *den* is misprint for *dem dat. sg.*
krankheit illness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 280²¹; B *krankheit* 281²¹.
[krie] war, *sb. m.; kriege nom. pl.* 264⁹; B *kriege* 265⁸.
kurz shortly, *adv.* 280²¹, 281²¹.
kurz umb in short, *adv.* 262²⁰; B *kurzumb* 263²⁰; *kurz umb* 252²⁰; B *kurzumb* 253²⁰.

Q.

[laub] country, *sb. n., lauben dat. pl.* 244²⁰, 245^{10/20}.
[lang] long, long-sustained *langen prob-*

- ably mistake for *langem* *dat. sg. m.* 266²⁴; B *langen* 267²⁴.
- lang* long, for the length of, *adv.* 246¹⁰; 250¹¹, 251¹¹; in B united with *leben* 247¹⁰; *lenger* any longer, comparative, 260¹², 261¹²; 270¹², 271¹².
- Raugenwalbe* *Langenwaldau*, name of place, *dat. sg.* 239^{7/8}, 240¹⁰, 241¹⁰; *Raugenwalbe* 242⁶, 243⁶.
- langmütigst* long-suffering, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 248⁴; B *langmütigst* 249⁴.
- langst* long ago, *adv.* 268⁴, 269⁴; *langst* 248¹², 249¹². The word looks like the superlative form of the *adv.* *lang*, but is in reality mhd. *lauges* *adv.* with excrement t.
- langsam* slowly, *adv.* 268¹², 269^{12/13}.
- lassen* leave, let, have anything done, *inf.* 246¹⁶, 247¹⁶; 260¹⁵, 261¹⁵; *lassen* 244²⁶; 246²²; 250²²; 272²⁵; B *lassen* 245²²⁻²⁶; 247²²; 251²²; 273²⁵; 279¹⁰; *lassen* 244²²; 278¹⁰. The infinitive appears used as a neuter noun, *dat. sg.*, 250²⁴ mit... vil meß *lesen* / *lassen* B 251²⁴ mit... vil meß *lesen* / *lassen* with having many masses celebrated. *lassen* *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250²⁰⁻²²; 270⁴; B *lassen* 251²⁰⁻²²; 271⁴. *lassen* *p.p.* 272⁶, 273⁶ see also sub *hören*; *gelassen* *p.p.* 276¹; B *gelassen* 277¹; *lest* *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 242¹²; 268¹¹; B *laß* 243¹⁴; 269¹¹. See also sub *frey* *lassen*.
- laßter* vice, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 258⁵, 259⁴; *gen. pl.* 252⁴, 253⁴; *acc. pl.* 252²⁻³, 253²⁻³; *laßtern* *dat. pl.* 256²⁶, 257²⁶.
- lauffen* run, *inf.* 256¹⁹, 257¹⁹; 262²², 263²²; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 256²¹⁻²², 257²¹⁻²².
- lauter* pure, unadulterated, absolute, *nom. sg. n.* 270²⁸, 271²⁸; *lauter* *nom. sg. f.* 250⁷; 266¹⁹; 282⁴; *nom. sg. n.* 246²³, *acc. sg. n.* 244⁵; *nom. pl. m.* 270¹⁸; B *lautter* 251⁷; 267¹⁹; 283⁴; *lauter* 245⁴; 247²²; 271¹⁸; *lautern* *dat. sg. n.* 270²³; B *lauttern* 271²³.
- lauter* purely, absolutely, at all, *adv.* 256²⁰; 258²⁰; 264²; 272¹²⁻²³; B *lauter* 257²⁰; 259²⁰; 273²²; *lautter* 265²; 273¹².
- [*lauthen*] sound, read, *lauthet* *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 264²; B *lauttet* 265².
- leben* life, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 258⁶, 259⁶; *dat. sg.* 250¹⁴⁻²²⁻²⁵, 251¹⁴⁻²²⁻²⁵; *acc. sg.* 256², 257²; 268¹⁹, 269²⁰; *leben* *acc. sg.* 246¹⁰; 276¹²; 278⁷; B *leben* 247¹⁰; 277¹²; 279⁷; *lebens* *gen. sg.* 280¹⁴, 281¹⁴.
- leben* live 276⁶; B *leben* 277⁶; *leben* *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 268²⁰, 269²⁰.
- [*lebendig*] living, *lebendigen* *acc. pl. m.* 248², 249²; *lebendigen* *gen. sg. n.* 256^{24/25}, 257^{24/25}.
- legen* lay, set, put, *inf.* 278²⁴, 279²⁴; *legt* *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 280¹⁶, 281¹⁶.
- gelegenn* see sub *liegen*.
- legen*, *legt* see sub *aufflegen*.
- [*leger*] lying sick, sick-bed *sb. n.*, *legers* *gen. sg.* 280²⁴, 281²⁴.
- lehre* teaching, doctrine, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 276²; B *leere* 277²; *lere* *dat. sg.* 268¹⁸; *lere* *acc. sg.* 248⁵⁻⁶, 249⁵; B *leere* 249⁶; 269¹²; *leher* *gen. sg.* 254¹; B *leer* 255¹; *lehr* *gen. sg.* 260²; *dat. sg.* 254¹⁹; B *leer* 255¹⁹; 261²; *leer* *dat. sg.* 270²⁵, 271²⁵; *lehren* *acc. pl.* 254²⁷; B *leeren* 255²⁷. Note that *lere* 248⁶ is probably slip for *lerer* as it translates Latin *magistros* = Greek *διδασκάλους*. See sub *lerer*.
- leren* teach, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 246²¹; B *leeren* 247²¹; *lereth* *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 266¹; B *leeret* 267¹ see also sub *gelerth*.
- lerer* teacher, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 252²⁰; B *leerer* 253²⁰. Here too belongs 248⁶ *lere*; B 249⁶ *leere*, probable mistake for *lerer* *acc. pl.* See sub *lehre*.
- lereth* see sub *leren*.
- leishnam* corpse, body, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 264²⁹, 265²⁹.
- leicht* easily, *adv.* 262², 263²; 270²¹. Note the spelling in B *leüht* 271²¹.
- [*leichtfertig*] frivolous, *leichtfertigen* *dat. sg. n.* 254¹⁷, 255¹⁷.
- leiden* suffer, *inf.* 250²⁰; B *leiden* 251²⁰.
- leidlich* suffering, forbearing 248^{6/9}; B *leiblich* 249⁶.
- [*leiche*] layman, *sb. m.*, *leichen* *nom. pl.* 262²⁷; B *layen* 263²⁷; *leichen* *nom. pl.* 266²⁰; B *layen* 267²⁰; *leichen* *acc. pl.* 272²⁰; B *layen* 273²⁰.
- leisten* render as a duty, *inf.* 254²²; B *laysten* 255²²; *gehorfam* l. render obedience.
- lenger* see sub *lang* *adv.*
- lernen* learn, *inf.* 272²², 273²². Note that *lerren* 252²², 253²¹ has the meaning of

teach as even now in the dialects; *lernt* *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 252¹; 253¹; 256¹¹; 257¹¹. *lesen* read, *inf.* 250²⁴; 251²⁴; see also sub *meß*; *lesenn* 250²⁰; B *lesen* 251²⁰; *lesen* *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 260¹⁸; B *lesen* 261¹⁸; *lesen* *inf.* 272²¹; 273²¹; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 274⁸; 275⁸; see also sub *meß*. United with *zu* the infinitive appears in *zulesen* 266¹⁸; B separates *zu lesen* 267¹⁸; *gelesenn* *p. p.* 280^{22/23}; B *gelesen* 281^{22/23}; *gelesenn* 246²⁵; B *gelesen* 247²⁵.

lest see sub *lassen*.

lesterer calumniator, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 248¹⁷; 249¹⁷.

[*leht*] last, *lehte* *nom. sg. n.* 268¹⁷; *acc. sg. n.* in the function of a noun, *auffs* I. at last, finally 244²; 278¹⁹; B *lehte* 245²; 269¹⁷; 279¹⁹; *lehten* *acc. sg. m.* 244²⁰; *lehten* *dat. pl. m.* 248¹⁵; the *dat. sg. n.* in the function of a noun, *am* I. at the last moment 250²²; B *lehten* 245²⁰; 249¹⁵; 251²².

leuchten shine, *inf.* 252¹²; 262¹⁶; B *leuchten* 263¹²; note its substitution of *ei* for *eu* in *leuchten* 263¹⁵.

lent people, *sb. m., acc. pl.* 248²⁰; 278²²; B *lent* 249²⁰; 279²²; *lent* *nom. pl.* 254²⁰; 270⁶; *gen. pl.* 270²⁰; B *lent* 255²⁰; *leüt* 271⁶⁻²⁰; *leüt* *nom. pl.* 256²⁰; *acc. pl.* 272²⁰; B *lent* 257²⁰; 273²⁰.

[*lieb*] beloved, dear, *lieben* *nom. pl. m.* 250²²; 251²²; *acc. sg. m.* 256²¹; 257²⁰; *liebenn* *dat. sg. m.* 262¹⁴; *nom. pl. m.* 260¹²; B *lieben* 261¹²; 263¹⁴; *lieben* *acc. sg. m.* 258¹⁶; B *lieben* 259¹⁶; *lieber* *nom. sg. m.* 246⁹; 247⁹; *lieber* comparative 250²²; 251²²; 262²²; 263²².

liebe love, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 242¹¹; 243¹²; *gen. sg.* 246²⁰; 247²⁰; 258¹²; 259¹²; 272²²; 273²²; *dat. sg.* 246⁷; 247⁷; 282¹; 283¹; *lieb* *nom. sg.* 268²²; 269²¹; *gen. sg.* 242¹⁶; 243¹⁷; 254²⁰; 255²⁰; *dat. sg.* 242²²; 243²⁴; 262¹⁵; 263¹⁴; 274²²; 275²²; 278⁴; 279²; *acc. sg.* 254²⁰; 255²⁰; 268²¹⁻²²; 269²¹⁻²².

lieben love, *inf.* 254⁷; 255⁷; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 244²⁰; 245²⁰; 248¹⁹; 249¹⁹; *liebet* *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 258²²; 259²².

liebet see sub *lieben*.

lieblich lovingly, gently, *adv.* 246¹⁴; 247¹⁴.

licht light, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 252¹¹; 253¹¹; 262⁹⁻¹²⁻¹⁶; 263⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹⁵; *dat. sg.* 262¹¹; 263¹⁰;

acc. sg. 262¹¹⁻¹⁷; 263¹⁰⁻¹⁶; *lichter* *acc. pl.* 250²⁷⁻²⁸; B *lichter* 251²⁷; *lichter* 251²⁸. *liegen* lie, *inf.* 260¹⁵; B *ligen* 261¹⁵; *gelegenn* *p. p.* *wie vieler menschen heil und seligkeit ihand noch gott abn* E. G. g. the health and salvation of how many souls now lies after God with Your Grace 242²⁰; B 243²⁷ intentionally changes to *gelegt* as though the meaning intended were: the health and salvation of how many souls God has still placed with Your Grace.

Liegnitz Liegnitz, name of place, *dat. sg.* 274¹; 275¹.

lob 'praise, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 260¹; 261¹; 272⁹; 273⁸.

[*loben*] praise, *gelobet* *p. p.* 254²²; 255²².

loblich conducive to praise 262¹⁶; 263¹⁶.

losse see sub *frey lassen*.

[*Lukas*] Luke, proper name, *Luka* *dat. sg.* 264²⁷; 265²⁰; 280¹⁵; 281¹⁵; 282⁹; 283⁹.

lucerna candle, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 262¹⁰; 263¹⁰.

[*luge*] lie, falsehood *sb. f., lügen* *nom. pl.* 254²; B *lügen* 255².

lagner liar, speaker of falsehood, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 262²¹; B *lagner* 263²¹.

[*lust*] lust, desire of the flesh, *sb. f., lusten* *dat. pl.* 248⁶; 256¹⁸; B *lusten* 249⁶; *lusten* 257¹⁸; *lustenn* *dat. pl.* 250²⁴; B *lusten* 251²⁴.

lustig pleasant 266¹⁷; 267¹⁷.

Lutheraner a Lutheran, Lutherans *sb. m., acc. pl.* 268¹²; 269¹².

Lutherisch Lutheran, 254²⁰; 255²⁰; *Lutherischenn* *dat. sg. f.* 270²⁵; 271²⁵.

Lybisch Lybisch, proper name, *acc. sg.* 282²².

MR.

machen make, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 272¹; 273¹; *macht* *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 256²⁴; 257²⁴; 262²⁰; 263²⁰; *mach* *pres. subj. 3^d sg.* 278¹²; 279¹²; *machte* *past subj. 3^d sg.* 278¹⁸; B *machte* 279¹⁸.

macht might, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 264²⁴; 265²².

mag, *magt* see sub *mügen*.

Magdalena Magdalene, proper name, *nom. sg.* 272¹¹; 273¹¹.

Magnus Magnus, proper name, *nom. sg.* 242⁶; 243⁵; *acc. sg.* 239⁷; 240⁹; 241⁹.

maiestet majesty, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 270²; B *maiestat* 271².

mal time, *sb. n.,* sieben m. seven times, *acc. pl.* 258¹⁰; B *sybenmal* 259^{18/19}.

man one, pronoun 246³⁰, 247³⁰; 248³⁰, 249³⁰; 250³, 251³; 254¹⁰⁻¹⁸, 255¹⁵⁻¹⁸; 256¹⁸⁻²⁸, 257¹⁸⁻²⁸; 260³⁰, 261³⁰; 264⁷⁻¹⁸, 265⁷⁻¹⁷; 266¹⁰⁻¹⁵, 267¹⁰⁻¹⁵; 268^{5-11 bis 18}, 269^{5-11 bis 18}; 270¹, 271¹; 274¹⁷⁻²¹⁻²⁸, 275¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻²⁷; 276²⁵⁻³⁰, 277²⁵⁻²⁹; 278⁶, 279⁶; *Man* 272³⁵, 273³⁵; *mann* 266⁵; 268¹²; 274¹⁴⁻¹⁸; B *man* 267⁵; 269¹²; 275¹⁴⁻¹⁸; *Mann* 250⁹; 276¹⁵; B *Man* 251⁹; 277¹⁴. Contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person to *mans* 252¹², 253¹².

man man, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 252⁸, 253⁸; 278¹², 279¹²; *acc. sg.* 254⁸, 255⁸; 274⁵, 275⁵; *mannes gen. sg.* 268¹⁷, 269¹⁷; *mann dat. sg.* 278⁶⁻²⁰, 279⁵⁻²⁰.

[*manhselbig*] manifold, *manhselbiger gen. sg.* f. 242²⁴; B *manhseltiger* 243²⁵.

mandat mandate, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 246²², 247²².

Martha Martha, proper name, *dat. sg.* 272¹⁰, 273¹⁰.

[*masse*] degree, *sb. f.; massen gen. sg.* *ehlicher massen* to some degree 258⁶; B *ellicher massen* 259⁶; *der massen* to such a degree 242²²; *dermassen* 260³⁰; 280²¹; B *dermassen* 243²³; 261³⁰; 281²¹; *masse dat. sg.* *zu gütter m.* to a considerable degree, *dat. sg.* used as *adv.* 278²⁶; B *zu gütter masse* 279³⁰.

[*Matheus*] Matthew, proper name, *Matheo dat. sg.* 246¹; 256³⁰; 274¹⁶; B *Mattheo* 247¹; 257³⁰; 275¹⁶. Abbreviated *Mat.* 252¹⁶; B *Mat.* 253¹⁶.

maul mouth, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 246³⁰; B *maul* 247³⁰.

mehr see sub viel.

mehrenn teilß for the greater part, *gen. sg.* used as *adv.* 264¹⁹; B *meerern teilß* 265¹⁹.

[*meren*] increase, *gemert p. p.* 244²², 245²¹.

mein my, *acc. sg. n.* 244¹⁴, 245¹³; 264¹², 265¹³; *Mein nom. sg. n.* 282⁸, 283⁸; *meine acc. sg. f.* 244¹⁸, 245¹⁷; *acc. pl. n.* 244¹⁷, 245¹⁶; *meinen dat. pl. m.* 262¹¹; B *meynen* 263¹⁰; *meiner gen. sg. f.* 244¹⁶⁻²⁰;

245¹⁹; B *meynen* 245¹⁵; *meines gen. sg. n.* 244²⁴; B *meins* 245²³.

meinen mean, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 250²⁸; B *maynen* 251¹⁷; *meynen inf.* 280⁵; B *maynen* 281⁵.

meisten see sub viel.

meisterlich masterly, *adv.* 254¹⁷; B *maysterlich* 255¹⁷.

meniglich to a man, generally, *adv.* 254²⁰; B *meniglich* 255²⁰; *meniglich* 272⁴; B *meniglich* 273⁴; *meniglich* 278²²; B *meniglich* 279²².

mensh man, human being, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 246³, 247³; 252⁷, 253⁷; 258⁵, 259⁵; 264³⁴, 265³³; 270²¹, 271²¹; 272¹⁶, 273¹⁶; *menshen gen. sg.* 244^{12/13}, 245^{11/12}; 252¹¹, 253¹¹; 262⁶, 263⁵; *dat. sg.* 256²¹, 257²¹; 262²², 263²²; 266¹⁵, 267¹⁵; *acc. sg.* 246¹, 247¹; *nom. pl.* 248¹⁰⁻²³, 249¹⁰⁻²³; 252⁵, 253⁵; 254³⁴, 255³⁴; 260³⁰, 261²²; 262²¹, 263²¹; 264⁴, 265⁴; 278²⁵, 279²⁵; *gen. pl.* 242²⁶, 243²⁷; 250¹², 251¹²; 270³⁰, 271²²; *dat. pl.* 262¹², 263¹²; 264¹⁴, 265¹⁴; 270¹⁵, 271¹⁵; 274¹⁷, 275¹⁷; 282¹⁰, 283¹⁰; *acc. pl.* 252¹⁴, 253¹⁴; 262¹², 263¹¹; 264¹⁵, 265¹⁵; *menshenn nom. pl.* 250²¹; *dat. pl.* 264¹²; *acc. pl.* 266²; B *menshen* 251²¹; 265¹³; *Menshen* 267². Note that 246¹; *helfenn* is construed with the accusative like Latin *adjuvare*.

menshenn exempel human example, *sb. n., acc. pl.* 268²²; B *menshen exempel* 269²².

menshen gebott human commandment, *sb. n., acc. pl.* or, possibly, *acc. sg.* 246^{23/24}; B *menshen gebot* 247^{23/24}.

menshen gehorsam obedience exacted by or rendered to human beings, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 256³³; B *menshen gehorsam* 259³³.

menshen gesetß human law, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 256⁸, 257⁸; *acc. sg.* 244²⁹, 245²⁸; *acc. pl.* 252²⁰, 253²⁰; *menshenn gesetß acc. sg.* or *pl.* 274¹¹; B *menshen gesetß* 275¹¹.

menshen lere human teaching, doctrine, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 246²⁶; B *menshen leere* 247²⁶.

[*menshen wortt*] human word, *sb. n., menshen wortten dat. pl.* 246¹¹; B *menshen wortten* 247¹¹.

[*menshlich*] human, *menshliche acc. sg. f.* 270¹⁹⁻²⁴, 271¹⁹⁻²⁴; *menshlichen dat. sg. m.* 256¹⁴, 257¹⁴; *acc. sg.* 244⁵, 245⁴.

merglicly perceptibly, *adv.* 270²⁵; B merd-licly 271²⁵.

meritherer martyr, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 266²⁵; B marterer 267²⁵.

meß mass, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 250²⁴, 251²⁴; meßß *acc. sg.* 250²⁵; B Meßß 251²⁵; meßß *acc. sg.* 252²¹; 252²¹ m. halthen celebrate mass; 274⁸ m. leßen say mass; B Meßß 253²¹; Meßß 275⁸. See also sub halten and leßen.

meß leßen saying of masses, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 250²⁴, 251²⁴.

meßnung meaning, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 242²⁵; B meßnung 243²⁴; see also sub Christlich.

mit see sub ich, mir see sub ich.

mißbrauch abuse, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 258²⁵; mißbrauch *nom. sg.* 270³; 276²⁵; 282⁵; *dat. sg.* 280¹³; *acc. sg.* 272²³; 280¹⁹; B mißbrauch 259²⁵; 271¹³; 273²³; 277²⁵; 281¹³⁻¹⁹; 283⁵.

mißbrauchen abuse, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 270⁹; B Mißbrauchen 271⁹.

mit with, *prep. w. dat.* 242¹⁴, 243¹⁵; 246⁶⁻²⁵, 247⁶⁻²⁵; 248⁴⁻³⁰⁻³², 249⁴⁻³⁰⁻³²; 250³⁻²⁴⁻³⁴, 251³⁻²⁴⁻³⁴; 254¹¹⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁻²³, 255¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁸⁻²³; 256⁵⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻²⁴, 257⁵⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻²⁴; 258¹⁻⁹⁻¹⁹⁻²³, 259¹⁻⁹⁻¹⁹⁻²⁷; 260⁶⁻³⁰, 261⁶; 262¹⁵⁻²⁷, 263¹⁴; 264⁷⁻²⁷⁻²⁸, 265^{7-28 bis.}; 266²⁴⁻²⁷, 267²⁴⁻²⁷; 268¹⁴⁻²⁹, 269¹⁴⁻²⁹; 270⁷⁻⁸, 271⁷⁻⁸; 272¹¹⁻¹³⁻²¹, 273¹³⁻²¹; 274²⁻³⁻⁵⁻¹⁷⁻²⁴⁻²⁷, 275²⁻³⁻⁵⁻¹⁷⁻²²⁻²⁵; 276⁶⁻¹⁸⁻²², 277⁶⁻¹⁸⁻²²; 280⁵⁻⁸⁻²³⁻²⁵, 281⁵⁻²³; 282²⁻¹²⁻¹⁹, 283²⁻¹¹⁻¹⁸; B mitt 261²⁰; 263²⁷; 281⁸⁻²⁶; mit 273¹¹; mitt 246¹⁸, 247¹⁸; 260⁹⁻¹⁶, 261¹⁶; 266⁶⁻¹⁹, 267¹⁹; 272²⁷; 278¹¹; B mit 261⁹; 267⁶; 273²⁷; 279¹¹.

[mit brengen] bring along with itself, imply mit brought *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 262¹⁰; B mittbringt 263⁹; mitbringt 246^{16/17}; B mittbringt 247^{16/17}.

mit einfaren smuggle in with other things, subreptitiously introduce, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 246²⁰; B mit einfaren 247²⁰.

[mit vnderlauffen] creep in with other things, mit vnder leufft *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 258¹⁸, 259¹⁸.

mittel middle, center, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 252²⁷, 253²⁶.

mitteilten give as a share, impart *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250²⁷; B mitteilten 251²⁷. United with zu the infinitive appears in mit

theilten 276²⁷; B separates mit jâteilten 277²⁷.

mocht, mochte, mochte, mochten, mochten see sub mögen.

mögen may, be able, *inf.* 254³, 255³; 268¹, 269¹; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250¹⁻²⁴, 251¹⁻²⁴; 256²⁵, 257²⁵; mögen *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250¹⁸; B mögen 251¹⁸; mögen *inf.* 266⁴; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 272²³; B mögen 267⁴; 273²³; mag *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 258²⁴⁻²⁶, 259²⁴⁻²⁶; 262¹⁸, 263¹⁵; 282¹³, 283¹³; magt 280²; B mag 281²; mocht *past ind. 3d sg.* 254¹⁵⁻¹⁹; 255¹⁵⁻¹⁹; mocht *past cond. 3d sg.* 250⁶; B mocht 251⁶; mocht *past cond. 3d sg.* 274¹⁸, 275¹⁸; mochte *past cond. 3d sg.* 278⁶, 279⁶; mochte *past subj. 3d sg.* 274²⁷; 276²⁷; B mochte 275²⁵; 277²⁷; mochten *past cond. 3d pl.* 264⁸; B mochten 265⁸; mocht *p. p.* 252²²; B mocht 253²¹.

mögligh possible, 264²², 265²⁰.

mönch monk, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 250²⁷⁻²⁸; *nom. pl.* 250⁹; 268¹⁴; B Mönch 251⁹; 251²⁷⁻²⁸; 269¹³.

mordt murder, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 256²⁵, 257²⁵. [Mose] Moses, proper name, Mose *dat. sg.* 248²⁵; B Mosey 249²⁵.

moffe see sub maffe.

munbt mouth, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 268²⁵; 280⁴, 281⁴; B munb 269²⁵.

mûß see sub müssen.

müssen be obliged, *inf.* 246⁴; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 252²²; 260²⁰; 262¹⁶; 278²⁴; 280¹³; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 276⁶; B müssen 247⁴; 253³¹; 263¹⁶; 277⁶; 279²⁴; 281¹³; müssen 261²⁰; müssen *inf.* 276²³; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 262⁸; 268³; B müssen 263⁷; 269³; 277²³; mûß *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 244²⁰, 245²⁵; mûß *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 246²⁰; 250³¹; 252⁵⁻¹¹; 258²⁰; 260²⁴; 262⁴⁻¹⁸⁻²⁶; 270⁶; 272²⁸; 276²⁰; 278²³; B mûß 247²⁰; 251³¹; 253⁵⁻¹¹; 259²⁰; 261²⁴; 263⁴⁻¹⁷⁻²⁶; 271⁶; 273²⁸; 277²⁰; muß *past cond.* 252¹⁷; 282²; B muß 253¹⁷; 283²; müssen *past cond.* 276¹¹; B müssen 277¹¹.

mütterlein grandam, granny, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 250¹²; B mütterlein 251¹².

¶.

nach after, *prep. w. dat.* 262⁵, 263⁴; usually nach 242²⁰; 244²⁰⁻²⁹; 246⁸⁻²²⁻²⁴; 248⁶⁻⁷

254²⁰; 256²⁰; 260⁶⁻¹¹⁻²⁰; 274²²⁻²⁶; 276³⁰; 280³⁻¹²⁻¹⁹⁻²¹; B substitutes *nach* 245²⁵⁻²⁸; 247⁸⁻²²⁻²⁴; 249^{6 bis}; 255²⁰; 257²⁰; 261⁶⁻¹¹⁻²⁵; 275²²⁻²⁵; 277²⁰; 281³⁻¹²⁻¹⁹⁻²¹; the retention of *nach* 243²⁷ is possibly due to change from *gelegenn* to *gelegt*, *nach* being construed to mean *still*.

nahend near, 280²⁷, 281²⁷.

nahn name, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 254³²; B *nam* 255³¹; *namen dat. sg.* 262²⁰, 263²⁰; *acc. sg.* 258²⁷, 259²⁷; *namen dat. sg.* 260¹; B *namen* 261¹; *namen gen. sg.* 278²⁰, 279²⁰.

narrheit foolishness, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 272⁹; *narrheit acc. sg.* 272⁷; B *narrheit* 273⁷⁻⁹.

natur nature, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 258⁷, 259⁷.

[*nachste*] fellow-man, neighbor, *sb. m., nachsten gen. sg.* 254²⁰; *gen. pl.* 250^{25/26}; B *nachsten* 251²⁰; 255²⁰; *nachstenn gen. sg.* 258²⁰; 278⁴; B *nachsten* 259²⁰; *nachsten* 279⁴.

nehme, *neme*, *nehmen* see sub *nemen*.

nemen take, *inf.* 244³¹, 245²⁰; 272²⁰, 273²⁰; *in herzen n.* take to heart; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 264²⁰, 265²⁷; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 268²⁰, 269²⁰; *nehmen pres. subj. 3d pl.* 250¹²; B *nemen* 251¹²; *neme pres. ind. 1st sg.* 264¹², 265¹²; *pres. subj. 3d sg.* 272²⁰, 273²⁰; *nehme pres. subj. 3d sg.* 246²; B *neme* 247²; *nym pres. ind. 1st sg.* 262¹²; B *nym* 263¹²; *nympt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 276²⁰, 277²⁰; *nyme grösse gewissen n.*; considers it a great matter of conscience, feels sorely troubled about it in conscience; *fur nympt* see sub *furmenen*; *Nympt war* see sub *warnemen*; *genommen p.p.* 266¹⁵, 267¹⁵; *genoshmen* 280²²; B *genommen* 281²².

nein no 256⁹; B *nahn* 257⁸.

Nemlich namely scilicet, that is to say, *adv.* 262², 263².

nennen call, name *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250³, 251³; 270²⁰, 271²⁰; *nennt pres. ind. 3d sg.* 276⁴, 277⁴; *genant p.p.* 250^{6/7}; 264¹⁰; 272¹⁰; B *genant* 251^{6/7}; *genannt* 265¹⁰; *genant* 273⁹; *ganthe nom. pl. m. of the p.p.* 250²⁰; B *genante* 251²⁰.

[*new*] new, *newen gen. sg. n.* 282¹⁷; B *newen* 283¹⁷; *dat. sg. n.* 256¹¹, 257¹¹.

newerung innovation, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 254²⁰, 255²⁰.

nehen envy, *nehet pres. ind. 3d sg.* 242¹²;

B substitutes the adjective *nehtig* envious 243¹².

nicht not, negation 242^{12 bis} 12 bis 21, 243^{13 bis} 14 bis 22; 244¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁴⁻²⁰, 245¹⁰⁻¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²²⁻²⁴⁻³²⁻²⁵; 246⁵⁻²⁰⁻²¹⁻²², 247⁵⁻²⁰⁻²¹; 248^{5-14-24-27 bis}, 249⁵⁻¹⁴⁻²⁴⁻²⁷; 250¹⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹, 251¹⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹; 252^{5-7-8-12-22-23-27 bis} 30, 253^{5-6-12-22-23-26 bis} 29; 254¹¹⁻²²⁻²³⁻²⁸, 255¹¹⁻²²⁻²⁷, 256²⁰, 257²⁰; 258^{5-9-20-26 bis}, 259⁵⁻²⁰; 260⁴⁻⁶⁻¹¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁰, 261⁴⁻⁶⁻¹¹⁻²⁰⁻²⁰; 262^{14 bis} 16-19-20-21-22, 263^{13 bis} 15-19-21-22; 264¹¹⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻²²⁻²⁷⁻²⁸, 265^{11-18-21-26 bis}; 266⁵⁻¹¹⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁹⁻²², 267⁵⁻¹¹⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁹⁻²²; 268^{5-11 bis} 16-21, 269^{11 bis} 15-21; 270^{1 ter} 3-5-8-12-21-22, 271^{1 ter} 3-5-8-12-21; 272¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁻²¹⁻²², 273¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁻²²; 274⁶⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻²²⁻²⁵⁻²⁸, 275⁶⁻⁸⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻²²⁻²⁴⁻²⁷; 276⁵⁻¹¹⁻²⁵⁻²⁰⁻²², 277⁵⁻¹⁰⁻²⁵⁻³⁰; 278²⁻²²⁻²⁷⁻³³⁻³⁴, 279²⁷⁻²⁴; 280¹⁻⁵⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰⁻²⁴, 281¹⁻⁵⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰⁻²⁴; 282¹⁻⁹⁻¹¹, 283¹⁻⁹⁻¹¹; B *nitt* 247²⁰; 249²⁷; 253⁷; 255²²; 259²⁵⁻²⁶; 265¹⁴⁻¹⁷; 269⁵; 271²²; 273¹¹⁻²¹; 277²²; 279²⁻²²⁻²³; *nitt* 259⁹; *Nicht* 268²², 269²²; 272²; B *Nitt* 273². The colloquial form *nich* 260⁵; 270²⁰; B *nicht* 261⁵; 271²⁰; *nitt* 280¹⁵, 281¹⁵.

nichts nothing 242¹², 243¹⁴; 246²⁰, 247²²; 248¹¹, 249¹¹; 252¹⁵, 253¹⁵; 254^{21 bis}; 255²⁰⁻²¹; 256²⁰; 257²⁰; 258⁸⁻²¹, 259⁷⁻²¹; 260², 261²; 262²⁰, 263²⁰; 264², 265²; 272¹²⁻¹⁶⁻²⁴, 273¹²⁻¹⁶⁻²⁴; 278¹⁰⁻¹¹, 279¹⁰⁻¹¹.

Nicodemus Nicodemus, proper name, *nom. sg.* 252²; 253^{7/8}; *Nicodem gen. sg.* 266¹²⁻¹⁷, 267¹²⁻¹⁷.

niemand no one, nobody, *nom. sg.* 244³¹; B *nyemandt* 245²⁰; *nyemandt nom. sg.* 254²⁰; 276²⁰; 280⁵; B *nyemandt* 255²⁰; 277²²; *nyemant* 281⁵. The genitive *niemandes* besides its proper function as *gen. case* appears also instead of other cases: 242¹¹ for the *acc. sg.*; B *nyemandt* 243¹². So also for the *acc. sg.* *Nymandes* 272²⁰; B *Niemandes* 273²⁰; for the *dat. sg.* *nymandes* 274²⁰; B *nyemandes* 275²⁰; *nymandes* stands for *nom. sg.* 264¹⁷; 270²²; 276¹⁷; for *acc. sg.* 274¹¹; B *nyemant* 265¹⁷; *nyemandt* 271²²; 275¹¹; *niemandt* 277¹⁷.

nach nor, *conj.* 242¹²⁻²¹, 243¹²⁻²²; 244²², 245²²; 248^{20 bis}, 249²⁰; 250¹²⁻²², 251¹²⁻²²; 252¹⁵⁻²⁴, 253¹⁵⁻²⁴; 254²⁻¹⁰, 255²⁻¹⁰; 264²⁴, 265²²; 266¹², 267¹²; 268¹⁵, 269¹⁵; 274¹⁷, 275¹⁷; 278⁶, 279⁶; 280¹⁸, 281¹⁸; 282⁶.

283⁶; B *weder* 249²⁰; *Red* 254³. 255³; 278⁷. 279⁷.
nach-nach see sub *nach*.
nach *folgen* follow after, *inf.* 268³; B *nachfolgen* 269².
nach *suchen* look up, investigate, *n.* *zu* f. 260²⁰; B *nach* *zusehen* 261²⁰.
[nötig] needful, *nötigsten* *gen. pl. m.*, of the superlative 274³¹; B *nötigsten* 275²⁰.
nott need, want, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 250²⁰. 251²⁰; *nötten* *dat. pl.*, in the phrase *von nötten* needful, 268²⁰. 269²⁰; *von nötten* 244⁹; B *von nötten* 245⁸; *von nötten* 244¹; B *von nötten* 245¹.
nüchtern sober 248⁸; B *nüchtern* 249⁸.
nu now, *adv.* 248¹. 249¹; 270¹⁷; 278²⁰. 279²⁰; B *nu* 271¹⁷; *Nu* 260¹⁻¹⁰; 266⁸⁻¹⁸. 267¹⁰; 268³. 269³; B *Nu* 261¹⁻¹⁰; 267⁹; 271¹¹; *Nu* occurs in A only once: 270¹¹; *nuc* 264³¹; B *nu* 265²⁰.
nur only, *adv.* 260¹⁷. 251¹⁷; 258¹². 257¹²; 258²⁰. 259²⁰; 266⁹⁻¹⁹. 267⁹⁻¹⁹; 270². 271³; *nühr* 260⁴; 254¹⁵; B *nur* 251⁴; 255¹⁵.
nüt profit, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 254⁸⁻¹². 255⁸⁻¹²; *dat. sg.* 278¹. 279¹; *acc. sg.* 258²⁰. 259²⁰.
nüt useful 248²⁰; B *nüt* 249²⁷.
nye never, *adv.* 254¹⁰. 255¹⁰; *nýe* 282⁵; B *nye* 283⁵.
nymet never, *adv.* 244²⁷; 250²⁴; 254¹⁸; 256²³; 262²⁰; 264¹⁸; 268²⁰⁻²⁰; 274^{4-20/20}; B *nymmer* 245²⁰; 251²⁴; 255¹⁸; 257²³; 263²⁰; 265¹⁸; 269²³; 275⁴⁻²³; *nimmer* 269²⁰; *nyemer* 256¹⁵; B *nymmer* 257¹⁵; *nymmer* 250²². 251²².
nympt see sub *nemen* and *furnemen*.

D.

D oh, exclamation 276². 277².
ob if, 282². 283²; *ap* 254¹²; 280¹²; B *ob* 255¹²; 281¹². See also sub *ap* and *ap* *gleich*.
oberleit authorities, person in authority, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 278¹²; B *oberleit* 279¹².
[oberst] uppermost, highest, superlative, *obersten* *dat. sg.* 244²⁰. 245²⁰.
[obgebuht] above-mentioned, *p. p.* used as *adj.*, *obgebuhten* *gen. pl. n.* 276¹⁷. 277¹⁷.
oder or, *conj.* 264⁵. 265⁵; *odder* 248⁴; B *oder* 249⁴. See also sub *aber*.

offenbar openly to be seen, plain, *adj.* 248²⁰. 249²⁰.
[offenbaren] reveal, *offenbart* *p. p.* 256²². 257²²; 270¹⁷. 271¹⁷.
offentlich openly, publicly, *adv.* 272²⁰. 273²⁰; 276⁹. 277⁹.
offimalis oftentimes, *adv.* 266⁵. 267⁵; *offimalis* 254²⁰. 255²⁰.
[ohr] ear, *sb. n., sýren, nom. pl.* 248⁷; *acc. pl.* 248⁷; B *oren* 249⁷; *oren* 249⁷.
on without, *prep. w. acc.* 280²². 281²²; *On* written as one with *hwetffel* 266²¹; B *On* *hwetffel* 267²¹. See also *ohn*.
orden put in order, arrange, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 262²⁰. 263²⁰.
ordnung order, arrangement of things, *nom. sg.* 260⁶. 261⁶; 262²⁰. 263²⁰; 264²⁰. 265²⁰; *ordnung* *dat. sg.* 244²⁴. 245²³; *acc. sg.* 264^{23-23/23-24}. 265²³⁻³¹⁻²³; 266²⁰. 267²⁰.
Ossig Ossig, name of place, *dat. sg.* 242⁷. 243⁷; 282¹⁷. 283¹⁷; *Ossigt* 240⁹; B *Ossid* 241¹².
syff carrion, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 250¹⁰; B by misprint *sch* 251¹⁰.

P.

pahn road, rut, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 250²¹; B *ban* 251³¹.
part part, party, *sb. f., nom. pl.* 256⁶. 257⁶.
Paulus Paul, proper name, *nom. sg.* 242¹⁰. 243¹¹; 246¹⁴⁻²⁷. 247¹⁴⁻²⁷; 250¹⁹. 251¹⁹; 260¹⁹⁻²⁵. 261¹⁹⁻²⁵; 272¹⁵. 273¹⁵; 274¹⁶. 275¹⁶; also with the epithet *S.* *Paulus* *nom. sg.* 248^{14/15}; 264²⁰; B *Sant Paulus* 265²⁰; *fant Paulus* 249¹⁴; *S.* *Paulus* *gen. sg.* 280²². 281²²; *sanct Paulus* *nom. sg.* 276²; B *fant Paulus* 277³; *sanct Paul* *nom. sg.* 276¹; B *Sant Paul* 277¹; *S.* *Paul* *nom. sg.* 248²⁵; 250²⁰; 252¹; 262²⁻²⁴; 276²⁰; 278¹²; B *Sant Paul* 277²⁷; 279¹⁸; *fant Paul* 263¹⁻²⁴; *Sant Paulus* 253¹; 265²⁰; *fant Paulus* 249²²; *Pauls* *dat. sg.* 256²³. 257²³.
[pawer] peasant, *sb. m., pawern* *nom. pl.* 272²⁷. 273²⁷; *pawern* *dat. pl.* 276¹²; B *pawern* 277¹²; *pawrn* 270²⁴; B *hawrn* 271²⁴.

[*beffern*] make better, amend, *gebeffert p. p.* 270²²; B *gebeffert* 271²².
beurfein a vary poor peasant, *sb. n., gen. pl.* 276¹⁷, 277¹⁷.
[baffe] priest, *sb. m., paffen dat. pl.* 270⁵; B *pfaffen* 271⁵.
pfarrer parochial pastor, *sb. m., gen. pl.* 276²¹, 280¹⁸; B *pfarrer* 277²⁰; 281¹⁸; *pfarrern dat. pl.* 272²⁰; B *pfarrern* 273²⁰; *pfarrerun* 276²⁰; B *pfarrerun* 277²⁰.
pfennig penny, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 280¹²; B *pfening* 281¹².
pflicht duty, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 242¹⁰, 243²⁰; 246²¹, 247²¹.
[pförthe] port, door, *sb. f., pförthen nom. pl.* 264²; B *pförten* 265².
pling plough, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 280¹⁶; B *pling* 281¹⁶.
[Pilatus] Pilate, proper name, *Pilatus dat. sg.* 278¹⁷, 279¹⁷.
[plagen] plague, *geplaget p. p.* 248²², 249²².
podem bottom, *sb. m., ju p. dat. sg.* 270²⁰; B *phoden* 271¹⁰.
praecht pomp, splendor, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 282¹¹; B *braecht* 283¹¹. Note the masculine gender; mhd. *braht* is masculine as well as feminine.
predigen preach, *inf.* 244⁶, 245⁵; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 250¹⁵, 251¹⁵; *predige imp. sg.* 248², 249²; *predigte past. ind. 3d sg.* 260¹⁹, 261¹⁹; *gepredigt p. p.* 246²⁵, 247²⁵; 248¹¹, 249¹¹; 272²², 273²²; 252¹³; B *gepredigt* 253¹³; *gepredigt* 254⁴⁻⁷, 255⁴⁻⁷; 270^{20/20}, 271²⁰.
prediger preacher, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 254⁹, 255⁹; 273²⁴; *prediger* 272²⁴; *predigern dat. pl.* 272²², 273²²; 280⁸, 281⁸.
[preisen] praise, *gepreist p. p.* 254²²; B *gepreist* 255²².
[Prelat] prelate, *sb. m., Prelaten acc. pl.* 278⁹, 279⁹; *prelatus dat. pl.* 254²²; B *Prelaten* 255²⁷; *Prelaten nom. pl.* 272⁶; B *Prelaten* 273⁶; *prelathen gen. pl.* 272¹⁴; *acc. pl.* 266³¹; B *Prelaten* 267³¹; 273¹⁴; *Prelathen nom. pl.* 248¹³; B *Prelaten* 249¹³; *prelathen acc. pl.* 262³¹; B *Prelaten* 263³¹.
priester priest, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 254¹⁵, 255¹⁵; *dat. sg.* 276¹², 277¹²; *nom. pl.* 254⁹, 255⁹; 260²⁶; 272³¹, 273³¹; 274²⁰, 275²⁰; *priester* 278²¹; *gen. pl.* 260⁷; 276⁵, 277⁵; *acc. pl.*

272²⁰, 273²⁰; B *Priester* 281⁷⁻²⁸, 279³¹; *priester nom. pl.* 274⁸; B *Priester* 275⁸; *priestern dat. pl.* 252²⁰; 272²⁷, 273²⁷; 274²¹, 275²⁰; B *Priestern* 253²⁰; *priesternun dat. pl.* 274²²; B *Priestern* 275²⁰; *priesternun dat. pl.* 274²²; B *priestern* 275²⁷.
priester[chaft] priesthood, clergy, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 278²⁰; B *Priester[chaft]* 279²⁰.
Propphet prophet, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 248²², 249²²; *propphet* 252¹⁰; *Propphet* 253¹⁰.
Propheten dat. pl. 244²², 245³¹; *prophten acc. sg.* 244¹²; *nom. pl.* 272²²; *dat. pl.* 264¹⁵; B *Prophten* 245¹¹; 265¹⁵; 273²²; *Prophtennun gen. pl.* 278¹⁶; B *Prophtennun* 279¹⁶.
[psalm] psalm, *sb. m., psal. dat. sg.* 260³⁰; B *psal.* 261²⁰ abbreviation for *im psalm*.
putter butter, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 276²²; B *butler* 277²¹.

R.

[*radten*] advise, counsel, make provision for, *radten pres. ind. 1st pl., contracted* with the neuter pronoun of the 3d person 274²⁰, 275²⁷; *geradten p. p.* 276¹¹, 277^{10/11}.
raden see *aub ju raden*.
raden[chaft] account, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 246⁴, 247⁴; 272²⁰, 273²⁰; 276³³, 277³³.
recht right, 252²², 253³¹; 256¹⁻²², 257²⁻²²; 278³¹, 279³¹; *rechte nom. sg. m.* 266³⁰, 267³⁰; *nom. sg. f.* 242¹¹, 243¹²; *rechthe acc. sg.* 270²¹; B *rechte* 271²¹; *rechtem dat. sg. m.* 254³³, 255³²; *rechtem gen. sg. m.* 248⁹, 249⁹; *acc. sg. m.* 254³⁵, 255³⁴; *dat. pl. m.* 256⁵, 257⁵; *dat. sg. f.* 244²¹, 245²⁰; *rechtem acc. sg. m.* 252³¹; *dat. pl. n.* 270¹²; B *rechtem* 253³⁰; 271¹²; *rechtem nom. sg. m.* 248²⁰, 249²⁰; *dat. sg. f.* 270¹², 271¹²; 282¹, 283¹.
recht right, law, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 246¹⁶, 247¹⁶; *acc. pl.* 274²¹, 275²⁰.
rechtfertigen justify, *inf.* 250¹⁹; B *rechtfertigen* 251¹⁹; *gerechtfertiget p. p.* 258¹²; B *gerechtfertiget* 259¹².
[recht[haften]] righteous, really good, *recht[haften nom. sg. f.* 264⁷, 265⁷; *acc. pl. n.* 256³, 257³.
reden talk, speak, *inf.* 250¹², 251¹²; 260³¹, 261³¹; 266²⁴, 267²⁴; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 256¹.

257¹; 260¹. 261¹; 268²⁸. 269²⁸; 270²⁴. 271²⁴; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 270⁴. 271²; *redenn inf.* 254⁴; 276¹⁰; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 276⁸; B *reden* 256⁴. 277⁸⁻¹⁰; *gerecht p. p.* 252²⁰. 253²⁸; 276¹⁰. 277¹⁰.

[redliſch] honest, sincere, *redliſchen dat. sg. m.* 278⁵. 279⁵; *redliſcher gen. sg. f.* 246^{8/7}. 247^{8/7}.

redliſch honestly, properly, ably, *adv.* 248⁹. 249⁹; 250²⁰. 251²⁰.

regell rule, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 258²⁰; B *Regel* 259²⁰.

regiern rule, govern 272⁸; B *regieren* 273⁸; *regirt p. p.* 262²⁰; B *regiert* 263²⁰.

Regiment ruling power, away, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 268¹⁴. 269¹⁴.

[register] register, *sb. n., registern dat. pl.* 266¹¹. 267¹¹.

[regeſ] Kings, regum., *gen. pl.* 254¹⁴; B *Regum.* misprint for *Regum* 255¹⁴.

reidſ kingdom, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 262¹. 263¹; 282⁸; *dat. sg.* 248³; 280¹⁷; *acc. sg.* 252⁷; B *reidſ* 249³; 253⁷; 281¹⁰; 283⁸.

reidſ rich, 242¹⁰. 243¹⁷. The *adj.* used as noun: *reidſer nom. sg. m.* 250¹⁰; B *reidſer* 251¹⁰.

reymen rhyme, make something accord, *inf.* 262¹⁰. 263¹⁰.

reißer tear, *inf.* 262¹⁷; B *reißer* 263¹⁶.

[reißer] incite, *gerichtet p. p.* 254⁷; B *gerichtet* 255⁷.

rewig quiet 264¹⁰; B *riwig* 265¹⁰.

rihten judge, *inf.* 248². 249²; *rihtenn inf.* 280²²; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 264¹; B *rihten* 265¹; 281²²; *riht pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 258¹⁰. 259¹⁰; *geriht p. p.* 266²². 267²²; 270¹⁰. 271¹⁰; 280¹⁰. 281¹⁰. See also *auffrihten* and *auffrihten*.

rihter judge, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 262²⁰⁻²¹. 263²⁰⁻²¹; 266²². 267²²; *acc. sg.* 262⁸. 263⁷; *rihters gen. sg.* 244¹⁰. 245⁹.

ritterreht law of knighthood, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 268⁷; B *Ritterreht* 269⁷.

rohung vengeance, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 252²; B *rohung* 253².

Rom Rome, name of place, *dat. sg.* 264⁵. 265⁵.

[Römiſch] Roman, *Römiſchen dat. sg. m.* 276²². 277²¹; 278⁷. 279⁷.

[ruffen] call, *gerufft p. p.* 254^{10 bis 12}; B *he-*
r 255^{10 bis 12}.

rufft see sub *auffuffen*.

râmen ſich boast, reflex., *inf.* 278²⁴; B *râmen* 279²⁴; *râmen pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 268¹⁰; B *râmen* 269¹⁰.

ryſchen smell, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 250⁹; B *ryſchen* 251⁹.

6.

[ſache] thing, matter, *sb. f., ſachen gen. pl.* 246²². 247²²; 256⁶. 257⁶; 272². 273²; *dat. pl.* 248²⁷. 249²⁷; *acc. pl.* 280²². 281²²; *ſachenn dat. pl.* 246¹⁰; 254¹⁰; 264¹; B *ſachen* 247¹¹; 255¹⁰; 265¹.

Sacrament sacrament, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 264²⁰. 265²⁷; *acc. pl.* 276²⁰. 277²⁰; *sacrament dat. sg.* 274⁹; B *Sacrament* 275^{9/10}.

ſagen say, *inf.* 276¹². 277¹²; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 250²¹. 251²⁰; 262⁷. 263⁶; 278¹². 279¹²; *ſagenn pres. ind. 1st pl.* 256⁸; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 256⁷; 268³; B *ſagen* 257⁷⁻⁸; 269²; *ſagens pres. ind. 3^d pl.* contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person 268²¹. 269²¹; *ſaget pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 252¹⁰. 253¹⁰; 260²⁰. 261²⁰; *ſagt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 242¹¹. 243¹²; 244¹⁷. 245¹⁰; 248¹⁵⁻²². 249¹⁵⁻²²; 250¹⁰. 251¹⁰; 252⁶⁻¹⁰. 253⁶⁻¹⁰; 262¹². 263¹²; 272¹⁰. 273¹⁰; *ſagt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 278²². 279²²; *ſagte past ind. 3^d sg.* 260²⁰. 261²⁰; *geſagt p. p.* 248¹⁰. 249¹⁰; 252²⁰. 253²²; 280²². 281²².

ſal, ſall see sub *ſollen*.

[ſamlen] gather, *ſamlet pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 264²⁷. 265²⁰.

ſampt together with, *prep. w. dat.* 276²¹. 277²¹.

ſauffen drink to excess, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 268²⁰. 269²⁰.

ſchaden harm, injury, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 246². 247².

ſchaff sheep, *sb. n., acc. pl.* 244¹⁰; B *ſchaff* 245¹⁷.

ſchaffen shape things, create, do 272¹¹⁻¹². 273¹¹⁻¹². The *inf.* is united with *zu* 256¹³ in *zuſchaffen* B *zuſchaffen* 257¹³. Note that 272¹¹ the word has almost the sense of commanding. In that sense it is still used in Southern German and Austrian dialects; *geſchaffen p. p.* 262⁵. 263⁵.

ſchamdt bedel cover to conceal shame,

cloke, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 270⁷; B *ſchandt bedel* 271⁷.
ſcharff sharply, severely, *adv.* 246³²; B *ſcharpf* 247³².
ſchagung levying of contribution, despoiling, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 252³. 253³.
ſcheffel bushel, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 250³². 251³²; *ſcheffell* 250³⁷; B *ſcheffel* 251³⁷.
ſchein sham, pretext, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 250¹⁴; 256³⁴; 270¹⁵. 271¹⁵; B *ſcheyn* 251¹⁴; 257³⁴.
ſchelten scold, *inf.* 270⁵; B *ſchelten* 271⁵; *geſchelten* *p. p.* 252¹⁷; B *geſcholten* 253¹⁷.
ſchemen ſich, take shame, reflex., *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 268³⁵. 269³⁵.
ſchender slanderer, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 248¹². 249¹².
[ſchentliſch] shameful, *[ſchentliſch]* *gen. sg. m.* 248³¹; B *[ſchentliſch]* 247³¹.
ſcheynen draw like water, get, *inf.* 252³²; B *ſcheyſen* 253³¹.
ſchepfer Creator, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 258¹¹; B *ſchöpffer* 259¹¹.
ſchewen ſich, be shy, afraid, reflex., *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 280¹²; B *ſchewen* 281¹².
ſchlaffen sleep, *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 244³². 245³².
[ſchlagen] strike, *geſchlagen* *p. p.* 250². 251².
ſchleſſen Silesia, name of country, *dat. sg.* 268⁷; B *ſchleſſen* 269⁷.
ſchleſſen conclude, decide, *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 264¹²; B *ſchleſſen* 265¹².
ſchnell quickly, *adv.* 280¹⁴. 281¹⁴.
ſchuldt guilt, fault, debt, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 262¹⁴; *ſchult* *dat. sg.* 274²¹. Note this dialect form for which B 'puts the *gd.* *ſchuld* 263¹². 275³⁰. As to the *gd.* form in A see *ſchuldt*.
ſchon already, *adv.* 258²². 259²²; 274¹. 275¹.
ſchreden terrify, scare, *zu ſchreden* *inf.* 254⁵; B *zuſchreden* 255⁵; *ſchredenn* 244²²; B *ſchreden* 245²².
ſchreiben write, *inf.* 276²²; *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 248²²; but there is a possibility that here we have to do with the *inf.* used as a noun; B *ſchreyben* 249²²; 277²²; *ſchreibenn* *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 266⁷; B *ſchreiben* 267⁷; *ſchreibt* *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 262³⁵; B *ſchreybt* 263³⁵; *geſchrieben* *p. p.* 258¹²; 266¹²; B *geſchriben* 259¹²; 267¹².
ſchreiben writing, *inf.* used as neuter noun, *acc. pl.* 248²²; B *ſchreyben* 249²². See

above sub *ſchreiben* write; *ſchreibenn* *acc. sg.* 242²¹; B *ſchreyben* 243²²; *ſchreibens* *gen. sg.* 254³⁴; B *ſchreybens* 255³⁴.

ſchreyen cry 276¹¹. 277¹¹.

ſchrift Scripture, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 260³⁴; 262⁷⁻⁸. 263⁷; *gen. sg.* 246³⁴. 247³⁴; 254¹. 255¹; 262¹⁴⁻²⁶. 263¹²⁻²⁶; *dat. sg.* 258²². 259²²; 260¹⁶⁻¹⁹. 261¹⁶⁻¹⁹; 262²². 263²²; 266⁶⁻¹⁹. 267⁶⁻¹⁹; 278¹¹. 279¹¹; *acc. sg.* 260¹⁷⁻²². 261¹⁷⁻²²; 266⁶⁻¹⁹. 267⁶; 268¹⁰; B *ſchrift* 261³⁴; 263⁶; 269¹⁰; *geſchrift* 267¹⁶.

ſchuldt guilt, fault, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 278¹⁷; B *ſchuld* 279¹⁷. The dialect forms see sub *ſchuldt*.

ſchuldig owing, due 242¹². 243²¹; by misprint *ſchulbigl* 264¹²; B *ſchulbig* 265¹²; *ſchuldiger* *nom. sg. m.* 262³. 263³.

ſchuldiger debtor, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 274²². 275²¹.

ſchutz protection, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 248²². 249²².

[ſchwarz] black, *ſchwarzen* *nom. pl. m.* 268¹². 269¹².

ſchweigen pass over in silence, *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* 264²². 265¹². With the *inf.* we may have to do in *ſchweigen* 260¹²; B *ſchweygen* 261¹² and *ſch. der unſeligen vorſurung* may stand for *zu geſchweigen der u. v.* Just so *ſchweigen* 254²; B *ſchweigen* 255²; *ſchweigenn* *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* 266¹; B *ſchweygen* 267¹. See also *geſchweigenn*.

ſchwendſelt Schwenckfeld, proper name, *nom. sg.* 242⁷. 243^{6/7}; *ſchwendſeltſch* *acc. sg.* 240^{9/10}; B *ſchwendſelt* 241^{11/12}.

ſchwer heavy, hard 278³⁵; B *ſchwar* 279³⁵; *ſchwere* *nom. sg. f.* 244²²; *acc. sg. f.* 246⁴; 272²²; B *ſchwäre* 245³¹; 247⁴; 273²².

ſchwester sister, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 272¹¹. 273¹¹.

ſchweher tattler, vain talker, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 246²². 247²².

ſchwindel geiſt spirit of perverseness, *dat. sg.* 250¹; B *ſchwindel gayſt* 251¹.

[ſcribente] writer, *sb. m., ſcribenten* *acc. pl.* 266²¹; B *ſcribenten* 267²¹.

ſehen see, *inf.* 262¹¹. 263¹⁰; 276³⁰. 277³⁰; *ſehenn* see sub *vmb ſehenn*; *ſehn* *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 244²²; B *ſehen* 245²²; *ſihet* *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* 278³²; B *ſyhet* 279³²; *ſicht*

pres. ind. 3d sg. 248²⁰, 249²⁰, 250⁹, 251⁹; 256²⁰, 257²⁰; 280¹⁰, 281¹⁰.
fein be, inf. 244⁹⁻²³⁻²⁶, 245²²; 248⁵⁻¹⁶, 249¹⁶; 258²⁵⁻³¹, 259³⁴; 262²⁰⁻²⁶; 264¹³⁻²⁷, 265²⁷; 266²⁰, 267²³; 270⁷, 271⁷; 278^{22 bis 24}; 280³⁵, 281³⁵; B *feyn* 245⁷⁻³⁵; 249⁵; 259³¹; 263²⁰⁻²⁶, 279^{22 bis 24}; *jafein* 265^{12/13}; *feinn* 276²⁵; B *fein* 277²⁵; *feyn* 254²²; B *fein* 255²²; *feynn* 254²⁶; B *feyn* 255²⁶; *fein pres. ind. 1st pl.* 254²⁰; 256⁶⁻⁷; 258²⁻¹²⁻²³, 259²⁻¹²; 260²⁰, 261²⁰; 264¹²⁻³², 265¹²⁻³¹; B *feyn* 255²⁰; 257⁷; 259²²; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 244²⁷⁻²⁸; 245²⁵⁻²⁷; 246¹⁹; 248¹⁴⁻²⁶⁻³², 250³¹, 251³⁰; 252⁴, 253⁴; 254¹⁰, 255¹⁰; 256²⁰, 257²⁰; 262⁷⁻²¹; 264⁵⁻⁶; 266⁹⁻¹²; 268³⁻¹⁰; 269³⁻¹⁰; 270²⁻¹⁰⁻²³, 271¹⁶⁻²⁸; 272²⁰; 278¹⁹; 280¹⁴⁻¹⁸, 281¹⁴⁻¹⁸; B *feyn* 247¹⁹; 249¹⁴⁻²⁷⁻²²; 263⁶⁻²¹; 265⁵⁻⁶; 267¹²; 271²; 273²⁰; 279¹⁸; *feind* 267⁹; *feinn pres. ind. 1st pl.* 274¹²; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 266¹³; B *fein* 267¹³; *feyn* 275¹²; *feyn pres. ind. 3d pl.* 272²⁴; B *fein* 273²⁴; *feynn pres. ind. 3d pl.* 254¹⁰; B *feyn* 255¹⁰. Note the loss of final *b*. It is retained in *feind pres. ind. 1st pl.* 264²⁰, 265²⁴; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 244²⁵, 245²⁴; 250², 251²; 266², 267²; *feindt pres. ind. 3d pl.* 246²⁰; 248²⁰; 266¹¹; 268²; B *feind* 247²⁰; 267¹¹; *feynd* 249²⁰; *feyndt* 263²; *find pres. ind. 3d pl.* 276⁵; *findt pres. ind. 1st pl.* 276²⁰; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 244²⁵; B *feind* 245²⁴; 277⁵; *feynd* 277²⁰; *fein* contraction of *feien*, *pres. subj. 3d pl.* 246²⁰, 247²⁰; 250⁵; 256⁷; 258¹; 264⁵; 270⁶⁻¹⁸, 271⁶⁻¹⁸; 278²⁰; B *feyn* 251⁵; 257⁷; 259¹; 265⁵; 279²⁰; *bin pres. ind. 1st sg.*, coupled with *gewest* to express perfect, I have been 280³⁴, 281³⁰; *ift pres. ind. 3d sg.* 242¹²⁻¹⁶⁻²², 243¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²⁴; 244¹⁻²⁻⁷⁻⁹⁻²⁰⁻³², 245¹⁻²⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻²⁰⁻³¹; 246⁵⁻²⁰, 247⁵⁻²⁰; 248²⁻¹⁰, 249²⁻¹⁰; 250⁷, 251⁷; 252¹⁻⁵⁻¹¹⁻¹⁹⁻²⁷⁻²⁹⁻³³, 253¹⁻⁵⁻¹¹⁻¹⁹⁻²⁶⁻²⁸⁻³²; 254¹¹⁻¹²⁻²⁴⁻³¹, 255¹¹⁻¹²⁻²⁴⁻³⁰; 256¹⁷⁻²³⁻²⁴⁻²⁶, 257¹⁷⁻²³⁻²⁴⁻²⁶; 258⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁰⁻²²⁻²⁹⁻³³⁻³⁵, 259⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁰⁻²²⁻²⁹⁻³³⁻³⁵; 260¹¹⁻²³⁻²⁷⁻²⁸, 261^{11-23-27 bis}; 262¹⁻⁵⁻⁷⁻⁹⁻¹⁰⁻¹²⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁶⁻²⁷⁻²⁹⁻³⁴, 263¹⁻⁵⁻⁶⁻⁸⁻⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹³⁻¹⁵⁻²⁷⁻²⁹⁻³⁴; 264^{6-15-19-26-28 bis 29}, 265⁶⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁹⁻²⁴⁻²⁶⁻²⁷⁻²⁸; 266¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²⁶, 267¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²⁶; 268⁴⁻¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰, 269⁴⁻¹²⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰; 270⁹⁻¹⁸⁻³², 271⁹⁻¹⁸⁻³²; 272¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁻³³, 273¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁻³³; 274²⁻²⁰⁻³¹, 275²⁻¹⁹⁻²⁹; 276⁸⁻¹⁰⁻²⁹, 277⁸⁻¹⁹⁻²⁹; 278⁵⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁸, 279⁵⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁸; 280^{16-27 bis 29},

281¹⁶⁻²⁷⁻²⁹⁻³⁰; 282⁴⁻⁹⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁶, 283⁵⁻⁹⁻¹⁰⁻¹⁶; *3ft* 252²⁰; 262², 263²; 264²²⁻²⁰, 265²²⁻²⁸; B *ift* 263²⁰; with the neuter pronoun of the 3d person contracted to *ifts* 270¹⁵, 271¹⁵; *fei imper. sg.* 248²; *pres. subj. 3d sg.* 256²; B *feyn* 249²; 257²; *feyn pres. subj. 3d sg.* 242¹¹, 243¹²; 248², 249²; 252², 253²; 256²⁻¹⁰, 257²⁻¹⁰; 260¹, 261¹; 262², 263²; 266¹, 267¹; 268¹⁵, 269¹⁵; 272²⁻²⁷, 273²⁻²⁷; 276¹⁰, 277⁹; 278²⁰, 279²⁰; 282², 283²; — *wer past subj. 3d sg.* 246⁶, 247⁶; 252²², 253²²; 254⁴, 255⁴; 260¹², 261¹²; 264²⁰, 265²⁴; 272², 273²; 274²², 275²¹; 280¹², 281¹²; *wehr* 248¹²; 250¹⁷; 266²⁰; 270²⁰; B *wer* 249¹²; 251¹⁷; 267²⁰; 271²⁰; *weren past subj. 3d pl.* 252²³, 253²³; 272²⁰, 273²⁰; *weren past cond. 3d pl.* 264²²; B *weren* 265³¹; — *gewest p. p.* 246⁹, 247⁹; 248¹², 249¹²; 266⁴⁻⁸⁻¹¹⁻¹⁶, 267⁴⁻⁸⁻¹¹⁻¹⁶; 268⁹, 269⁹; 270^{18/17}, 271¹⁶; 280³⁴, 281³⁴. Note the weak form.

fein 280²⁰ see sub tr.

fein his, its *poss. pronoun* of the 3d person, *nom. sg. m.* 256¹⁰, 257¹⁰; 262², 263²; *nom. sg. n.* 254²⁰; *acc. sg. n.* 244¹⁵; 252², 253²; 262²⁰; *acc. sg. f.* 262²⁰; 266¹⁴; *feyn nom. sg. m.* 278²⁰; B *feyn* 245¹⁴; 255²⁰; 263^{20 bis}; 267¹⁴; 279²⁰; *feint nom. pl. m.* 256²⁰; 270³¹, 271³¹; *acc. sg. f.* 244²⁰; 246²; 248²⁰; 258²⁰⁻²³; 276¹⁴; 280¹⁶; *acc. pl. f.* 254⁶, 255⁶; but it may be misprint for *feinen dat. pl. f.* dependent on *unnortrawen*; *acc. pl. m.* 278²⁴; 280^{20 bis}; *acc. pl. n.* 258²⁴; B *feyne* 249²⁰; 257²⁰; 259²³⁻²⁸; 277¹⁴; 279²⁴; 281^{20 bis}; *feyn* 245²⁰; 247²; 259²²; 281¹⁵. Used as a neuter noun, *acc. sg.* *feine* occurs 254²⁰; B *feyne* 255²⁰; *feyne* 268²⁰; B *feint* 269²⁰; *feinem dat. sg. m.* 244²⁰, 245²⁰; 256²⁰; 257²⁰; *dat. sg. n.* 248²; 256²⁰; 280⁶⁻³¹; 281³¹; 282¹⁹; B *feynem* 249²; 257²⁰; 281^{5/6}, 283¹⁸; *feynem dat. sg. n.* 262⁵, 263⁴; *feinen acc. sg. m.* 246¹⁴; 258¹⁴⁻²², 259¹⁴; 268⁷; 282¹⁵; B *feynen* 247¹⁴; 259²²; 269⁷; 283¹⁵; *feinenn dat. pl. m.* 261⁷; B *feynen* 265⁷; *feynen dat. pl. n.* 256²⁰; 257²⁰; *feiner dat. sg. f.* 246²; 248²; 252²⁴, 253²⁴; 256²⁰; 278²⁴, 279²⁴; 280³¹, 281³¹. *gen. pl. m.* 264²⁴; B *feynen* 247²; 249²; 257¹⁹; 265²⁰; *feined gen. sg. m.* 258¹¹⁻³⁰, 259¹¹;

- 278²⁰; 279²⁰; *gen. sg. n.* 280⁷; B *seynes* 259²⁰; 281⁷.
- seel* soul, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 282³; 283³; *dat. sg.* 246²; 247²; *acc. sg.* 246³; 247³; *seel* *nom. sg.* 262⁵; 263⁵; *acc. sg.* 244²⁰; 245²⁰; *seelen* *nom. pl.* 250¹⁷; 251¹⁷; *gen. pl. or sg.?* 244⁷; 245⁶; *seelen* *gen. pl.* 276⁹; B *seelen* 277⁹; *seelenn* *gen. pl.* 262³³; B *seelen* 263²².
- seel* *seilseyt* soul's salvation, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 254²⁰; B *seelſätigſait* 255²⁰.
- seel* *ſorg* cure of souls, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 244³³; 245²².
- ſelig* happy, blessed 278²⁰; B *ſätig* 279²².
- [*ſeligen*] bless, make happy, save, *geſeliget* 258²²; B *geſätiglet* 259^{22/23}.
- ſeligkeit* happiness, blessedness, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 242²⁰; *gen. sg.* 252²²; *dat. sg.* 276⁹; 280²²; 282³; *acc. sg.* 244²; *ſelikeit* *gen. sg.* 272²⁰; 278²⁰; *dat. sg.* 250⁶; B *ſätigſait* 243²⁷; 245²; 251^{5/6}; 273²⁰; 277⁹; 279²⁰; 281²²; 283³; *ſätigſait* 253³¹.
- ſeliglich* conducive to happiness, blessedness 282¹⁰; B *ſätiglich* 283¹⁰.
- ſelb* self, 262⁹; 263⁸; *ſelbeſ* 244²⁰; *ſelbeſt* 278¹⁰; B *ſelbeſ* 245²⁰; 279¹⁰; *ſelbeſt* 244²; 245²; 248⁶⁻¹⁷; 249⁶⁻¹⁰; 254⁵⁻²²; 255⁵⁻²²; 260⁵; 261⁵; 262⁹; 263⁸; 272²⁰; 278²²; B *ſelbeſ* 273¹⁰; 279²²; *ſelbeſ* 260¹⁷; 261¹⁷; 276³³; 277³³.
- ſelham* seldom to be found, rare 272²⁴; 273²⁴.
- ſeuſte* softness, gentleness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 272²¹; B *ſeuſte* 273²¹.
- ſeuſtmätigkeit* softness, gentleness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 260⁷; B *ſeuſtmätigſait* 261⁷.
- [*ſetigen*] sate, *geſetiget p. p.* 244²⁷; B *geſettiget* 245²⁰.
- ſehen* set, put, *ſich entgegen ſ.* oppose, *inf.* 248³⁰; 249³¹; 278¹³; 279¹³.
- ſeufferen* drinking to excess, drunkenness, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 252²; B *ſaufferen* 253².
- ſich* himself, herself, itself, themselves, *reflex. acc. sg. m.* 246¹⁷; 247¹⁷; 252²⁷; 253²⁰; 276¹⁷⁻²⁴⁻³³; 277¹⁷⁻²⁴⁻³³; 278¹³; 279¹³; 280²⁰; 281²⁰; *acc. sg. f.* 242^{13bis}; 243^{14bis}; 246⁹⁻¹¹; 247⁹⁻¹¹; 248³⁰; 249³⁰; 272²⁴; 273²⁴; 278²⁻⁹⁻²⁴; 279²⁻⁹⁻²⁴; 280²¹; 281²¹; 282⁷; 283⁷; *acc. sg. n.* 266²⁰; 267²⁰; 268⁶; 269⁶; 278³⁰; 279³⁰; *dat. pl. m.* 248¹⁷; 249¹⁰; 266⁷; 276⁵; 277⁵; B sub-
- stitutes *ja*, the *acc. sg.* of the pronoun of the 3^d person used as reflexive 267⁷; *acc. pl. m.* 244³³; 245²²; 248⁶; 249⁶; 250²²; 251²²; 254⁵⁻¹¹; 255⁴⁻¹¹; 256⁴; 257⁴; 266³¹; 267³¹; 268¹⁹⁻²⁰; 269¹⁹⁻²⁰; 270⁵⁻⁸⁻²²; 271⁴⁻⁸⁻²²; 272⁶⁻¹⁵; 273⁶⁻¹⁵; 274⁹; 275⁹; 278²⁷; 279²⁷; 280¹⁸; 281¹⁸; *ſichſ* *acc. sg. n.* contracted with the *nom. sg.* of the pronoun of the 3^d person 282¹³; 283¹³.
- ſicher* secure, safe 250²⁰; 251²⁰; 280²⁻¹⁴; 281³⁻¹⁴.
- ſicht* see sub *ſehen*.
- ſie*, *ſie*, *ſiehe* see sub *er*.
- ſieben mal* seven times, *adv.* 258¹⁰; B *ſybenmal* 259^{10/10}.
- ſihet* see sub *ſehn*.
- ſind*, *ſindst* see sub *ſein be*.
- ſingen* sing 250²²; 251²².
- ſintemal* since, *conj.* 242¹⁰; 258^{9/10}; 264¹⁰; B *ſyntemal* 243²⁰; 265¹⁰; *ſintemal* 259⁹.
- ſo* as, when, *conj.* 244¹⁴; 245¹³; 246¹; 247¹; 250³; 251³; 260²⁰; 261²⁰; 268²¹; 269²²; 274⁹; 275⁹; 278¹¹⁻²⁵; 279¹¹⁻²⁵; 280²⁷; 281²⁷; *So* when 242¹⁰; 243¹¹; 280⁷; 281⁷; while 250²⁰; 251²⁰; if 252¹⁷; 253¹⁰; 268⁷; 269⁷; 278²²; 279²²; though 256²⁴; 257²⁴; *ſo* if 250²⁰; 260²⁰; 264²²; B *ſo* 251²⁰; 261²⁰; 265²⁰; *ſo* though 254⁴; B *ſo* 255⁴; *ſo* as 258²; B *ſo* 259²; *ſo* if 264²¹; B *ſo* 265²¹.
- ſo* which, who, *relative*, 244³³; 245³¹; 246²⁰; 247²⁰; 264⁴; 265⁴; 266⁸; 267⁸; 268²⁰; 269²⁰; 278²⁷; 279²⁷; *ſo* 258²³; 259²³; 268¹⁰; 269¹⁰; *ſo* 250¹⁵; 252³⁻¹⁸⁻²¹; 258¹⁷; B *ſo* 251¹⁵; 253³⁻¹⁸⁻²¹; 259¹⁷.
- ſo* so, *adv.*, modifying a following adjective: 252¹⁶⁻²²; 253²²; B *ſo* 253¹⁰; *ſo* 270²⁰; 271²⁰; *ſo* 252¹⁴; B *ſo* 253¹⁴; modifying a following adverb it occurs in these usual combinations: *ſo* *ferr* in so far 258²⁰; 276¹⁰; B *ſo* *ferr* 259²⁷; 277¹⁰; *ſo* *ferr* 272¹⁴; B *ſo* *ferr* 273¹⁴; *ſo* *ferr* 258¹⁰; 266⁸; B *ſo* *ferr* 259¹⁵; 267⁶; *ſo* *ferren* 250⁹; B *ſo* *ferren* 251⁹; *ſo* *viel* as much as 260⁵; 266¹¹; as far as 260¹⁰; B *ſo* *vil* 261⁴⁻⁵⁻¹⁰; 267¹¹; *ſo* *vil* 260^{2/8}; 261²; *ſo* *viel* 246¹¹; B *ſo* *vil* 247¹¹; *ſo* *viel* 272²; B *ſo* *vil* 273²; *ſo* *wenig* as little 258²⁴; B *ſo* *w.* 259²⁴. Introducing a principal clause: *ſo*, then, on the other

hand 262²²; 263²²; **Es** 256⁸⁻²¹; 257⁸⁻²¹; 258¹¹; 259¹¹; 260²⁰; 261²⁰; 262⁴; 263⁴; 266⁵; B **fo** 267⁵; **fjo** 248¹; 268¹²; B **fo** 249¹; 269¹²; **Ejo** 256¹⁶; B **Es** 257¹⁶.

Introducing the apodosis of a conditional or concessive clause **fo** occurs 264¹⁴; 265¹⁴; 268³⁴; 269³⁴; 278³⁴; 279³⁴; **Es** 260¹²; 261¹²; 264⁸⁻²⁴; 265⁸⁻²²; 272²²; 273²²; 282⁴; 283⁴; B **fo** 265³¹; **fjo** 254¹¹; 262²²; 264¹²⁻¹⁶; 268¹²⁻³¹; B **fo** 255¹⁰; 263²²; 265¹²⁻¹⁶; 269¹²⁻²¹; **Es** 269³¹; **Ejo** 270⁸; 282²; B **Es** 271⁸; 283².

Eodama Sodom, proper name, *dat. sg.* 270⁸; 271⁸.

foi, **foi**, **foi** see sub **foi**.

foi such, *nom. sg. n.* 262¹⁶⁻²⁷; 263¹⁵⁻²⁷; *acc. sg. n.* 262¹⁷; 263¹⁶; *acc. sg. f.* 264²⁴; 265²²; *acc. pl. m.* 266²⁰; 267²⁰; **foi** *nom. pl. m.* 256²²; 257²²; 268²²; *nom. pl. n.* 250⁵; 251⁵; *acc. pl. m.* 248²²; 249²²; 278²²; 279²²; B **foi** 269²²; **foi** *nom. sg. f.* 262²²; 263²²; 276⁸; 277⁸; **foi** *nom. pl. m.*, used as noun 270¹⁷; B **foi** 271¹⁷; **foi** *dat. sg. n.*, used as noun 242²⁴; 243²²; **foi** *dat. sg. m.* 270⁷; 271⁷; *dat. pl. m.* 274¹⁷; 275¹⁷; *dat. pl. m.*, used as noun 248²¹⁻²²; 249²¹⁻²²; **foi** *dat. pl. f.* 254¹⁶; B **foi** 255¹⁶; **foi** *gen. sg. f.* 242¹⁶; 243¹⁷; *gen. pl. n.* 270⁸; 271⁸; **foi** *acc. sg. n.*, used as noun 276²⁰; 277²⁰; **foi** *gen. sg. n.*, used as noun 268²²; 278²; 279²; *acc. sg. n.* 242²¹; 243²²; *acc. sg. n.*, used as noun 258¹⁴; 260⁴; B **foi** 259¹⁴; 261⁴; 269²²; **foi** *nom. sg. n.*, used as noun 244²²; 248¹⁰; 249¹⁰; 252²²; 253²²; 256²⁴; 257²⁴; 278¹⁵; 279¹⁵; *acc. sg. n.*, used as noun 260⁸; B **foi** 245²²; **foi** 261⁸; **foi** *acc. sg. m.* 260²⁰; 261²⁰; **foi** *gen. sg. f.* 276⁸; B **foi** 277⁸.

foi be under obligation, be on the point, be said, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 250²⁵; 251²⁵; 252¹⁻¹²; 253¹⁻¹²; 256¹⁹; 257¹⁹; 260¹⁵; 261¹⁵; 262¹⁷; 263¹⁶; 268²⁰; 269²¹; 278⁷; 279⁷; 280¹⁵; 281¹⁵; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 250¹¹; 251¹¹; 260²²; 261²²; 276¹²; 277¹²; note that 250¹¹ **foi** . . . **heru** means: are said to prey on; **foi** *inf.* 260¹²; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 260¹⁴; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 244²²; 256²²; 280⁵; B **foi** 245²¹; 257²²; 261¹²; 281⁵. The apocopated form **foi** *pres.*

ind. 1st pl. 262²¹; 263²¹; **foi** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 250¹⁰; B **foi** 251¹⁰; **foi** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 244⁸; B **foi** 245⁷; **foi** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 244⁷; 252⁶⁻²⁴; 253²⁴; 260²²; 262²⁰; 264²²; 266¹⁰⁻²²; 270¹⁻²²; 272¹²; 278²⁻²²; B **foi** 245⁶; 253⁶; 261²²; 263²⁰; 265²²; 267¹⁰⁻²²; 271¹⁻²²; 273¹⁶; 279²⁻²²; **foi** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 248²⁰; B **foi** 249²⁰; **foi** *pres. ind. 2^d sg.* 244¹⁴; 245¹²; 248¹⁵; 249¹⁵; **foi** *past ind. 3^d sg.* 272¹¹; 273¹¹; **foi** *past subj. 3^d sg.* 244²²; 250⁸; 251⁸; 254⁹; 255⁹; 264⁸; 266¹⁴; 267¹⁴; 268⁸; 269⁸; 274¹⁴⁻¹⁸; 275¹⁴⁻¹⁸; 276¹; 277¹; 280²²; 281²²; 282⁴; 283⁴; B **foi** 245²⁴; 263²²; 265⁸; **foi** *past subj. 3^d sg.* 280²²; 281²²; **foi** *past condit. 3^d sg.* 282⁶; B **foi** 283⁶; **foi** *past condit. 1st pl.* 272⁶; 273⁶; *past condit. 3^d pl.* 250¹⁴; 251¹⁴; 276²¹; 277²¹; **foi** *past subj. 1st pl.* 254²²; B **foi** 255²².

foi, **foi**, **foi**, **foi**, **foi** see sub **foi**.

foi but, *conj.* 242¹⁴⁻²²; 243¹⁵⁻²²; 246⁶; 247⁶; 266¹⁵; 267¹⁵; 272⁸; 273⁸; 274⁸; 275⁸; 276²⁰; 277²⁰; **foi** 246¹⁸; 247¹⁸; 248⁶; 249⁶; 260⁴⁻⁷; 261⁴⁻⁷; 268²⁴; 270²²; 272³; 274¹¹⁻²²; 275¹¹⁻²²; B **foi** 269²²; 271²²; 273²; **foi** 260¹¹; 262¹⁴; 272²¹; 274¹⁵; 278²⁷; B **foi** 261¹¹; **foi** 263¹²; 273²¹; 275¹⁵; 279²⁷. See sub **foi**.

foi especially, *adv.* 246²²; 247²².

foi else 274⁵; B **foi** 275⁵.

foi Sunday, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 268²⁴; 269²⁴.

foi son, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 244¹²; B **foi** 245¹²; **foi** *gen. sg.* 258¹²; B **foi** 259¹².

[**foi**] care for, [**foi**] *past subj. 3^d sg.* 272¹²; B [**foi**] 273¹¹.

foi see sub **foi**.

foi spare 260⁵; 261⁵.

foi food, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 244⁷; *dat. sg.* 256²²; B [**foi**] 245⁶; 257²².

foi speech, language, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 276²⁷; 277²⁷.

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T.

taffen grope, *inf.* 262¹⁰. The form is
 remarkable, standing for the usual

- tappen. Perhaps it is under influence of nd. (East Frisian) *staben* walk with heedless steps. B through misunderstanding substitutes *tänffen* 263¹⁷.
- tag day, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 244¹¹, 245¹⁰; 256²³, 257²²; 258¹⁹, 259¹⁹; 270⁷, 271⁷, 272²⁰, 273²⁰; 276¹⁰, 277¹¹, 278¹¹; *acc. pl.* 254¹³, 255¹³; *tage dat. sg.* 270²⁰; 282¹⁷; B tag 271²⁰; 283¹⁷; *tagen dat. pl.* 248¹⁵, 249¹⁵; *tagē* see sub *hēntigē*.
- tappfer brave, able, *adv.* 276²⁰, 277²⁰; *nom. sg. m.* 252⁸, 253⁸.
- tauff baptism, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 264⁴. In B 265⁴ the word is masculine, in accordance with od. usage.
- [tangen] be good, tang *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 246³¹, 247³¹. Observe the form which is that of a preterit. The verb belongs in the class of so-called preterit-presents, that is preterit in form, present in meaning.
- Taulerns Tauler, proper name, *nom. sg.* 252²⁰, 253²⁰.
- tausent thousand 264³¹; 276², 277²; B Tausent 265²⁰; Tausent 282²⁴; T. sunffhundert und vierund swēzīg.
- teglīch daily, *adv.* 246¹⁵; 250³⁴; 258¹⁹; 270²³; B tūglīch 247¹⁵; 251³⁴; 259¹⁹; 271²⁰.
- teil part, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 270²⁴; *jum t.* for a part; B *jum teil* 271²⁴; *teils gen. sg.* 264¹⁹; *vern mehrern teils* for the greater part. This is a mixture of two phrases, the prepositional phrase *vern mehrern teil* and the genitive *mehrern teils*; B substitutes the accusative *den meerrern teil* omitting *vern* 265^{18/19}.
- tempel temple, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 252²³; B Tempel 253²³.
- Thessalonich Thessalonica, name of place 260¹⁹, 261¹⁹.
- testament, testament, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 256¹¹, 257¹¹; *acc. sg.* 276²⁰, 277²⁰; Testament *dat. sg.* 260¹⁸, 261¹⁸; testamenten *dat. pl.* 250²⁴; B Testamenten 251²⁴.
- teuffel devil, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 276¹; Teuffel 277¹.
- teuffels lehre devil's doctrine, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 276³; B Teuffels leere 277³.
- tewren seem too dear 272²⁰; B tawren 273²⁰. *thet, theten* see sub *thuen*.
- Thirraunet tyranny, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 264⁹; *acc. sg.* 248²⁰; B Thirraunet 249²⁰; Thirraunet 265⁹; Thirraunet *acc. sg.* 258³⁴; B Thirraunet 259³⁴; Thirraunet *dat. sg.* 262^{15/16}, 263¹⁵.
- Thirraunich tyrannically, *adv.* 276¹⁸; B Thirraunich 277¹⁸.
- [Thomas] Thomas, proper name, Thomas *dat. sg.* 268¹⁴, 269¹⁴.
- thū see sub *thuen*.
- thuen do, *inf.* 262¹⁸; 272²⁰; B thūn 263¹⁸; thūn 273²⁰; thūn 278⁶; B thūn 279⁶; *jū thūn* 250¹⁶; 256⁷; B *jūthūn* 251¹⁶; 257⁷; *jū thūn* 242¹³; B *jūthūn* 243¹³; thūen *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 244³⁴; B thūn 245³³; *inf. pres. ind. 2d sg.* 244¹⁴; B thūft 245¹³; thūft *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 268²³ contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3d person B thūft 269²³; thū *imp. sg.* 248⁹. B thū 249⁸; *thet past cond. 3d sg.* 252¹⁷; 253¹⁷; *gethūn p. p.* 268²⁷; B *gethūn* 269²⁶.
- [Timothens] Timothy, proper name, Timothens *dat. sg.* 248¹, 249¹; Timothēn *acc. sg.* 246¹⁴; B Thimothēn 247¹⁴. Abbreviated Timot. *dat. sg.* 248¹⁵; B Timothēn 249¹⁵.
- [Titus] Titus, proper name, Titus *dat. sg.* 246²⁷, 247²⁷; Titon *dat. sg.* 280²³, 281²³; *acc. sg.* 246¹⁴; B Thitton 247¹⁴.
- tiēffte see sub *all*.
- [tōdt] dead, *tōdten acc. pl. m., of the adj.* used as noun 248²; B *tōdten* 249².
- [tōdten] kill, *getōdt p. p.* 278¹⁹, 279¹⁹.
- tōrheit foolishness, folly, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 248²⁴; B thōrheit 249²⁴.
- tragen, tregt see sub *vberein tragen*.
- tragen bear, *inf.* 274²⁴; B tragen 275²³.
- trawen confide in, rely on, *inf.* 256²⁰, 257²⁰; *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 264¹⁰, 265¹⁰; *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 256^{21/22}, 257²¹.
- [trawen] dream, *sb. m., trewme acc. pl.* 244²⁷, 245²⁸.
- [treiben] drive, impel, *getrieven p. p.* 242^{24/25}; B *getryben* 243^{25/26}.
- tretten see sub *ein tretten*.
- trew faithfulness, fidelity, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 282¹, 283¹.
- [trew] true, faithful, reliable *trewen dat. sg. f.* 280³, 281³.
- trewlich truly, faithfully, sincerely, *adv.* 244¹, 245¹; 246⁷, 247⁷; 260⁹, 261⁹; 280²⁰, 281²⁰.

trawm see sub trawm.

[treffen] strike, hit *trifft pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 244²⁰; B *trifft* 245⁹; *treffen p. p.* 250²⁰. 251³⁰.

trinken drink, *inf.* 264³⁰; 274¹⁹. 275¹⁷; B *Trinken* 265²²; *trinkt imper. pl.* 264²²; B *trinkt* 265²².

trinken see sub zu trinken.

tröst consolation, solace, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 246²⁴. 247²⁴; 254²⁴. 255²²; zu tr. as a consolation.

trösten console, *inf.* 246¹⁹. 247¹⁹.

tröstlich trustingly, confidently, *adv.* 242¹²; B *tröstlich* 243²⁰.

tundell dark, obscure 262⁷; B *tundel* 268⁶.
tall number, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 264⁶; B *tall* 265⁶.

taunden quarrel, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 256⁵; B *taunden* 257⁵.

tehen ten 270⁴; B *Tehe* 271⁴; *teheun*, in *teheun tausent* ten thousand 264³¹; B changes to *tehund Tausent* 265³⁰.

teigt see sub ahn teigen.

teigt time, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 248⁵; 254²²; *dat. sg.* 248⁴; 252²⁴; 256²²; *acc. sg.* 264²⁰; B *teigt* 249⁴; 253²⁴; 255²²; 257²²; 265²²; *teitten dat. pl.* 254¹⁴; 282⁷; B *teitten* 255¹⁴; *teiten* 283⁷; *teittenn dat. pl.* 278¹⁶; B *teiten* 279¹⁵.

[teitlich] temporal, *teitlichen dat. pl. n.* 274²²; B *teitlichen* 275²⁴; *teitlicher nom. sg. m.* 254¹²; B *teitlicher* 255¹².

teitung tidings, time, *sb. f., nom. pl.* 248¹⁶; B *teitung* 249¹⁶.

teeren feed on, *inf.* 250¹². 251¹².

teugniß testimony, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 260¹²; 264¹⁴; B *teugniß* 261¹²; *teugniß* 265^{12/14}.

tehen track, go, *inf.* 250²²; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 250²²; B *tehen* 251²²; 254²².

teus tax on property or money, *acc. sg.* 274²²; B *teus* 275²⁷; *teus acc. sg.* 260²²; 270⁵; 274²²; B *teus* 261²²; *teus* 271⁵; *teus* 275²¹.

teern anger, ire, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 252²; B *teern* 253²; *teern dat. sg.* 262¹⁵; B *teern* 263¹⁴.

teeren be angry, *inf.* 282²; B *teeren* 283²; *teeren* 282²; B *teeren* 283².

teew two, 282²; B *teew* 283²; *teew dat. pl. m.* 260²¹; B *teewen* 261²¹.

[teewfel] doubt, *sb. m., acc. sg.* *Duetzweiffel*

266²¹; *acc. sg. en teewfel* 280^{22/23}; B *Due teewfel* 267²¹; *en teewfel* 281²¹.

teewfel doubt, *inf.* 264²²; B *teewfel* 265²⁴.

teewsigl twenty 282²².

te to, at, *prep. with dat., f.* *Teeflaw* 242⁴; 252²⁴ *bis te* up to, until; B *te* 243⁴; 253²⁴ see also *Te* and *te*.

testellen see bestellen.

[tefören] destroy, *teföret pres. ind. 3^d sg.* contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person 266^{31/32}; B *teföret* 267³¹.

tevergeffen see sub vergeffen.

tewingen force, *inf.* 274¹¹; B *tewingen* 275¹¹.

II.

tevel evil, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 254¹²; B *tevel* 255¹².

teven *te* practice, *reflex.* 246¹⁰; B *teven* 247¹⁰; *teven past subj. 1st pl.* 254²²; B *teven* 255²².

tever over, concerning, *prep. w. dat.* 256⁵. 257⁵; 280¹⁵. 281²²; with *acc.* 242¹⁴; 243¹⁵; 244¹¹. 245¹⁰. 245¹⁰. 245¹⁰. 280⁴. 281⁴; *tever* 276¹⁰; B *tever* 277¹⁰.

teverall everywhere, *adv.* 270⁷; B *teverall* 271⁷.

[teverleibend] remaining, remainder, present p. used as noun *teverleibend acc. pl.* 244²⁰. 245¹⁹.

teverein tragen agree, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 258¹; B *teverein* tr. 259¹; *teverein* *tegt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 266¹⁹. 267¹⁹.

tevergeben surrender, *inf.* 280²²; B *tevergeben* 281²².

tevertretung transgression, *sb. f., gen. sg.* 274¹⁵; B *tevertretung* 275¹⁵.

teverwinden overcome, *inf.* 252¹; B *teverwinden* 253¹; *teverwinden p. p.* 268¹⁵. 269^{14/15}.

[tebung] exercise, practice, *sb. f., ungen nom. pl.* 280¹⁰; B *tebungen* 281¹⁰.

teumb for, for the sake of, because of, *prep. with acc.* 250¹². 251¹²; 258²². 259²²; 262²². 263²²; 263²². 269²²; 272⁷ bis 11. 273⁷ bis 11; 274¹⁵. 275¹⁵; 278². 279².

teumb . . . willen for the sake of *prep. w. gen.* 246³¹. 247^{31/32}. 250⁴; 251⁴; 252²². 253²²; 272^{10/20}. 273^{10/20}; *teumb . . . willen* 274²; B *teumb . . . willen* 275².

umbgehn have to do with, use, *inf.* 246⁶;
umb gehn 246¹⁸; B **umbgehn** 247⁶⁻¹⁸.
umbgetriebenn see sub **umbtreiben**.
umbsehen look around, hesitate, *inf.* 280¹⁵.
 281¹⁵; **umb sehen** 282⁷; B **umbsehen** 283⁷.
umher round about, *adv.* 270²⁰; B **umher**
 271²⁰.
[umbtreiben] drive about, harass, **umbge-**
trieben *p. p.* 276¹⁹; B **umbgetrieben** 277¹⁹.
unangesehen notwithstanding, *p. p.* used
 as *prep. w. acc.* 276³¹; B **unangesehen**
 277³¹.
unarmherzigkeit mercilessness, *sb. f., gen.*
sg. 250²⁵; B **unarmherzigkeit** 251²⁵.
und and, *conj.* 240⁸, 241¹⁰; 242⁴⁻⁶⁻⁷⁻⁸⁻¹¹⁻
 16-17-20-23-24, 243⁴⁻⁶⁻⁷⁻¹²⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²⁴⁻
 25; 244^{1-4-5-7-10-18-20-21 bis 22-26-31-34,}
 245^{1-2-4-6-10-19-20-21 bis 25-30-33-35;} 246²⁻
 10-18-19 bis 21-22-25-26-28-29-31-33, 247²⁻⁷⁻
 10-18-19-20-21 bis 22-25-26-29-31-33; 248²⁻³⁻
 7-8-11-13-22-27-28-31, 249^{2-3-7-13-22-28 bis}
 29-31; 250^{2-4-10-21-24-25-28 ter 34 bis 35,} 251²⁻
 4-7-10-16-21-25-28 ter 34 bis 35; 252¹⁻¹¹⁻²¹⁻²⁷⁻
 32, 253^{2-26-31;} 254¹⁻²⁻⁵⁻⁶⁻⁷⁻¹³⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁻²⁷⁻
 28 bis 29-30-32-33-35, 255^{1-2-5-6 bis 13-17-18-}
 26-28 bis 29-30-31-32-34; 256^{5-6-9 bis 11 bis 13-14-}
 15 bis 18-19-20-22 bis 23 bis 25 bis 26-28 bis,
 257^{5-8-9 bis 10-11 bis 15-16-17-19-20-22-24-25-}
 26-28 bis 258^{7-8 bis 10-11-21-22-34-35-} 259⁷⁻
 8 bis 11-21-22 bis 34, 26; 260^{7-15-26,} 261^{7-15-26;}
 262^{7-8-15-22-26-30-31-33-36 bis,} 263⁶⁻⁸⁻¹⁵⁻²⁸⁻
 29-30-31-33-36 bis; 264^{5-9 bis 15-19-21-24-32,}
 265^{6-9 bis 15-19-21-23;} 266^{19-22-24-25-27 bis}
 29 bis 31, 267^{19-22 bis 24, 27 bis 29-31;} 268²⁻
 12-15-16-20-26-29-30-34, 269^{1-12-15-20-29-30-34;}
 270^{4-5-16-17-20-23-29-31-33,} 271⁵⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁷⁻¹⁹⁻
 22-33; 272^{4-14-19-21-22-25,} 273⁴⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁹⁻²¹⁻
 22-25; 274^{1-9-15-19 bis 26,} 275^{1-9-15-19-25;}
 276^{2-4-6-20-22-23-26-28,} 277²⁻⁴⁻⁶⁻²⁰⁻²¹⁻²³⁻
 26-28; 278^{1-7-12-13-14 bis 15-20-21-24-25-26-}
 29-31, 279^{1-7-12-14-15-20-21-24-25-26-28-31;}
 280^{3-4-8-9-10-13-14-16-19-22-23-24-26-29-32-33,}
 281^{3-4-8-9-10-13-14-16-19-22-23-24-26-29-32-33;}
 282^{1-12-20-24,} 283^{12;} B **unnd** 243⁸; 245^{17;}
 247^{26;} 249^{7-11;} 251^{24;} 253^{11-21;} 257¹⁴⁻¹⁵⁻
 22-23; 259^{10;} 265^{31;} 267^{25-29;} 269^{18-26;}
 271^{4-31;} 275^{18;} 279^{12;} 283^{1-10;} — **Unnd**
 244^{4-30,} 245^{3-29;} 246^{20,} 247^{26;} 272^{1,} 273^{1.}
 — **unnd** 242^{18-26,} 243^{27;} 244^{16-36;} 246⁷⁻
 8-10-11-13-14-33, 247^{14;} 248^{1-4-29;} 250⁸⁻
 4-7-16; 252^{3-14;} 253^{3-14;} 254^{9-16-18-19-20;}

256^{6-17-29-31-35;} 258^{3-15-22-30-32-34;} 260¹⁻
 9-25 bis 27, 31; 262^{1-7-34;} 264^{1-29-30-36,}
 266^{6-7-8-22;} 268^{20;} 270^{12;} 272^{17-19;}
 274^{25;} 276^{1-6-9;} 278^{4-18-24-26;} 280¹⁵⁻
 18-25, 281^{18;} 282^{11-12-16;} **Unnd** 274^{14,} 275^{14;}
 280^{12;} B **unnd** 243^{19;} 245^{15-26;} 247⁷⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹⁻
 12-33; 249^{1-4-29;} 251^{3-4-7-16;} 255⁶⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁸⁻
 19-20; 257^{6-16-29-31-35;} 259^{3-15-22-30-32-34;}
 261^{1-9-24-25-27-30;} 263^{1-7-34;} 265¹⁻²⁸⁻
 29-35; 267^{6-7-8-22;} 269^{20;} 271^{12;} 273^{17-19;}
 275^{25;} 277^{1-6-8;} 279^{2-18-24-26;} 281^{14-25;}
 283^{11-12-16;} **Unnd** 247^{9;} 281^{12.}
unbandbar ungrateful 248^{19,} 249^{17.}
[unberriichten] instruct, teach, **unberriicht** *p. p.*
 258^{26;} B **unberriicht** 259^{26.}
under under, among, *prep. w. dat.* 252^{20,}
 253^{29;} 278^{12-18,} 279^{12-18;} **unnder** 274^{18;}
 B **under** 275^{18;} **unther** 284^{29;} B **under**
 265^{27.}
underdruden suppress, **under jadruden** *inf.*
 278^{15;} B **under jadruden** 279^{15;} **underge-**
brudt *p. p.* 278^{21,} 279^{21.}
[underlauffen] creep in surreptitiously,
under laufft *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 258^{12,} 259^{18.}
underloß intermission, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 276^{18;}
 B **underloß** 277^{18.}
underschreiben distinguish, separate, *p. p.*
 258^{2/3;} B **under (schreiben)** 259^{2.}
[understehen sich], undertake *reflex.*, **under-**
stünden *past cond. 1st pl.* 256^{12;} B **under-**
stünden 257^{12.}
understehen sich, take upon oneself, *pres.*
ind. 3d pl. 244^{22;} B **understehen** 245^{22.}
under wegen under way, *adv.* 246^{10;} b. lassen
 omit; B **under wegen** 247^{16.}
unberweisen instruct, *inf.* 272^{2;} B **unber-**
weisen 273^{2;} **unberweisen** *pres. ind. 3d pl.*
 278^{31;} B **unberweisen** 279^{31;} **unberweist** *p. p.*
 276^{12/13;} 282^{12;} B **unberweist** 277^{12;}
 283^{12/13.} Note this weak form.
unetnß at odds, in disagreement, *adv.*
 256^{7;} B **unetnß** 257^{7.}
unerforschlich inscrutable, not bearing scru-
 tiny 252^{11,} 253^{11;} **unerforschlich** 258^{10;}
 B **unerforschlich** 259^{10.}
[unfleißig] not diligent, lazy, **unfleißige** *acc.*
pl. m. 244^{10/11;} B **unfleißige** 245^{10.}
unfreundlich unamiable, without natural
 affection 248^{18;} B **unfreundlich** 249^{18.}
ungehorfam disobedient, 248^{17/18,} 249^{17.}

ungeistlich unspiritual, unholy 248¹⁸; **B** **ungeweiht** 249^{17/18}.

[**ungelehrt**] unlearned, *p. p.* used as noun, **ungelehrten** *acc. pl.* 272²⁵; **B** **ungelehrten** 273²⁵; **ungelehrten** *dat. pl. m.* 276¹⁸; **B** **ungelehrten** 277^{18/19}.

ungerechtigkeit injustice, *sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 242¹⁴; **B** **ungerechtigkeit** 243¹⁴.

ugern unwillingly, *adv.* 272¹⁴, 273¹⁴.

ungekämmt impetuosity, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 272²¹; **B** **ungekämmt** 273²¹.

ugütig not benevolent, no lover of good 248^{18/19}; **B** **ugütig** 249¹⁸.

unkeusch unchaste 248¹⁸; **B** **unkeusch** 249¹⁸.

[**unkeuschlich**] unchaste, **unkeuschliche** *acc. sg. n.* 276¹⁸; **B** **unkeuschliche** 277¹⁸.

[**unnuß**] useless, profitless, **unnuß** *nom. pl. m.* 246²⁸; *acc. pl. m.* 252²⁰; **B** **unnuß** 247²⁸; 253²⁰.

unnußlich useless, profitless 268²⁸; **B** **unnußlich** 269²⁸.

unordnung disorder, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 264^{28/27}; 265²⁸.

unreinigkeit uncleanness, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 262¹⁵; **unreinheit** *dat. sg.* 256¹⁶; **B** **unreinheit** 257¹⁶; 263^{14/15}; **unreinheit** *dat. sg.* 256²⁸; **B** **unreinheit** 257²⁸; **unreinheit** *acc. sg.* 252²; **B** **unreinheit** 253².

unser, **unser** see sub **ich**.

unser our, poss. pronoun of the 1st person *pl.*, *nom. sg.* 254²⁰, 255²⁰, 260²⁰, 261²⁰; 264², 265², 266²⁸, 267²⁸; 278²¹, 279²¹; *gen. sg. f.* 252²², 253²⁰; *dat. sg. f.* 258⁷, 259⁷; *acc. sg. f.* 268⁶, 269⁶; 272⁷, 273⁷; *nom. sg. n.* 252⁹, 260⁵⁻²⁵, 261⁵⁻²⁵, 282⁴, 283⁴; *acc. sg. n.* 242²¹, 243²², 252¹², 253¹², 260⁴, 261⁴, 268²¹, 269²¹; 272²⁰, 273²⁰; 278¹¹, 279¹¹; *nom. pl. m.* 250²⁰, 251²⁰; *gen. pl. m.* 272¹⁴, 273¹⁴; *acc. pl. m.* 254²⁷; *nom. pl. n.* 250¹⁹, 264¹⁵, 265¹⁵; **B** **unser** 251¹⁸; 253⁹; 255²⁷; 265³⁴. — **unser** *acc. sg. n.* 262²⁰; 272⁸; **B** **unser** 263²⁰; 273⁸. — **unser** *nom. sg. m.* 242²⁰; 246⁹; 262²⁰⁻²⁴; *nom. sg. n.* 258⁶; **B** **unser** 243²¹; 259⁸; 263²⁰⁻²⁴; **unser** 247⁹. — **unser** *nom. pl. m.* 266²⁸; *acc. sg. f.* 280²⁶; **B** **unser** 267²²; 281²⁶. — **unser** *nom. pl. m.* 264¹⁶; **B** **unser** 255¹⁶. — **unserem** *dat. sg. m.* 258¹⁴; *dat. sg. n.* 254²⁰, 255^{20/20}; **B** **unserem** 259¹⁴. — **unserm** *dat. sg. m.* 258¹⁻¹¹⁻²⁶, 259¹⁻¹¹⁻²⁶; 272⁴.

273⁴; 280²⁹; *acc. sg. m.* 258²⁷, 259²⁷; **B** **unserm** 281²⁹. — **unserm** *dat. sg. m.* 242^{6/9}; **unserm** 282¹⁴; **B** **unserm** 243^{6/9}; 283¹⁴. — **unsern** *acc. sg. m.* 260²⁻⁹⁻¹⁵, 261⁸; *dat. pl. m.* 270²⁻²⁴, 271²⁻²⁴; *dat. pl. f.* 250²⁴, 251²⁴; *dat. pl. n.* 260⁸, 261⁸; 266¹¹, 267¹¹; *gen. sg. n.* used as noun 260⁸, 261³; **B** **unsern** 261³⁻¹⁵. — **unsern** *dat. pl. n.* 264²³; *dat. pl. m.* 276¹²; **B** **unsern** 265²²; **unsern** 277¹². — **unser** *gen. sg. m.* 254²², 255²²; 272², 273²; *gen. sg. n.* 262¹⁴, 263¹⁴. — **unser** *gen. sg. m.* 246⁸; **B** **unser** 247⁸.

unser halben for our sake 268²³; **B** **unser halben** 269²³.

[**unselig**] unhappy, unfortunate, **unselige** *nom. sg. m.* 274⁶; **B** **unselige** 275^{5/6}; **unseligem** *dat. sg. n.* 276²⁰; **B** **unseligem** 277²⁰.

unther see sub **under**.

[**untraglich**] unbearable, **untraglichen** *dat. pl. n.* 276¹⁸; **B** **untraglichen** 277¹⁸.

unfähig unfit, incapable 248²⁴; **B** **unfähig** 249²⁴.

unzeit improper time, *sb. f.*, *dat. sg.* 248⁴; **B** **unzeit** 249⁴.

unverschämpt impudent 254⁴; **B** **unverschämpt** 255^{3/4}; **unverschämpte** *nom. pl. m.* 244²⁷; **B** **unverschämpte** 245^{28/28}.

unzählig innumerable 250¹⁷; 270²², 271²²; 276²⁰, 277²⁰; **B** **unzählig** 251¹⁷; **unzähligen** *gen. sg. f.* 260¹², 261¹²; **der v. verführung der gewissen**. Here is some looseness of expression. Strictly grammatically it ought to be **der verführung der v. gewissen**.

[**unverschämpt**] ignorant, *adj.* used as noun **unverschämpten** *dat. pl.* 262²⁰; **B** **unverschämpten** 263²⁰.

unwissend ignorant, *nom. pl. m.* 244²⁵, 245²⁴. Note the form which is **unwissende**. The *e* of the ending having dropped off, *b* was also omitted, having become silent after *u*.

ursach cause, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 274¹⁹, 275¹⁹; **ursache** *acc. sg.* 272⁴, 273⁴; 274²⁰, 275²⁰; **ursachen** *gen. pl.* 254²³, 255²⁴.

[**urteilen**] judge, **urteilt** *pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 242¹⁷; **B** **urteilt** 243¹⁸.

urteil judgment, *sb. n.*, *dat. sg.* 266¹⁰; **B** **urteil** 267¹⁰.

B.

batter father, *sb. m., nom. sg.* 242¹⁰, 243¹¹; *dat. sg.* 242⁴⁻⁸, 243^{1/4-8}; 256³⁰; *acc. sg.* 256²¹; 258¹⁰, 259¹⁰; B *vater* 257²⁰⁻³⁰; *better nom. pl.* 266⁴; *gen. pl.* 266³; B *Vätter* 267³; *vätter* 267⁴.

[*verleihen*] grant, *verlihen p.p.* 260³; *verlihen* 272²; B *verlihen* 261³; 273²; see also *verleihen*.

verruufft reason, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 280¹, 281¹; see also *verruufft*.

verstand reason, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 244²⁰; B *verstand* 245²⁷. See also *verstand*, *verstand*. Note the exceptional *r* form in A. *verstandung* obdurateness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 250², 251².

vest fast, *adv.* 280²⁰; B *fest* 281²⁰ see sub *haltheun*.

[*vicarius*] vicar, representative, *sb. m., vicarien acc. pl.* 278²⁴; B *Vicarien* 279²⁴.

viel much, many, usually with a partitive *gen.* following: *nom. pl. m.* 246²⁰; 266³; 276⁵; 280¹⁰; *dat. sg. n.* 250²⁴; *nom. pl. f.* 250¹⁷; *nom. pl. n.* 266¹¹; 270²²; *acc. pl. m.* 256¹⁰; 270²⁵; *acc. pl. f.* 276²; *acc. pl. n.* 252³⁰; 276², 277²; *gen. pl. n.* 262³³; B *vil* 247²⁰; 251¹⁷⁻²⁴; 253²⁰; 257¹⁰; 263³³; 267²⁻¹¹; 271²²⁻²⁵; 277²⁻⁵; 281¹². As to 246¹¹; 260⁵; 266¹¹; 272² see sub *is*; — *vil nom. sg. m.* 276²⁰; 277²⁰; *nom. pl. m.* 252¹⁴, 253¹⁴; 270²⁰, 271²². As to 252¹⁴; 260^{2/3} see sub *is*; — *vieler gen. pl. m.* 242²⁵; B *viler* 243²⁰.

viel much, *adv.*, modifying another *adv.* *v. weniger* much less 250¹⁰; 278⁴; B *vil v.* 251¹⁰; 279⁴; *v. mehr* much more 254⁴⁻⁵⁻⁵; B *vil mer* 255⁴⁻⁵. As to *is viel* see sub *is*; *vil lieber* much rather 250²², 251²²; *vil anders* quite differently 266^{20/27}, 267²⁷; *mehr* more, comparative 248¹⁰; 254^{5 bis 12}; 264¹²; 270²⁷; 272¹⁵; 274⁸; 276⁸⁻²⁰; 278²²; B *meer* 249¹⁰; 273¹⁵; 276⁸; *mer* 255⁴⁻⁵⁻¹²; 265¹²; 271²⁷; 277⁸, 277²⁰; 279²²; *mer* 256²¹, 257²¹; *meisten* most, superlative, *dat. sg. n.*; dependent on an, adverbial phrase, the most 268¹⁰; B *maysten* 269¹⁰.

vieler see sub *viel*.

vielleicht perhaps, *adv.* 264²⁰; 268¹²⁻³³.

269³³; 278²⁷, 279²⁷; B *vielleicht* 265²⁰; *vielleicht* 269¹².

viel mehr rather, *adv.* 256⁹; 270¹²; B *vil mer* 257⁹; 271¹²; *vil mehr* 242¹⁴; B *vil meer* 243¹⁵.

vier four, 266⁹, 267⁹.

vierundzwenzig twenty-four 282^{24/25}.

viertel *iar* quarter of a year, *acc. sg. n.* 250¹¹; B *viertel iar* 251¹¹.

virtzig forty 266⁸; B *virtzig* 267⁸.

visch diligence, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 260⁹; *acc. sg.* 280⁹; B *visch* 261⁹, 281⁹.

vischfig diligently, *adv.* 248¹⁰; B *vischfig* 249¹⁰; see also *vischfig*.

vold people, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 252²⁴, 253²⁴; 254¹², 255¹²; 276²⁰, 277²⁰; 278¹²⁻¹², 279¹²⁻¹²; *acc. sg.* 250⁵, 251⁵; 253²⁰, 259²⁰; 278²¹, 279²¹; *voldes gen. sg.* 244²⁵, 245²².

[*volgen*] follow, *Volgt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 246³², 247³²; *volgte past ind. 3^d sg.* 254¹⁵, 255¹⁵; see also *folgen*.

voll full, 242¹⁰, 243¹⁷; 252⁹; B *vol* 263⁹; *vol* 256²⁰, 257²⁰; *vullen dat. pl. m.* 268²⁰; B *vullen* 269²⁰; see also sub *ju*; *voller* contraction of *voll* and *der*, *gen. sg. f.* of the article 250²⁵, 251²⁵.

vollend fully, completely, *adv.* 256²⁷; B *vollend* 257²⁷. An original *dat. pl.* used as *adv.* The *d* is excrecent.

voller see sub *voll*.

von of, from, by, *prep. w. dat.* 240⁴⁻⁷⁻⁹, 241⁵⁻⁹⁻¹²; 242⁶⁻⁷⁻⁸⁻²², 243^{6-7 bis 22}; 244¹⁵⁻²⁰⁻³⁰, 245¹⁴⁻¹⁹⁻²⁸; 248⁷⁻¹⁰⁻²¹⁻²², 249⁷⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰⁻²²; 254^{10 bis}, 255^{10 bis}; 256²³, 257²³; 260¹⁰⁻¹⁹, 261¹⁰⁻¹⁹; 262⁵⁻¹³⁻¹⁷, 263⁴⁻¹²⁻¹⁸; 264¹⁴, 265¹⁴; 268⁷⁻⁹, 267⁷⁻⁹; 268²⁰, 269²⁰; 270²¹⁻²⁴, 271²¹⁻²⁴; 272⁹⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁶, 273⁹⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁶; 276¹²⁻¹²⁻¹⁸, 277¹²⁻¹²⁻¹⁸; 278^{5 bis}, 279^{5 bis}; 282⁹, 283⁹. See also sub *da*; *Von* 248²², 249²²; 252²⁰, 253¹⁰; 264², 265²; 266²⁴, 267²⁴; *vonn* 252³; 264¹⁻²⁰; 266¹⁴; 270²⁰; 274²⁵; 278²²; B *von* 253³; 265¹⁻²⁰; 271²⁰; 275²⁴; 279²²; *vom* 267¹⁴ is either misprint for *von* or deliberate change. *von* contracted with the *dat.* of the *masc.* article to *vom* 266¹, 267¹⁻¹⁴; 270⁴, 271⁴; 276¹, 277¹; 280²⁴, 281²⁴; with the *dat.* of the neuter article 256¹, 257¹.

vonn dann hence, *adv.* 278⁸; B *von dann* 279⁸.

von nöten needful, 272³. 273³; von nöten 244⁹; B von nöten 245⁸; von nöten 268²⁰. 269²⁰; von nöten 244¹; B von nöten 245¹.

von wegen because of, *prep. w. gen.* 268²⁴. 269²⁴; 278²⁶. 279²⁶; von wegen 274¹⁵⁻²²; B von wegen 275¹⁵⁻²¹.

vor before, prior to, *prep. w. dat.* 248¹. 249¹; 256²⁸. 257²⁸; 258⁸⁻³⁵. 259⁸⁻³⁴; 270⁴⁻¹⁵. 271⁴⁻¹⁵; 278¹⁷. 279¹⁷; 280¹⁸⁻³¹. 281¹⁸⁻³¹; 282⁹⁻¹⁰. 283⁹⁻¹⁰.

vor = für for, *prep. w. acc.* 250¹²; 256¹¹. 257¹⁰; 266¹⁸; 272¹⁸. 273¹⁸; B substitutes für 251¹²; 267¹⁸. With the *acc. sg.* of the *masc. art.* contracted to vorn 264¹⁹; B ven, omitting vor 265¹⁸.

vor = modern vorher previously, *adv.* 252²⁰. 253²⁰.

voracht see sub vorachtenn.

vorachtenn despise, *inf.* 282¹; B verachten 283¹; voracht *p. p.* 278^{20/21}. B veracht 279²¹.

verandern change, 264²⁵; B verändern 265²⁴.

[verbannen] put under ban and interdict, *verbanen dat. pl. m.* of the *p. p.* used as noun 274¹⁷; B verbanen 275¹⁷.

[verbergen] hide, conceal, *verborgen p. p.* 256²¹; B verbergen 257²¹.

[verbieten] forbid, prohibit, *verbotten 270³; 276²; B verboten 265¹⁵; 271³; 277².*

[verbrennen] burn, *verbrant p. p.* 268⁴⁻¹³; B verbrant 269⁴⁻¹³.

verbringen accomplish 256^{14/15}; B verbringen 257^{14/15}. Note that A shows an unusual r after b.

verdammer condemning judge, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 268⁹; B verdammer 269⁹.

[verdammen] condemn, *verdampft p. p.* 244²⁸; B verdampft 245²⁸.

[verderben] perish, *verdirbt pres. ind. 3^d sg.* 244³¹; B verdirbt 245³⁰.

[verdienen] earn, merit, *zubordienen inf.* 258^{6/7}; B zuberbienen 259⁶.

verdrisß disgust, peevishness, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 242²¹; B verdrisß 243^{22/23}.

verdrisßlich peevish, cross 242¹²; B verdrisßlich 243¹².

verächtlich contemptuously, *adv.* 242^{21/22}; B verächtlich 243²².

[verendenn] accomplish, *zuverendenn inf.*

Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum.

282¹⁶; B zû verenden 283¹⁶. Note the unusual r form in A.

[verfinstern] obscure, darken, *verfinsterten gen. sg. n., of the p. p. used as adj.* 262¹⁵; B verfinsterten 263¹⁴.

verfolgen persecute, *inf.* 278²²; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 278²⁶; B verfolgen 279²³⁻²⁶; *verfolget p. p.* 278²²; B verfolget 279²².

verfuren lead astray; deceive 280⁶; *verfurenn 254²⁷; B verfuren 255²⁷; 281⁶. —* *verfurt p. p.* 250¹⁷; B verfür 251¹⁷.

verfurer deceiver, false guide, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 246²⁸; 252¹⁴; B verfürer 247²⁸; 253¹⁴.

verfürisch misleading, deceitful 260²²; B verfürisch 261²².

verfür see sub verfuren.

verführung leading astray, deception, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 250¹⁷; *gen. sg.* 260¹³; B verführung 251¹⁷; 261¹³.

vergebung forgiveness, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 280²⁰; B vergebung 281²⁰.

[vergänglich] transitory, *vergänglichenn dat. pl. n.* 274²⁶; B vergänglichenn 275²⁴.

vergeffen forget, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 250²⁸; *vergeffenn p. p.* 274⁶; B vergeffen 251²⁸; 275⁶. Note the exceptional use of the r form in A; *zuvorgeffen 254²²; B zûvergeffen 255²².*

vergewissen assure, make certain, *inf.* 264¹⁷. 265¹⁷; *vergewist p. p.* 264²²; B vergewist 265²².

verhanden at hand, present 268^{17/18}. 269^{17/18}.

[verheißung] promise, *sb. f., verheißungen acc. pl.* 254⁶; B verheißungen 255⁶.

verhengen (vber) permit to come over 260⁴; B verhengen 261⁴.

[verhindern] hinder, *verhinderthen past cond. 3^d pl.* 248¹⁴; B verhinderen 249¹⁴.

[verhelfen(zu)] help to get *verhulff past subj. 3^d sg.* 274^{21/22}; B verhulff 275²⁰.

verjagen chasing out, *inf.* used as neuter noun, *dat. sg.* 260¹⁷; B verjagen 261^{6/7}.

[vorig] previous, *vorige nom. sg. m.* 280³¹. 281³¹.

verlauffen sell, *inf.* 250¹¹; B verlauffen 251¹¹.

verleeren pervert, turn up, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 246³¹; B verlieren 247³¹; *verleeren pres. ind. 1st pl.* 274¹³; B verlieren 275¹³.

verlautigen proclaim, *inf.* 244¹⁴; B ver-

kündigen 245¹³; **verkündiget** *p. p.* 254³⁴; **B verkündiget** 255³³.
verlangt long ago, *adv.* 260¹¹; **B verlangst** 261¹¹. Note the excrement t.
verlauden deny, *pres. ind.* 3^d pl. 248²¹; **B verlauden** 249²⁰.
[verleihen] grant, **verleihen** *p. p.* 278²; **B verleihen** 279²; see also **verleihen**.
[verlieren] lose, **verlorun** *p. p.* 244²⁸; **B verlorun** 245²².
[verlassen] leave aside, stop, **verloß** *pres. opt.* 3^d sg. 280²⁸; **B verlaßte** 281²⁸; **verloffen** *p. p.* 256³⁴; **B verlaßen** 257³⁴.
vermag see sub **vormagen**.
ormalis previously in former times, *adv.* 278¹⁵, 279¹⁵; 282⁵, 283⁵; **ormalis** 246¹¹; **B ormalis** 247¹¹.
vermanung admonition, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 242¹⁸; **B ermanung** 243¹⁹.
vermeinen suppose, expect, imagine, allege, *pres. ind.* 3^d pl. 258⁸; 268²⁸; **B vermeinen** 259⁸; 269²⁸; **vermeinen** 256²⁸; **B vermaynen** 257²⁸; **Vermeinen** *pres. ind.* 3^d pl. contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person 250²⁸; **B Vermeinen** 251²⁸; **vermeint** *past ind.* 3^d pl. 266³⁰; **B vermaynten** 267³⁰; **vermeint** *nom. pl. n.* of the *p. p.* used as *adj.* 266¹⁸; **B vermainten** 267¹⁸.
vermeffenheit arrogance, audacity, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 258³; *gen. sg.* 256²⁸; **B vermeffenheit** 259³; 257²⁸.
vermischung admixture, *dat. sg.* 254¹; **B vermischung** 255¹. It is possible that *mit*, as governing preposition has been omitted from this clause.
vermittelft by means of, *prep. w. gen.* 270^{28/27}; **B vormitelft** 271²⁸.
vermögen means, fortune, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 260⁵; **B vermögen** 261⁵.
vermögen be able, *pres. ind.* 3^d pl. 264^{1/2}; **B vermögen** 265¹; **vermag** *pres. ind.* 3^d sg. 262¹⁹; **B vermag** 263¹⁹; **vermöchte** *past subj.* 3^d sg. 274²³; **B vermöchte** 275²².
vern see **vor** = **für**.
vernemen perceive, understand, *inf.* 256³⁴; **B vernemen** 257³⁴; **vernem** *imper. sg.* 244²⁸; **B vernem** 245²⁷.
vernunft understanding, reason, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 256¹¹; *acc. sg.* 256²⁸; **B vernunft** 257¹¹, 29.

vernem see sub **vernemen**.

[verordnen] ordain, **verordne** *pres. opt.* 3^d sg. 272³¹; **B verordne** 273³¹; **verordentem** *dat. sg. m., of the p. p.* 272⁴; **B verordenten** 273⁴; **verordent** *dat. sg. m.* 258²⁸; 280²⁸; **B verordenten** 259²⁸; 281²⁸; **verordenther** *nom. sg. m.* 242³⁰; **B verordenther** 243³¹. It is possible that **verordentem** 272⁴ is the author's or printer's mistake for **verordenten** since **unserm** precedes and because of the different form in 258²⁸; 280²⁸.

verretter traitor, *sb. m., nom. pl.* 248¹⁹; **B verretter** 249¹⁸. Note the exceptional *t* form in A.

versamlen gather, *inf.* 244²⁰; **B versamlen** 245¹⁹; **versammelt** *p. p.* 266³⁴; **B versamlet** 267³⁴.

versamlung gathering, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 262²⁸; **B versamlung** 263²⁸ by mistake.

[verschaffen] procure, **verschaffe** *pres. subj.* 3^d sg. 244⁶; **B verschaffe** 245⁵.

verschließen lock, *inf.* 278³⁰; **B verschließen** 279^{29/30}.

[verschweigen] suppress by silence, **verschwiegen** *p. p.* 252²⁸; 270²⁸; **B verschwiegen** 253²⁸; 271²⁸.

versehen sich look forwards to, expect 242^{18/19}; **B fürsehen** 243²⁰.

versorgen provide for, attend to 276¹⁴; **B versorgen** 277¹⁴; **versorget** *p. p.* 272²⁷; **B versorget** 273²⁷; **versorget** 280⁸; **B versorget** 281⁸. Printed with *zu* as one word; **zuversorgen** *inf.* 244⁹; **B zu versorgen** 245⁸. The *r* of A here is exceptional.

verständnis understanding, reason, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 260¹⁵; **B verständ** 261¹⁵; **verständnis** *acc. sg.* 260²⁸, 29; **B verständ** 261²⁸; **verständnis** 261²⁸.

verstehen understand, *pres. ind.* 1st pl. 262¹⁴; **B verstehen** 263¹³; **verstehen** *inf.* 252⁸; **B verstehen** 253⁸; **verstehens** *pres. ind.* 3^d pl. contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person 270⁴; **B verstens** 271⁴. Note **zuverstehen** *inf.* 262³, misprint for **zuverstehen**; **B zuverstehen** 263³.

[verständlich] understandable, intelligible, **verständlichen** *dat. sg. f.* 276²⁸; **B verständlichen** 277²⁸.

verständniß, *sb. n.*, understanding, *nom. sg.* 260²⁵; **B verständniß** 261²⁵.

[**verstriden**] fetter, hamper, *verstridt p. p.* 276²³; **B verstridt** 277²³; *verstridte acc. pl. n. of the p. p.* 276²³; **B verstridte** 277²³.

vertrauen confidence, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 254³⁵; **B vertrauen** 255³⁴.

vertrauen confide in, rely on, *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 264^{14/15}; **B vertrauen** 265¹⁴. Printed with *ju* as one word: *juvertrauen inf.* 254⁶; **B juvertrauen** 255⁶.

[**verzwweifeln**] despair, *verzwweifelter gen. pl. m. of the p. p.* used as *adj.* 270²³; **B verzwweifelter** 271²³.

[**verursachen**] cause, *verursacht p. p.* 242²⁴; **B verursacht** 243²⁵.

[**verwandeln**] change, *verwandelt p. p.* 256⁴; **B verwandelt** 257^{3/4}.

verwegen sich forego, renounce, *reflex.* 278²⁵; **B verwegen** 279²⁵.

verwerfung rejection, reprobation, abomination, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 282¹⁰; **B verwerfung** 283¹⁰. Note the unusual *r* form in *A*.

[**verwerffen**] reject, *verwirft pres. ind. 3d sg.* 252¹²⁻²⁰; **B verwürft** 253¹²; *verwürft* 253¹²; *verworfen p. p.* 266¹²⁻¹⁴⁻²¹; **B verworffen** 267¹²⁻¹⁴⁻²¹.

verwirren confusion, *inf.* used as neuter noun, *dat. sg.* 276²⁰; **B verwirren** 277²⁰.

votina votive offering, votive mass, *sb. f.*, *acc. sg.* 250³². 251³².

W.

wachsen grow, *inf.* 244²¹; **B wachsen** 245²⁰.

[**wandel**] conduct of life, *sb. m.*, *wandels gen. sg.* 248²⁰. 249²⁰.

wappen coat of arms, *sb. n.*, *nom. pl.* 268^{7/8}. 269⁸.

war true, 252²⁰. 253²⁰; 254²⁰. 255²⁰. Here belongs *was* as possible misprint for *war* 270¹⁵. 271¹⁵. As to 244¹⁹ see sub *war nehmen*. See also sub *war*.

war nehmen perceive, *w. ju n.*, *inf.* connected with *ju* 244^{2/3}; **B war nehmen** 245²; *Nempt war imper. pl.* 244¹⁹. 245¹⁹.

wardt, *wart* see sub *werden*.

warheit truth, *sb. f.*, *gen. sg.* 250¹; *dat. sg.* 248⁷; 256²⁵; 266²⁵; *acc. sg.* 246²⁴. 247²⁴;

warheit nom. sg. 280²; *warheit dat. sg.* 242¹⁴; 248²⁵; *warheit nom. sg.* 282⁴; *acc. sg.* 278¹⁵⁻²⁰; **B warheit** 243¹⁵; 249⁷⁻²³; 251¹; 257²⁵; 267²⁵; 279¹⁴⁻²⁰; 281²; 283⁴.

[**warnen**] warn, *gewarnt p. p.* 246⁷. 247⁷.

[**warten**] wait, *wart pres. ind. 3d sg.* 252²⁴; **B wart** 253²⁴.

was what, something, see sub *wer*.

wasser water, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 256³⁵. 257³⁵; *wassers gen. sg.* 256³⁵. 257³⁵.

wächter watchman, *sb. m.*, *dat. sg.* 244¹³; *nom. pl.* 244²⁴; **B wächter** 245¹²⁻²³.

Woe woe, exclamation 244¹⁵. 245¹⁴; *wee* 254¹¹. 255¹¹.

weg way, *sb. m.*, *acc. sg.* 278²⁰. 279²⁰; *weg acc. sg.* 250¹; **B weg** 251¹; *wege dat. sg.* 252¹⁴; **B weg** 253¹⁴. *acc. pl.* 244²⁰.

245²⁰; 280²⁰. 281²⁰; See also sub *wegen*.

weib wife, *sb. n.*, *acc. sg.* 276¹⁴; **B weyb** 277¹⁴.

weichen give way to, *inf.* 266²⁵; **B weichen** 267²⁵.

weide pasture, *sb. f.*, *gen. sg.* 244¹⁶; *dat. sg.* 244²¹; **B weyde** 245¹⁵⁻²⁰.

weiden feed, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 244¹⁷; *weyden inf.* 244²²; **B weyden** 245¹⁶⁻²¹.

weidt see sub *weit*.

weihen consecrate, consecrating, *inf.* used as neuter noun, *dat. sg.* 254¹⁷; **B weyhen** 255¹⁷.

weil because, *conj.* 258¹⁷; 274¹¹; 278¹; while, so long as 280²⁷; **B weyl** 259¹⁷; 275¹¹; 279¹; 281²⁷.

weiss wise, manner, *sb. f.*, *gen. sg.* 242²⁴; 246⁷⁻²⁷; 248²²; 276¹⁶; 280²¹; *acc. sg.* 252¹⁵; 268⁶; **B weyh** 243²⁵; 247⁷⁻²⁷; 249²²; 253¹⁵; 269⁶; 277¹⁶; 281²²; *weisse gen. sg.* 254²³; **B weyse** 255²³. See also sub *Christlich*.

weiss see sub *wissen*.

[**weisse**] sage, wise man, *weisen sb. m.*, *dat. pl.* 256²¹; **B weyssen** 257²¹.

weisheit wisdom, *sb. f.*, *nom. sg.* 272⁹; 280¹; *acc. sg.* 256²⁰; **B weyßheit** 257²⁰; 273⁹; 281¹.

[**weisen**] show, *weist pres. ind. 3d sg.* 280²¹; **B weyßt** 261²¹.

weit far, *adv.* 258²; **weidt** 282⁷; **B weyt** 259²; 283⁷.

weitter farther, further, *adv.*; comparative

of the foregoing, 252³⁰, 253³⁰; 266⁵; B *weiter* 267⁵; *weiter* 256³⁷; B *weiter* 257³⁷; *weiter* 262⁷; 266³; B *weiter* 263⁶; *weiter* 267³.

[*welch*] which, who, *welcher* *nom. sg. m.* 244³⁵; 258³⁴; 282¹⁵; *gen. sg. f.* 252⁹; *dat. sg. f.* 280^{2/3}; *welcher* *nom. sg. m.* 258³⁰. B *welcher* 245³⁴; 253⁹; 259³⁴⁻³⁵; 281²; 283¹⁵; *welcher* *nom. sg. m.* 258³²; B *welcher* 259³²; *welches* *nom. sg. n.* 254²³; B *welches* 255²³; *welch* *nom. sg. n.* 244¹; 252⁴; 262¹⁵⁻²⁶; 270⁹; 274¹⁹; *acc. sg. n.* 258¹²; 276³⁷; B *welches* 245¹; 263¹⁴; 275¹⁹; *welch* 259¹²; 263²³; 277³⁷; *welches* 253⁴; *welch* 271⁹. *welch* *nom. sg. n.* 246¹³; Note that 252⁴; 262²³; 270⁹ the neuter form stands somewhat loosely in place of the fem., *welche* *nom. sg. f.* 282¹; *nom. pl. m.* 246³⁰; 252¹⁴; *nom. pl. f.* 246³⁴; 247³⁴; *acc. pl. m.* 246²⁷; B *welche* 247²⁷⁻²⁸; 253¹⁴; 283¹; *welche* *nom. sg. f.* 242¹⁶; B *welche* 243¹⁷; *welchen* *dat. pl. m.* 246³⁰; B *welchen* 247³⁰; *welchen* *acc. sg. m.* 274³²; B *welchen* 275³⁰.

wellenn will, want, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 278³⁰; B *wellen* 279³⁰ see also *wollen*.

[*welch*] Italian, *welchen* *nom. pl. m.* 264^{8/9}. 265^{8/9}.

welt world, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 264³⁴; *gen. sg.* 256³¹; *dat. sg.* 248³⁰. 249³⁰; 254³⁴. 255³³; 272¹⁰. 273⁹; 282⁹. 283⁹; *acc. sg.* 246². B *welt* 247²; 257³¹; *Welt* 265³³; *welt* *gen. sg.* 278³⁴; 280¹. 281¹; B *welt* 279³⁴.

[*welt* *weisse*] worldly wise, *sb. m.*; *welt* *weisen* *acc. pl.* 262³¹; B *weltweisen* 263^{30/31}.

weltlich wordly, *acc. sg. n.* 282¹². 283¹¹; *weltliche* *acc. pl. m.* 246¹⁷; *acc. pl. n.* 274²¹. 275²⁰; B *weltlich* 247¹⁷; *weltlichen* *dat. pl. m.* 246^{11/12}; 247¹²; 266²⁷. 267²⁷.

wenden turn, *inf.* 248^{7/8}. 249⁷; *wende* *imper. sg.* 248²¹. 249²¹. See also *fur wendenn*.

wenig few, little, *acc. sg. f.* 268¹⁸. 269¹⁸; *wenig* *nom. pl. m.* 252⁵; B *wenig* 253⁵; *weniger* comparative *sg. n.*, *Es ist nicht* w. nothing less will do 272²³. 273²³.

wenig little, *adv. gleich* *so* w. just as little 258³⁴. B *gleich* *so* w. 259³⁴; *nicht* w. not a little 268²¹. 269²¹; *wenig* 250¹⁰; B *wenig* 251¹⁶.

weniger less, *adv. comparative* of the

foregoing, *viel* w. much less 250¹⁹; *vil* w. 251¹⁹; 278⁴. 279⁴; *wenigste* *acc. sg.* of the superlative, *auff* w. at least 260^{7/8}; 261⁷.

wenigste see sub *weniger* *adv.*

wenn when, *if, conj.* 250²³. 251²³; 252¹³⁻²². 253¹³⁻²²; 256¹²⁻¹³. 257¹¹⁻¹³; 260¹². 261¹²; 264¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻²⁶⁻²⁸. 265¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻³⁴⁻³⁵; 268²⁰⁻²²⁻²³. 269²⁰⁻²²⁻²³; 270⁵. 271⁵; *Wenn* 250¹⁰. 251¹⁰; 264⁷⁻¹⁴⁻³¹. 265⁷⁻¹⁴⁻²⁰; 266⁸. 267⁸.

wenn . . . *gleich* even if, *conj.* 264^{17/18}; 270²⁸. 271²⁸. B *wenn* . . . *gleich* 265¹⁷.

wenn . . . *immer* whenever, *conj.* 248²⁸. 249²⁸.

wenn—*denn* than, *conj.*, after a comparative 270²². 271²² in the sense of for, because 280²⁰. 281²⁰.

wer, *weh* see sub *sein* be.

wer who, interrogative masculine 262²⁰. 263²⁰; he who, relative 264²⁷⁻²⁸. 265²⁰ *bis*; *Wer* he who 280¹⁶; B *Wer* 281¹⁵; *was* what, a interrogative neuter: 246². 247²; *Was* 246¹. 247¹; 250²¹. 251²¹; in the sense of what for, why it occurs 278²¹. 279²¹; *was* . . . *sunst* what else 250¹⁴. 251¹⁴; *Was* . . . *sunst* 264³⁵. 265³⁴; *Was* . . . *anders* what else 252¹⁹. 253¹⁹; *Was* . . . *mehr* what more 276²⁰. 277²⁰; *was* . . . *fur ein* what a 280²³. 281²³; *weß* *gen. sg.* dependent on *halten* 264²¹. 265²⁰; w. *hielten* wir uns what should we cling to. Note that 270¹⁵. 271¹⁵ *was* is misprint for *wer* which see. *was* b) relative neuter: 254¹⁵. 255¹⁵; 256¹⁰. 257⁹; 260²⁷⁻³¹. 261²⁷⁻³¹; 262². 263²; 276¹⁵; 282¹⁶. 283¹⁶; B substitutes *daß* 277¹⁵. *was* something, indefinite neuter, *acc. sg.* 272²². 273²². The genitive *weß* in the function of the nominative occurs 280¹². 281¹²; in the function of the accusative 280¹⁸. 281¹⁸.

werd work, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 258¹³. 259¹³; *acc. sg.* 248⁹. 249⁹; *nom. pl.* 250⁵⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰. 251⁵⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰. 256²⁻⁷. 257²⁻⁶; 258⁸. 259⁸; 270³. 271³; *gen. pl.* 252²⁰. 253²⁰; 270³. 271³. *acc. pl.* 246²⁰. 247²⁰; 250¹¹⁻¹⁸. 251¹¹⁻¹⁸; 252¹⁸. 253¹⁸; 256³. 257³; 258⁶⁻²⁵. 259⁶⁻²⁴; *werden* *dat. pl.* 246²⁰ *bis* 247²⁰⁻³⁰; 254²⁰. 255²⁰; 256¹⁴. 257¹⁴; *werdenn* 256⁵; 258¹⁸; 270¹⁴; B *werden* 257⁵; 259¹⁷; 271¹⁴. Note that 250⁵ and 252¹⁸ A shows exceptionally the r form.

werdzeng instrument, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 256²²; B. *werdzeng* 257²²; *werdzeng* *acc. sg.*

258¹⁵; B *werdt* *geteigt* 259¹⁵. We have marked the word as masculine, because it is clearly so 258¹⁵; whether it is masculine or neuter in the other instances is doubtful. It is masc. and neuter also in mhd.

werb, *werbt*, *werbe* see sub *werden*.

werden become, get to be, *inf.* 248²⁵. 249²⁵; 254¹⁵. 255¹⁵. Coupled with the *p. p.* of a verb it serves to make up the *inf. pass.* 244⁷⁻²⁷. 245⁶⁻²⁶; 250⁷. 251⁷; 252¹³. 253¹⁷; 260²⁶. 261²⁶; 262⁴. 263³; 264¹⁰. 265¹⁰; 274²⁶. 275²⁷; *werden* 260²⁴⁻²⁵; 276²⁻¹²; 282¹³; B *werden* 261²⁴; 277²⁻¹³; 283¹³; *werden* *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* coupled with the *p. p.* of a verb. it serves to make up the *pres. pass.* in 242²⁵. 243²⁶; 254⁷. 255⁷; with the *inf.* of a verb. it makes up the *fut. act.* in 246⁴. 247⁴; 262¹¹⁻¹⁷. 263¹⁰⁻¹⁷; *werden* *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 256¹⁵. 257¹⁵; 264¹⁶. 265¹⁶; 278²³. 279²³; Coupled with the *inf.* it makes up the *fut. act.* in 244²¹. 245²⁰; 248⁵⁻⁷⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁸. 249⁵⁻⁷⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁶; 278²³. 279²³; with the *p. p.* it makes up the *pres. pass.* in 270¹⁷⁻²³. 271¹⁷⁻²³; 276¹⁷. 277¹⁸; *werden* *pres. ind.* 1st *pl.* coupled with the *p. p.* forms the *pres. pass.* in 280⁹; *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* 270¹³; coupled with the *p. p.* it forms the *pres. pass.* in 246²⁵; with the *inf.* it forms the *fut. act.* in 244²²; 248⁶; 276²³; B *werden* 245²¹; 247²⁵; 249⁶; 271¹³; 277²³; 281⁹; *werden* contraction of the *pres. ind.* 3^d *pl.* and the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person coupled with the *inf.* to make up the *fut. act.* in 248²⁴. 249²⁴; 274²³. 275²³. Note that in the latter instance § may have been mistakenly put on under the influence of the following *unus*. — *wirt* *pres. ind.* 3^d *sg.* coupled with an *inf.* to form the *fut. act.* 246²⁻²¹. 247²¹; 248⁵⁻²⁵. 249⁵⁻²⁵; 272²⁴. 273²⁴; 276²³. 277²³; 280⁶⁻²⁹; *wirt* 282¹; B *wirt* 245²²; 247³; 253¹⁴; 261¹⁷; 263¹⁸; 281²⁰; 283¹; in *werdt* 281⁶ B substitutes the *subj.* for the *ind.* of A. — *werdt* *pres. subj.* 3^d *sg.* coupled with an *inf.* to form *fut. act.* 242²¹. 243²²; with a *p. p.* to form *pres. pass.* 248¹¹. 249¹¹; 274⁷. 275⁷; apocopated form *werb* 272²³. 273²³; 274⁵. 275⁵; which is spelt *werbt* 260⁹. 261⁹. — *wart* *past ind.* 3^d *sg.* coupled with a *p. p.*

to form *past pass.* 274²; spelt *wardt* 278²; B *ward* 275²; 279². — *wurdt* *past subj.* 3^d *sg.* coupled with a *p. p.* to make up the *past subj. pass.* 254²³⁻²⁴. 255²³⁻²⁴; Note that 254²³ there is employed the *r* form; *past cond.* 3^d *sg.* coupled with an *inf.* to make up the *past cond. act.* 252²³; 276². 277²; 278¹³. 279¹³; B *wirde* 253²³. The apocopated form *wur* *past cond.* 3^d *sg.* coupled with an *inf.* to make up the *past cond. act.* 252²¹. 253²¹; 268¹². 269¹²; 282⁷. 283⁷. — *wurden* *past cond.* 3^d *pl.* coupled with a *p. p.* to make up the *past cond. pass.* 256³. 257³; coupled with an *inf.* to make up the *past cond. act.* 280²²⁻²³. 281²²⁻²³; *past subj.* 3^d *pl.* coupled with a *p. p.* to make up the *past subj. pass.* 268²⁷. 269²⁷; — *wurden* *past ind.* 3^d *pl.* 270³¹; *past cond.* 3^d *pl.* coupled with a *p. p.* to make up the *past cond. pass.* 250¹⁷; *past subj.* 3^d *pl.* coupled with a *p. p.* to make up the *past subj. pass.* 278²⁰; B *wurden* 251¹⁷; 271³¹; 279²⁰; *wurden* *past cond.* 1st *pl.* coupled with a *p. p.* to make up the *past cond. pass.* 258²⁶; B *wurden* 259²⁸. — *wurden* *p. p.* 278¹⁹; B *wurden* 279¹⁹.

wer, *weren*, *werren* see sub *sein* be.

werffen see sub *auff* *werffen*.

wes see sub *was* interrogative and indefinite pronoun.

wesen being, life, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 266²⁰. 267²⁰; *wesen* *acc. sg.* 274²⁶. 275²⁶; *wesen* *gen. sg.* 248²⁹. 249²⁹.

wibder . . . *nach* neither . . . *nor, conj.* 274¹⁷; B *weder* . . . *nach* 275¹⁷.

wibder against, *prep. w. acc.* 256¹⁰; 258²⁴; 264²⁶; 266¹⁶; 276¹⁵; 278⁴⁻⁶⁻²⁵; B *wiber* 257¹⁰; 259²⁴; 265²⁷; 267¹⁶; 277¹⁵; 279⁴⁻⁶⁻²⁵. See also *wiber*.

wibder bringen bring back 244²¹; B *wider* bringen 245²⁰.

wibderfaren happen to, *p. p.* 278¹⁷; B *widerfaren* 279¹⁶.

[*wibderuffen*] revoke, *p. p.* *wibderufft* 264¹⁹; B *widerufft* 265¹⁹.

[*wibder(penfig)*] refractory, *wibder(penfige)* *nom. pl. m.* 246²⁸; B *wider(penfige)* 247²⁸.

wiber again, *adv.* 258²⁸. 259²⁸.

wiber against, *prep. w. acc.* 258¹. 259¹;

264¹⁻¹¹⁻³⁴; 265¹⁻¹¹⁻³³; 278¹¹; 279¹¹; 280¹²; 281¹².

widereinander one against the other 262⁸;
B wider einander 263⁷.

widerpart adversary, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 258¹; 259¹.

widerstehen withstand, oppose, *inf.* 280⁵;
B widerstehen 281⁵; widerstehen *pres. ind.*
3^d pl. 248²³; 249²³; widerstehen *past ind.*
3^d pl. 248²³; B widerstehen 249²².

widerumb again, on the other hand, *adv.*
242²⁰; 243²²; 275¹⁴; widerumb 274¹⁴.

widerwenden controvert, oppose, *inf.* 276³⁰;
B widerwenden 277³⁰.

wie as, like, *adv.* of comparison 256²⁰; 257²⁰;
how, *adv.* introducing a principal ques-
tion 252²²; 254⁹; 255⁹; 276¹²⁻¹⁴; 277¹²⁻¹³;
B Wie 253³¹; Wie 252¹²; 253¹². Intro-
ducing a dependent question 268¹⁴; 269¹⁴;
272¹⁰⁻²⁷; 273¹⁰⁻²⁷; 276¹⁹; 277¹⁹; 278⁶; 279⁶;
282¹²; 283¹²; wie how, *adv.* qualifying a
following *adv.* or adjective form: wie
schwer 278²⁵; B w. schwer 279²⁵; wie viel
276²; wieviel 266¹¹; B wie viel 267¹¹; 277²;
wie vieler 242²⁵; B wie vieler 243²⁵; wie
as *conj.* 242²²; 243²²; 246⁵⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁷⁻²¹; 247⁵⁻¹⁴⁻¹⁷⁻²¹; 248²²; 249²²; 250¹²⁻¹⁹⁻³⁵; 251¹²⁻¹⁹⁻³⁵; 252⁶⁻²⁹; 253⁶⁻²⁸; 256¹⁻²⁰; 257¹⁻²⁰;
258¹²; 259¹²; 260¹¹⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻²⁵; 261¹¹⁻¹⁷⁻²⁰⁻²⁵;
262¹⁰⁻¹²⁻¹⁸⁻²⁴; 263⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹⁷⁻³⁴; 264³⁰; 265²⁰;
266⁷⁻¹³⁻¹⁵⁻²²; 267⁷⁻¹³⁻¹⁵⁻²²; 268¹⁰;
269¹⁰; 270²⁴⁻²⁶; 271²⁴⁻²⁶; 272³¹⁻³³; 273³¹⁻³³;
274¹⁶; 275¹⁶; 276³; 277³; 278⁶; 279⁶;
280⁷⁻¹¹⁻¹⁵⁻²⁴; 281⁷⁻¹¹⁻¹⁵⁻²²; 282⁵; 283⁵;
Wie 254¹⁴; 255¹⁴.

wie that, *conj.* 254³¹; 255³⁰; 266⁸⁻¹⁹; 267⁸⁻¹⁹;
268¹²; 269¹²; 270¹⁷⁻²²; 271¹⁷⁻²²; 276¹⁰;
277¹⁰; 278¹²⁻³⁰; 279¹²⁻³⁰; 280³¹; 281³¹.

wie wol although, *conj.* 266⁴⁻¹⁰⁻²⁶; 267⁴⁻¹⁰⁻²⁶;
wie wol 252⁵; 253⁵; 260²⁰; B wie wol
261²⁰; Wie wol 250⁶⁻¹⁶; 272⁶; 273⁶; 278²⁰;
B Wiemol 251⁶⁻¹⁶; 279²⁰.

{wilt} fierce, *nom. pl. m.. of the adj.* used
as noun wilde 248¹⁹; 249¹⁹.

will, wil see sub wollen.

wissen will, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 258²; 259²;
wissen *dat. sg.* 260²⁰; B wissen 261²⁰.
As to the accusative dependent on umb
see sub umb . . . wissen (wissen).

Wir, wir, wirs see sub ich.

[wirten] work, *wirbt pres. ind.* 3^d sg. 258¹⁴;
259¹⁴.

wirtschaft household, *sb. f., acc. sg.* 272⁷⁻¹²;
273⁷; 276¹⁴; B wirtschaft 273¹¹; *wirbt-*
schaft 277¹⁴.

wissen know, *inf.* 248¹⁵; 249¹⁵; 252¹⁵; 253¹⁵;
272⁸; 273⁸; *pres. ind.* 1st pl. 258⁷⁻²¹⁻²⁶;
259⁷⁻²¹⁻²⁶; 268¹²; 269¹²; 270²²; 271²²;
272⁹⁻¹⁰; 273⁸⁻¹⁰; 274²⁷; 275²⁶; 278²⁰;
279²⁰; 282⁵⁻¹¹; 283⁵⁻¹⁰; *pres. ind.* 3^d pl.
278¹¹; 279¹¹; Wissen *pres. ind.* 1st pl.
258¹⁷; 259¹⁷; wissen *pres. ind.* 1st pl.
282¹¹; *pres. ind.* 3^d pl. 276⁷; B wissen
277⁷; *weiss pres. ind.* 3^d sg. 252¹⁵; 276¹⁵;
278²⁰; 282⁴; B *wayß* 253¹⁵; 277¹⁴; *waist*
279²⁵; *wayß* 283⁴; *weisen past ind.* 3^d pl.
278¹⁷; B *wüsten* 279¹⁷; *weisen past cond.*
1st pl. 246⁶; B *weisen* 247⁶.

wo where, when, if, *conj.* 244²³; 246⁶; 247⁶;
248¹²; 250¹⁷; 254⁹⁻¹¹; 258⁹⁻¹²; 259¹²;
264²⁶; 268¹⁻⁸; 282³; B *wa* 245²²; 249¹²;
251¹⁷; 255⁹⁻¹¹; 259⁹; 265²⁵; 269¹⁻⁸; 283³;
Wo 264¹²; 280²¹; B *Wa* 265¹²; 281²¹.

wo . . . auch wherever, *conj.* 246¹⁹; *wo . . .*
auch *hmer* wherever *conj.* 264⁴; B *wa . . .*
auch 247¹⁰; *wa . . . auch* *hmer* 265⁴.

wol well, *adv.* 246⁶; 247⁶; 248²²; 249²²;
250⁹⁻¹¹⁻³⁰; 251⁹⁻¹¹⁻³⁰; 252¹⁰⁻²²; 253¹⁰⁻²²;
254¹²; 255¹⁶⁻¹⁹; 260¹²; 261¹²; 264⁸;
265⁸; 268¹²⁻²²; 269¹²⁻²²; 272⁸⁻⁹⁻¹⁰; 273⁸⁻⁹⁻¹⁰;
276⁷⁻¹²⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁹; 277⁷⁻¹²⁻¹⁵⁻¹⁹; 278²⁵;
279²⁵; 280²⁵; 281²⁵; *woll* 250⁹; 252¹⁰⁻²²; 254¹⁶;
wollen will, want, *inf.* 268²; 269²; 272²;
273²; *wil pres. ind.* 1st sg. 244¹⁴⁻¹⁹;
20-21-22-31; 280⁴⁻³⁵; *pres. ind.* 3^d sg.
246¹⁴; 250²⁵; 254²²; 256²⁵; 258¹⁹; 276¹⁷⁻²⁴;
278²³; *will pres. ind.* 1st sg. 260³¹;
280³⁵; *pres. ind.* 3^d sg. 252¹⁵; 258²²; B
will 245¹⁴⁻¹⁸⁻¹⁹⁻²⁰⁻²¹⁻³⁰; 247¹⁴; 251²⁵; 253¹⁵;
255²²; 257²⁵; 259¹⁹⁻³²; 261³¹; 277¹⁷⁻²²;
279³³; 281⁴⁻²⁴⁻³⁵; *wollen pres. ind.* 1st pl.
242¹²; 244⁴; 246⁵⁻¹⁶; 248¹²; 252⁸; 256¹⁶;
260⁴⁻⁸; 264¹¹; 266²⁴; 270¹¹; 272¹²⁻¹³; 276²⁰;
278²¹; *pres. ind.* 3^d pl. 248²⁰; 256²⁴; 260²⁴;
270³²; *Wollen, pres. ind.* 1st pl. 254²⁸; B
wöllen 243¹⁹; 245³; 247⁵⁻¹⁶; 249¹²⁻³⁰; 253⁸;
257¹⁶⁻²⁴; 259²⁷; 261⁴⁻⁸⁻²⁴; 265¹¹; 267²⁴;
271¹¹⁻²²; 273¹²; 277²⁰; 279²¹⁻²²; *Wöllen*
255²². Note the apocopated forms of
the *pres. ind.* 1st pl. *wol* 262²²; 278¹⁰;
B *wöl* 273¹²; *wöll* 273²⁰; 279¹⁰; *wöllen*

pres. ind. 1st pl. 250¹⁵⁻³²; 260¹⁰; 264³⁵; 276¹²; 280²⁶; 282¹⁴; B *wöllen* 251¹⁵⁻³²; 261¹⁰; 265²³; 277¹²; 281²⁶; 283¹⁴; *wöllen* *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person 256¹⁴; B *wöllen* 257¹⁴; *Wölle pres. subj. 3^d sg.* 260³¹; B *wölle* 261³¹; *wöll pres. opt. 3^d sg.* 272³⁰; B *wöll* 273³⁰; *wöl* apocopated form of *pres. subj. 3^d pl.* 266¹²; B has the full form *wöllen* 267^{11/12}; *wölt past ind. 3^d sg.* 254¹⁵; B *wölt* 255¹⁵; *wölbe past ind. 3^d sg.* 272¹¹; B *wölt* 273¹⁰; *wölt past subj. 3^d sg.* 244³⁰; 245³⁵; 246⁹; 262²⁴; *past opt. 3^d sg.* 268²⁶; B *Wölt* 269²⁶; in 247¹⁰; 263²⁴; B substitutes the *pres. subj. 3^d sg.* *wöll*. *wölbe past cond. 3^d sg.* 258⁹; *past opt. 3^d sg.* 260⁴; 276³⁵⁻³⁰; B *wölte* 259⁹; B substitutes the *pres. opt. 3^d sg.* *wölle* 261⁴; 277³⁵⁻³⁰. The apocopated form of the *past cond. 3^d sg.* *wölb* 282²; B *wölt* 283²; *wölten past cond. 1st pl.* 262²⁷; 263²⁷; 264³⁵; 265³⁴; *past cond. 3^d pl.* 272⁷; B *wölten* 273⁷; *wölthen past cond. 1st pl.* 264²³; B *wölten* 265²²; *wölthenn past cond. 1st pl.* 278⁵; B *wölten* 279⁵; *wölten* *past cond. 1st pl.* contracted with the neuter pronoun of the 3^d person 282¹²; 283¹². *wölgefallenn please, p p.* 282⁵; B *wölgefallenn* 283⁵. *wölshenn well then, adv. of exclamation* 280³⁴; B *wölan* 281³⁴. *wöllst lust, carnal desire, sb. f., dat. sg.* 268³¹; 269³¹; 270¹⁰; 271¹⁰; *acc. sg.* 248¹⁹; B *wöllst* 249¹⁹. *womit wherewith* 262³; B *wamit* 263³. *wordenn see sub werden.* [wor] true, *wore nom. sg. n.* 262¹²; B *ware* 263¹¹. *worlich truly, forsooth, adv.* 244³⁵; 258³⁵; B *warlich* 245³⁴; 259³⁵. *wört word, sb. n., nom. sg.* 244⁶; 245⁵; 248¹¹; 249¹¹; 254³³; 255³³; 262⁹⁻¹⁰⁻²⁰; 263⁸⁻⁹⁻²⁰; 266²³; 267²³; 270²⁸; 271²⁸; 280⁹; 281⁹; *dat. sg.* 244²⁸; 245²⁷; 246¹⁰; 247¹⁰; 248³⁰; 249³⁰; 264²⁶; 265²⁵; 266²⁶; 267²⁶; 270³³; 271³³; 278³⁴; 279³⁴; 280⁶; 281⁶; *acc. sg.* 244¹⁴; 245¹³; 248³⁻²⁷; 249³⁻²⁷; 250¹⁵; 251¹⁵; 258⁷⁻³⁴; 259³⁴; 262³⁴; 35 bis; 263^{24-35 bis}; 264¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻²²⁻³²⁻³⁴; 265¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻²¹⁻³¹⁻³³; 266¹⁸⁻²²; 267¹⁸⁻²²; 280¹²; 281¹²;

B *wört* 259⁷; *wört acc. sg.* 239³; 252²; 266⁶⁻¹⁵; 268²⁴; B *wort* 240²; 241²; 253²; 267⁶⁻¹⁵; 269²⁴; *wort* *gen. sg.* 260⁶; *wort* 261⁶; 280⁷; 281⁷. Notable is the absence of the *gen.* ending in *wört gen. sg.* 280¹; B *wort* 281¹; *worte dat. sg.* 280³¹; *gen. pl.* 260²⁹; 261²⁹; B *wort* 281³¹; *worten dat. pl.* 264³⁰; 265³⁵; 274⁵; 275⁵. Note that in A 244³⁵; 248³; 280²¹ the *r* form is employed.

wörtlein small word, *sb. n., acc. sg.* 256³³; 257³³.

worumb what for, *adv.* 268^{10/11-11}; B *warumb* 269^{10/11 bis}.

wösten, wöstenn see sub *wissen*.

wunder wonder, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 278¹⁵; 279¹⁵.

wunſchen wish, *inf.* 260⁹; B *wünſchen* 261⁹.

W.

wa see sub *Ja*.

wagen see sub *auf wagen*.

wder see sub *weder*.

wderman everybody, *nom. sg.* 254^{10/20}; *dat. sg.* 248²⁵; *acc. sg.* 254³⁶; B *wederman* 249²⁵; 255¹⁹⁻²⁶; 257¹; *wdermann dat. sg.* 246³⁰; 274³²; B *wederman* 247²⁰; 275³⁰.

wc ever, adv. 258²⁹⁻³⁶; 259²⁹⁻³⁶; 262²⁶; 263²⁶; *whe* 246³; 252¹⁸; 262⁴; 270^{13 bis}; B *wc* 247³; 253¹⁸; 263⁴; 271^{13 bis};

wder each, every one, *nom. sg. m.* 244²⁹; 245²⁸; *wder* 254¹⁵⁻²⁶; 276³³; B *weder* 255¹⁵⁻³⁵; 277³².

[*wener*] that one, *wene nom. pl. m.* 256²¹; B *jhene* 257²¹.

wemand any one, *acc. sg. m.* 268³²; 269³².

whm, hm, whme, whn, whnen, wnen, wnen see sub *er*.

whr see sub *du*.

whr, hr, whre, whrem, whren, whrer, whres see sub *ih* their.

wm see sub *in prep.*

wmmer always, ever, *adv.* 248²⁸; 249²⁸; *wmer* 264⁵; B *wmmer* 265⁵. See also sub *wenn wmmmer*.

wnn see sub *in*.

wnn des mean while, *adv.* 250²⁸; 264²¹; 272²⁸; B *in des* 251²⁸; 265²¹; 273²⁸.

[*wrrig*] erroneous, *wrrige acc. pl. f.* 254²⁷;

B irrige 255²⁷; irriger *gen. sg. f.* 254¹;
B irriger 255¹.
haden itch, *pres. ind. 3d pl.* 248⁷; B haden
249⁷.
hängsten see sub hung.
jall number, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 244²⁴; B jal
245²⁸. See also sub hall.

3.

zeit time, *sb. f., nom. sg.* 246³; B zeit 247³.
See also sub zeit.
zeugniß testimony, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 268⁸; B
zeugniß 269⁸. See also sub zeugniß.
horn ire, anger, *sb. m., dat. sg.* 256¹⁸; 257¹⁸.
See also sub horn, horn.
zu to, *prep. w. dat.* 244¹³⁻¹⁷⁻²¹⁻³¹⁻³⁵; 248¹⁻⁸⁻¹⁵; 250²³; 252²¹; 254⁹⁻³⁵; 256¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²³;
262^{22 bis 34}; 264⁵; 268^{4-9-30 bis}; 270⁹⁻¹⁹⁻²⁸⁻²⁹;
272^{20-36 bis}; 274^{1 ter 9-21}; 278¹⁵⁻²⁸⁻³⁶; 280³⁷⁻²⁸⁻²⁹⁻³²; zu 242⁴; 252²⁴; B zu 243⁴;
245¹²⁻¹⁸⁻²⁰⁻³⁰⁻³⁴; 249¹⁻⁸⁻¹⁵; 251²²; 253²¹⁻²⁴;
255⁹⁻³⁴; 257¹⁹⁻²¹⁻²²; 263²³⁻³⁴; 265⁵; 269^{4-9 bis};
271⁹⁻²⁸⁻²⁹; 273²⁰⁻²⁶; 275^{1 ter 20}; 279^{15-36 bis};
281²⁸⁻²⁹⁻³²; zu 263²²; 273²⁶; 275⁹;
zuhälben see sub halb; zubeden see sub
beden; zugefallen see sub gefallen; zuge-
richt see sub gericht; Zu 242²⁴; B Zu
243²⁵. Note the following instances
where the modern language would put
zum: zu 246²⁴; 248²³; 254²⁴; 276¹⁹; B
zu 247²⁴; 249²⁰; 255²³; 277¹⁹; zu 280⁷;
B zu 281⁷ stands for modern zur. With
the *dat. sg.* of the masculine or neuter
article zu is contracted to zum 242¹⁶⁻¹⁷.
243¹⁷⁻¹⁸; 248²⁴; 249²⁴; 250¹⁴; 252²³.
263²³; 268⁸; 269⁸; 270²⁴; 271²⁴; 278².
279²; 280¹⁷; 281¹⁶; B zum 251¹⁴; with
the *dat. pl.* of the *masc.* article zu is
contracted to zum 242¹⁰; 243¹¹; 272¹⁶.
273¹⁵; 276²⁸; 277²⁸; zum 274¹⁶; B zu
275¹⁶; with the *dat. sg.* of the *fem.* ar-
ticle zu is contracted to zur 248³⁻⁴.
249³⁻⁴; 250⁵; 251⁵; 272^{18 bis}; 273¹⁸; 280²⁸.
281²³; B zur 273¹⁸. With the *inf.* zu
appears in 240²; 244²⁻⁶; 246¹⁹⁻²⁰; 248²⁻¹²;
250¹¹⁻¹⁶⁻¹⁸; 254⁵⁻⁷⁻¹³; 256⁶⁻⁷; 258²⁷
zu misprint for zu; 264¹³⁻³⁵; 268²⁰; 272³⁻⁸⁻¹³⁻³¹;
274¹¹⁻²³⁻²⁵; 276²²; 278¹⁵⁻²⁸; 280²⁷;
282¹¹⁻¹⁵; zu 242¹⁸; B zu 240²; 241²; 245²⁻⁵;
247¹⁹⁻²⁰; 249²⁻¹³; 251¹¹⁻¹⁸; 255⁷⁻¹³; 257⁶;

259²⁷; 265³⁴; 273²⁻⁸⁻¹³⁻³¹; 275¹¹⁻²⁵; 277²³;
279¹⁷⁻²⁰; 281²⁷; 283¹¹⁻¹⁵. The *inf.* is
printed with zu as one word in: zu-
antworten 268²⁰; B zuantworten 269²⁰;
zubeßern 268²⁰; B zubeßern 269²⁰; zu-
betriegen 274⁵; B zubetriegen 275⁵; zu-
beden 269²⁰; zuentfchuldigen 254²³; B zu
entfchuldigen 255²³; zuerforfchen 256²⁰;
B zu erforfchen 257^{20/30}; zugeben 275²¹;
zuleßen 266¹⁸; B zu leßen 267¹⁸; zurich-
ten 280¹⁹; B zurichten 281¹⁹; zufchaffen
256¹²; B zufchaffen 257¹²; zufchreden 255⁵;
zufein 265^{12/13}; zuffehen 274¹²; B zufteen
275¹²; zuftreffen 246²⁷; B zu ftreffen 247²⁷;
zuthun 243¹⁹; 251¹⁶; 257⁷; zubordienen
258^{6/7}; B zuerbienen 259⁶; zuuorbeden
282¹⁶; B zu volenden 283¹⁶; zuuorfehen
262³; B zuuerfehen 263³; zuuorforgen 244⁹;
B zu verforgen 245⁸; zuuortragen 254⁶;
B zuuertragen 255⁶. See also Zu.
zugehen happen, go, fare with 270⁹; B
zugeen 271⁹; zugehet *pres. ind. 3d sg.* 278⁷;
B zugeet 279⁷; zu gangen *p. p.* 268⁹; B
zu gangen 269⁹.
zueigen be appropriate for, *inf.* 246¹³; B
zu eygen 247¹³.
zuentbieten offer, address 248²³; B zuent-
bieten 249²³.
zugericht see sub gericht.
zu thür see sub thür.
zunünftig future, to come 248²; B zu-
künftig 249².
zu rechen impute, *inf.* 258²⁰; B zu rechen
259²⁰.
zuerchffen tear to pieces, *pres. ind. 3d pl.*
244¹⁰; B zerrchffen 245¹⁵; zerriffene *acc.*
pl. f. of the *p. p.* 256²⁶; B zerriffen 257²⁶.
zuerfrenten see sub zuftreuen.
zurüde back, *adv.* 280¹⁶; B zu rüde 281¹⁶.
[zururen] ruin, shatter, zurutten, *dat. pl.*
m. of the *p. p.* zururt 248²³; B substi-
tutes 249²³; zerrütten = zerrütteten, prob-
ably on the basis of Luther's zurutten.
The app. crit. states that the zurutten
of A is misprint for zurutten. Yet it
may possibly be a legitimate form as
explained above. Zururen then would
belong to ruren = mod. Ruhr meaning
fall. If this be so, then it is one of
the cases where Schwenckfeld shows
independent translation of the original.

The double t finds its explanation in the remarks sub D, p. 328.

zusag promise, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 280^{3/4}; B zusag 281³.

zusatz addition, *sb. m., acc. sg.* 244⁵; B zusatz 245⁴.

zuschließen lock, *inf.* 258³⁰; B zuschließen 259³⁰.

zuschreiben address missive, *sb. n., nom. sg.* 282⁴; B zuschreiben 283⁴.

[zu schreiben] ascribe, schreiben . . . zu *pres. ind. 1st pl.* 258^{12/14}; *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 258^{5/10}; B schr. . . . zu 259^{5/10-12/14}.

zstreuen scatter, *pres. ind. 3^d pl.* 244¹⁰; B zerstreuen 245¹⁰; zu streuen *pres. ind.*

3^d *sg.* 264²⁷; B zerstreut 265³⁰; zstreut *p. p.* 244¹⁸; B zerstreut 245¹⁷.

zerstörung destruction, *sb. f., dat. sg.* 272¹²; B zerstörung 273¹².

zuthun cooperation, *sb. n., dat. sg.* 254¹¹; *acc. sg.* 272⁸; B zuthun 255¹¹.

zu trinden drink healths, *inf.* used as neuter noun, *acc. sg.* 274^{12/13}; B zu trinden 275¹².

zuvor previously, *adv.* 264¹²; B zuvor 265¹²; zuvor 250¹¹; 262¹²; 266¹⁷; 268³; 270¹²⁻¹⁵; 282³; B zuvor 251¹¹; 267¹⁷; 269³; 271¹²⁻¹⁵; 283³; zuvor 263¹². Note that 270¹²

A employs the r form.

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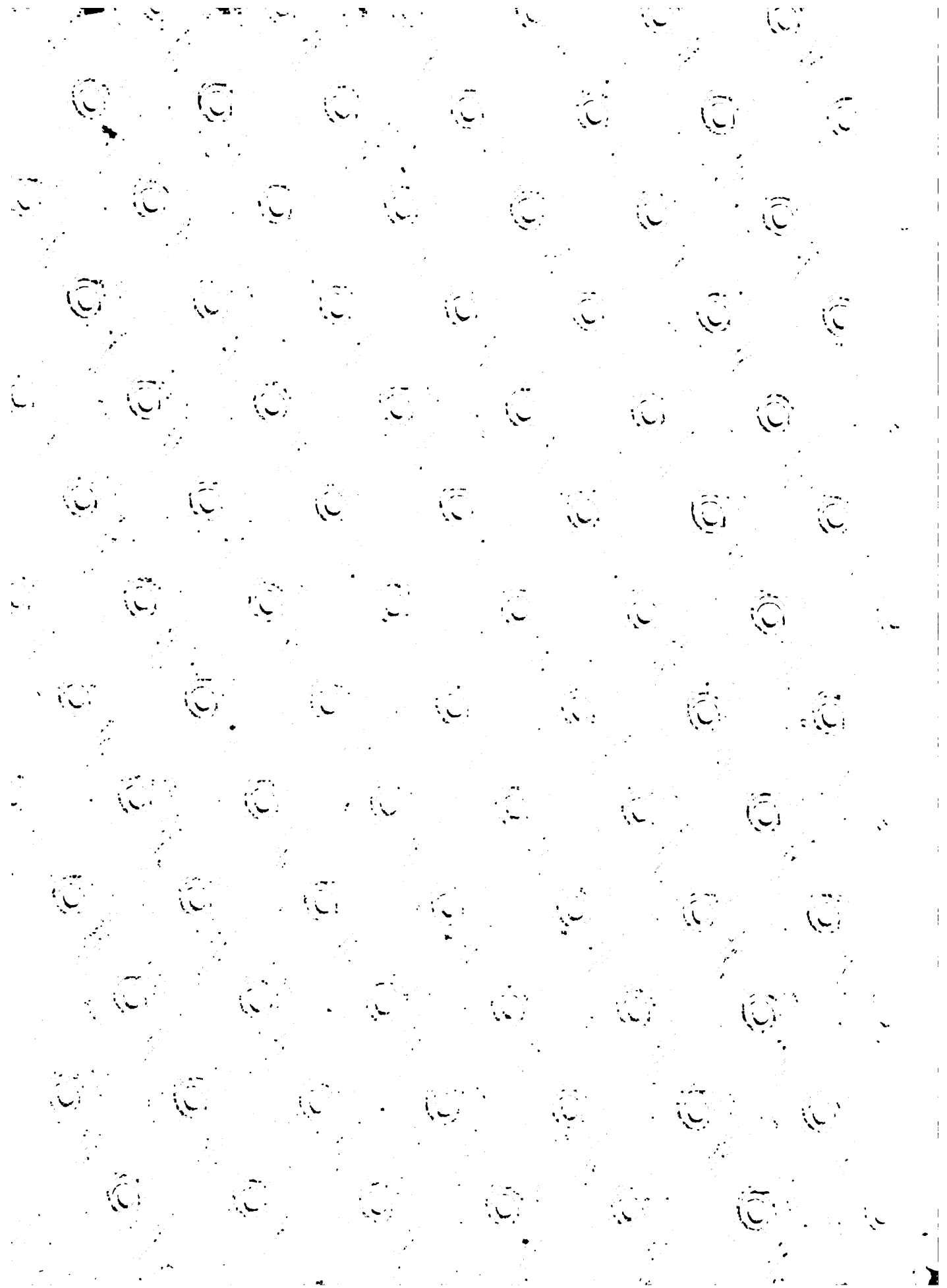
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